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REMARKABLE EVENTS
IN THE
HISTORY OF AMERICA,

FROM THE
EARLIEST TIMES TO THE YEAR 1848.

Compiled from the best Authorities.

BY JOHN EROST, LL.D. 1822

AUTHOR OF "PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD," "PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE
UNITED STATES," &c. &c.

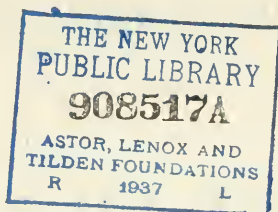
EMBELLISHED WITH
SEVEN HUNDRED ENGRAVINGS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

PHILADELPHIA:
J. & J. L. GIBON,
No. 98 CHESNUT STREET.
1852.

EMLS



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CONTENTS.

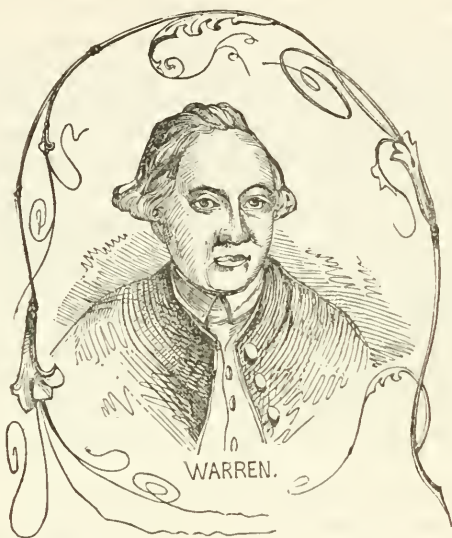
	PAGE
COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES.....	7
SIEGE OF BOSTON.....	20
INVASION OF CANADA.....	27
BRITISH ATTACK UPON CHARLESTON.....	51
BATTLE OF LONG ISLAND.....	55
THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.....	67
CLOSE OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1776.....	87
THE CAMPAIGN OF 1777, IN THE MIDDLE STATES.....	109
THE NORTHERN CAMPAIGN OF 1777.....	130
EFFECT OF BURGÓYNE'S SURRENDER IN ENGLAND.....	162
THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES..	170
THE CAMPAIGN OF 1778.....	189
THE CAMPAIGN OF 1779.....	209
CAPTURE OF THE SERAPIS.....	239
CAMPAIGN OF 1780 IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.....	250
CAMPAIGN OF 1780, IN THE NORTHERN STATES.....	277
MUTINY IN THE ARMY.....	297
INVASION OF VIRGINIA.....	303
CAMPAIGN OF 1781—OPERATIONS IN THE TWO CAROLINAS AND GEORGIA.....	307
CAMPAIGN OF 1781—OPERATIONS IN VIRGINIA—CORNWALLIS CAPTURED—NEW LONDON DESTROYED.....	330
COMMODORE BARRY'S VICTORY.....	352
CAPTAIN BARNEY'S VICTORY.....	356
CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.....	361

	PAGE
FORMATION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION	369
WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION.....	376
ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN ADAMS.....	400
JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION.....	408
MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION.....	422
COUNCIL OF VINCENNES.....	428
BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE.....	434
COMMENCEMENT OF THE SECOND WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN..	446
NAVAL VICTORIES OF 1812.....	450
OPERATIONS ON THE NORTHERN FRONTIER IN 1813	468
NAVAL CAMPAIGN OF 1813.....	483
THE SOUTHERN WAR OF 1813	504
CAMPAIGN OF 1814 ON THE NORTHERN FRONTIER.....	508
BATTLE OF CHIPPEWA.....	515
DEFENCE OF FORT ERIE.....	519
BATTLE OF BLADENSBURG, AND DEPREDACTIONS OF THE BRI- TISH AT WASHINGTON.....	528
BATTLE OF PLATTSBURG.....	536
BATTLE OF LAKE CHAMPLAIN.....	541
BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS	546
NAVAL AFFAIRS OF 1814.....	558
MONROE'S ADMINISTRATION	576
ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS... ..	582
ADMINISTRATION OF ANDREW JACKSON	588
ADMINISTRATION OF MARTIN VAN BUREN.....	595
ADMINISTRATION OF WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.....	598
ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN TYLER.....	605
COMMENCEMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES K. POLK..	611
COMMENCEMENT OF THE MEXICAN WAR.....	613
BATTLES OF PALO ALTO AND RESACA DE LA PALMA.....	653
CAPTURE OF MATAMORAS	673
STORMING OF MONTEREY	680

CONTENTS.

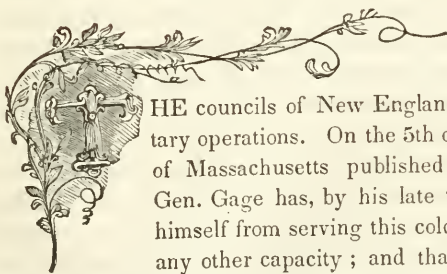
5

	PAGE
BATTLE OF BUENA VISTA.....	705
CAPTURE OF VERA CRUZ.....	731
BATTLE OF SIERRA GORDO.....	752
AFFAIRS IN NEW MEXICO.....	765
BATTLE OF CHURUBUSCO.....	769
THE CAPTURE OF MEXICO	777



COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES.

[CONTINUED.]



HE councils of New England were as vigorous as her military operations. On the 5th of May, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts published a resolution importing "th... Gen. Gage has, by his late transactions, utterly disqualified himself from serving this colony, either as its governor, or in any other capacity ; and that, therefore, no obedience is in future due to him ; but that, on the contrary, he ought to be considered and guarded against as an unnatural and inveterate enemy to the country." From this period the authority of Gage in Massachusetts reposed on the bayonets of his soldiers, and was confined within the limits of the town they occupied. But in the close of the same month his prospects seemed to brighten ; and his force at least gained an increase from the arrival at Boston of a considerable accession to his troops from Britain, along with the Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, all of whom had acquired high military reputation in the last war. Gage, thus reinforced, prepared to

act with more vigour and decision than he had latterly displayed. He began by issuing a proclamation, which offered, in the king's name, a free *pardon* to all the American insurgents who should forthwith lay down their arms, and return to the habits and duties of peaceable subjects, "excepting only from the benefit of such pardon Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose offences," it was added, "are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment;" and announced the dominion of martial law in Massachusetts, "as long as the present unhappy occasion shall require." And thus, as Edmund Burke remarked, the British commander offered mercy to those who were openly in arms and actually besieging him in his station, while he excluded from mercy two men who were five hundred miles from him and actually at the time (as members of the second congress) sitting in an assembly which had never by statute been declared illegal. To signalize Adams and Hancock in this manner was to employ the only means within his competence of endearing these men and their principles to the Americans, whom the proclamation, instead of intimidating or dividing, served but additionally to unite and embolden.

From the movements visible among the British troops, and their apparent preparations for some active enterprise, the Americans were led to believe that Gage designed to issue from Boston and penetrate into the interior of Massachusetts; whereupon, with a view to anticipate or derange the supposed project of attack, the Provincial Congress suggested to Putnam and Thomas, who held the chief command in the army which blockaded Boston, that measures should be taken for the defence of Dorchester Neck, and that a part of the American force should occupy an intrenched position on Bunker's Hill, which ascends from and commands the entrance of the peninsula of Charlestown. Orders were accordingly communicated to Colonel Prescott, with a detachment of a thousand men, to take possession of that eminence; but, through some misapprehension, Breed's Hill, instead of Bunker's Hill, was made the site of the projected intrenchment. By his conduct of this perilous enterprise, and the heroic valour he displayed in the conflict that ensued, Prescott honourably signalized a name which his descendants have farther adorned with the highest trophies of forensic and literary renown. About nine o'clock of the evening, [June 16,] the detachment moved from Cambridge, and, silently traversing Charlestown Neck, gained the summit of Breed's Hill unobserved. This eminence is situated at the extremity of the peninsula nearest to Boston; and is so elevated as to overlook every part of that town, and so near it as to be within the reach of cannon-shot. The American troops, who were provided with intrenching tools, instantly commenced their work, which they pursued with such diligence, that, before the morning arrived, they had thrown up a redoubt of considerable dimensions, and with such



BRITISH TROOPS LEAVING BOSTON.

deep silence, that, although the peninsula was nearly surrounded by British ships of war and transports, their operations were only first disclosed to the astonished army of Britain by the dispersion of the nocturnal darkness under whose shade they had been conducted. At break of day, [June 17,] the alarm was communicated at Boston by a cannonade, which the Lively sloop of war promptly directed against the intrenchments and embattled array of the Americans. A battery of six guns was soon after opened upon them from Copp's Hill, at the north end of Boston. Under an incessant shower of bullets and bombs, the Americans firmly and indefatigably persevered in their labour, until they completed a small breastwork, extending from the east side of the redoubt to the bottom of the hill, towards the river Mystic. We have remarked the mistake that occasioned a departure from the original plan of the American enterprise, and led to the assumption of Breed's Hill instead of the other eminence which it was first proposed to occupy. By a corresponding mistake, the memorable engagement which ensued has received the name of *The Battle of Bunker's Hill*,—a name which only vanity or pedantry can now hope or desire to divest of its long-retained celebrity, and its animating influence on the minds of men. It would be wiser, perhaps, to change the name of an insignificant hill than of a glorious battle in which the prize contested was the freedom of North America.

Gage, perceiving the necessity of dislodging the Americans from the position they had so suddenly and daringly assumed, detached about noon

on this service, the Generals Howe and Pigot, with ten companies of grenadiers, ten of light-infantry, and a suitable proportion of field-artillery. These troops, crossing the narrow bay interjected between Boston and the American position, landed at Moreton's Point, and immediately formed in order of battle; but perceiving that the Americans, undaunted by this demonstration, and with spirit erected to the utmost height, firmly waited the attack, they refrained from advancing till the arrival of a reinforcement from Boston. Meanwhile the Americans were also reinforced by a body of their countrymen, commanded by Generals Warren and Pomroy; and the troops on the open ground, tearing up some adjoining post and rail fences, and fixing the stakes in two parallel lines before them, filled up the space between with new-mown grass, and formed for themselves a cover from the musketry of the enemy. Collecting all their courage, and undepressed by the advantage which their adversaries derived from the audacity of assault, they stood prepared for an effort which should yield their countrymen, if not victorious liberty, at least a memorable example of what the brave and the free can do to achieve it.

The British troops, strengthened now by the arrival of the second detachment, and formed in two lines, moved forward to the conflict, having the light-infantry on the right wing commanded by General Howe, and the grenadiers on the left conducted by General Pigot; the former to attack the American lines in flank, and the latter the redoubt in front. The attack was begun by a heavy discharge of field-pieces and howitzers; the troops advancing slowly, and halting at short intervals to allow time for the artillery to produce effect on the works and on the spirits of their defenders. During their advance, General Gage, who surveyed the field of battle from Copp's Hill, caused the battery at this place to bombard and set fire to the village of Charlestown, situated beneath the position of the Americans, whom, from the direction of the wind, he expected to annoy by the conflagration. Charlestown, one of the earliest settlements of the Puritans in New England, a handsome and flourishing village, containing about four hundred houses, built chiefly of wood, was quickly enveloped in a blaze of destruction; but a sudden change of the wind, occurring at this crisis, carried the smoke to a quarter which neither sheltered the approach of the British nor occasioned inconvenience to the Americans. The conflagration added a horrid grandeur to the interesting scene that was now unfolding to the eyes of a countless multitude of spectators, who, thronging all the heights of Boston and its neighbourhood, awaited, with throbbing hearts, the approaching battle. The American troops, having permitted Howe's division to approach unmolested within a very short distance of their works, then poured in upon them such a deadly and confounding fire of small arms, that the British line was broken in an instant, and fell precipitately back in headlong rout towards the landing-

place. This disorder was repaired by the vigorous exertions of the officers, who again brought up the repulsed troops to the attack; but the Americans, renewing their fire with a precision of aim derived from their habits of life, and, unexampled, perhaps, in the conduct of any former battle fought since the invention of gunpowder, again spread such carnage through the hostile ranks, that the British were a second time driven back in complete confusion. At this critical juncture, General Clinton, arriving upon the field from Boston, aided the efforts of Howe and the other officers in rallying the disheartened troops, who with some difficulty were a third time led on to the charge. The Americans had been but scantily supplied with cartridges, partly from an overstrained attention to economy in the consumption of an article urgently needed and sparingly possessed by their countrymen, and partly in deference to the counsels of some old provincial officers, whose ideas of battle were derived from their experience in hunting, and in the system (very similar to that employment) of Indian warfare, and who insisted, that, as every shot ought to kill a man, so to give the troops any more ammunition than was absolutely necessary to inflict on the enemy a loss that would be tantamount to defeat, was to tempt them to neglect accuracy of aim and throw their fire away. To the discredit of this counsel, the powder of the Americans now began to fail, and consequently their fire to slacken. The British at the same time brought some of their cannons to bear upon the position of the Americans, and raked the inside of the breastwork from end to end; the fire from the ships, batteries, and field-artillery was redoubled; and the redoubt, attacked on three sides at once with impetuous valour, was carried at the point of the bayonet. Yet, so desperate was the resistance of its defenders, that, even after their officers had commanded a retreat, they continued to fight till the redoubt was half filled with the assailants.

During these operations, Pigot's division was attempting to force the left point of the breastwork, preparatory to an attack on the flank of the American line; but while his troops advanced with signal intrepidity, they were received with unyielding firmness and determination. The Americans in this quarter, as well as at the redoubt, reserved their fire until the near approach of the enemy, and then poured in their shot with such well-directed aim as to mow down the advancing troops in whole ranks at every volley. But no sooner was the redoubt lost, than the breastwork also was necessarily abandoned. And now the Americans, beaten, but unsubdued, had to perform their retreat over Charlestown Neck, which was completely raked by the guns of the Glasgow man-of-war and of two floating batteries; but, great as was the apparent danger, the retreat was accomplished with considerable loss. The British troops were too much exhausted, and had suffered too severely, to improve their dear-bought victory by more than a mere show of pursuit. They had brought into action about three thousand



DEATH OF WARREN.

men, and their killed and wounded amounted to one thousand and fifty-four. The number of Americans engaged was fifteen hundred, and their killed, wounded, and missing amounted to four hundred and fifty-three. They lost some gallant officers, of whom the most generally known and lamented was Joseph Warren, a young physician of Boston, lately promoted to the rank of general in the American army, and who, having ably and successfully animated his countrymen to resist the power of Britain, now gallantly fell in the first battle that their resistance produced. And thus ended a day that showed too late to the infatuated politicians of Britain how greatly they had underrated the arduous difficulties of the contest they provoked, and how egregiously those men had deceived them who confidently predicted that *the Americans would not fight*. No other imaginable result of the conflict could have been more unfavourable to the prospects of Britain, whose troops, neither exhilarated by brilliant victory nor exasperated by disgraceful defeat, were depressed by a success of which it was evident that a few more such instances would prove their ruin.

The second Continental Congress of America had assembled, meanwhile, at Philadelphia, on the 10th of May, when Peyton Randolph was again elected president by his colleagues. Hancock produced to this assembly a collection of documentary evidence, tending to prove, that, in the skirmish of Lexington, the king's troops were the aggressors; together with a report of the proceedings of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts on that



BATTLE OF HUNKER'S HILL.



occasion. The time was now arrived when the other provinces of America were required definitely to resolve, and unequivocally to declare, whether they would make common cause with the New England States in actual war, or, abandoning them and the object for which they had all so long jointly contended, submit to the absolute supremacy of the British parliament. The congress did not hesitate which part of the alternative to embrace, but unanimously determined, [May 26,] that, as hostilities had actually commenced, and large reinforcements to the British army were expected, the several provinces should be immediately *put in a state of defence*; adding, however, *that, as they ardently wished for a restoration of the harmony formerly subsisting between the mother country and the colonies*, they were resolved, for the promotion of this desirable object, to present once more an humble and dutiful petition to the king. Yet the members of this body perfectly well knew that the king and his ministers and parliament not only denied the legality of their assemblage and their right to represent the sentiments of America, but openly denounced them as a seditious and traitorous association; and by a great majority of the American people the sentiments of loyalty, which they had once cherished or professed for the British crown and empire, were now extinguished, and either lost in oblivion or remembered with disdain. But it is a general practice of mankind, and the peculiar policy of governments, to veil the most implacable animosity and the most decisive martial purpose under a show of professions more than ordinarily forbearing and pacific; nor can any proclamation be more ominous of violence, than that in which a kingdom or commonwealth judges it expedient to vaunt its own moderation. Massachusetts, having informed the Congress of her destitution of regular government, and solicited advice for the remedy of this defect, received in answer the counsel, that the freeholders should elect the members of a representative Assembly; that these representatives should appoint counsellors; and that the representatives and counsellors should together provisionally exercise the powers of government. This counsel was straightway embraced. Equal efficacy attended a recommendation addressed to all the colonies, that they should appoint *committees of general safety* to guard and administer the public interest during the occasional recess of the provincial assemblies.

Besides their second petition to the king, the Congress renewed their applications to Canada and other places, and published an admirable address to the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland. In this last composition, the British people were addressed with the endearing appellations of "Friends, Countrymen, and Brethren;" and entreated, by these and every other of the ties which bound the two nations together, seriously to receive and consider the present and probably final attempt to prevent their dissolution. After again recapitulating former injuries, and recount-

ing the recent acts of hostility in the wanton destruction of American life and property, they demanded *if the descendants of Britons could tamely submit to this?* "No!" they added, "we never will! While we revere the memory of our gallant and virtuous ancestors, we never can surrender those glorious privileges for which they fought, bled, and conquered. Admit that your fleets and armies can destroy our towns and ravage our coasts; these are inconsiderable objects,—things of no moment to men whose bosoms glow with the ardour of liberty. We can retire beyond the reach of your navy; and, without any sensible diminution of the necessities of life, enjoy a luxury which, from that period, *you* will want,—the luxury of being free. Our enemies charge us with sedition. In what does this sedition consist? In our refusal to submit to unwarrantable acts of injustice and cruelty? If so, show us a period in your history in which you have not been equally seditious. We are reproached with harbouring the project of independence; but what have we done that can warrant this reproach? Abused, insulted, and contemned, we have carried our dutiful petitions to the throne; and we have applied to *your* justice for relief. What has been the success of our endeavours? The clemency of our sovereign is unhappily diverted; our petitions are treated with indignity; our prayers answered by insults. Our application to you remains unnoticed, and leaves us the melancholy apprehension of your wanting either the will or the power to assist us. Even under these circumstances, what measures have we taken that betray a desire of independence? *Have we called in the aid of those foreign powers who are the rivals of your grandeur?* Have we taken advantage of the weakness of your troops, and hastened to destroy them before they were reinforced? Have not we permitted them to receive the succours we could have intercepted? Let not your enemies and ours persuade you that in this we were influenced by fear or any other unworthy motive! The lives of Britons are still dear to us. When hostilities were commenced,—when, on a late occasion, we were wantonly attacked by your troops, though we repelled their assaults and returned their blows, yet we lamented the wounds they obliged us to inflict; nor have we yet learned to rejoice at a victory over Englishmen." After reminding the British people that the extinction of liberty in America would be only a prelude to its eclipse in Britain, they concluded in these terms:—"A cloud hangs over your heads and ours. Ere this reaches you, it may probably burst upon us. Let us, then, (before the remembrance of former kindness be obliterated,) once more repeat these appellations which are ever grateful to our ears,—let us entreat Heaven to avert our ruin, and the destruction that threatens our *friends, brethren, and countrymen*, on the other side of the Atlantic."

Aware that a great deal of discontent existed in Ireland, the Congress conceived the hope of rendering this sentiment conducive to the multiplica-

tion of their own partisans and the embarrassment of the British court; and to this end in their address to Ireland they alluded to the past oppression and present opportunities of this people with a politic show of sympathy and friendship calculated at once to foment agitation among them, and to attach to themselves the numerous bands of Irish emigrants who had resorted and still continued to resort to the American provinces. "The innocent and oppressed Americans," they declared, "naturally desire the sympathy and good-will of a humane and virtuous people who themselves have suffered under the rod of the same oppressor."

Having thus made their last appeals to the king and people of Great Britain, the Congress proceeded to organize their military force, and issued bills of credit to the amount of three millions of Spanish milled dollars (for the redemption of which the confederated colonies were pledged) to defray the expenses of the military establishments and operations. Articles of war for the regulation of the continental army were framed; measures were pursued for the enlistment of regiments; and a declaration or manifesto was published, setting forth the causes and necessity of recourse to arms, and withal protesting that American resistance would end as soon as American wrongs were redressed.



GENERAL KNOX.

A battalion of artillery was formed, and the command of it intrusted to Henry Knox, a native of Boston, whom the force of his genius and the peculiar bent of his taste and studies had already qualified to sustain the part of an accomplished master of the art of war, and whose successful exertions in the sequel to improve the American ordnance and artillery excited the surprise and admiration of the most accomplished officers of Europe. In all the provinces the enlistment of troops was promoted by the operation of the late acts of parliament, which deprived many of the inhabitants of

America of their usual employments and means of subsistence.

The nomination of a commander-in-chief of the American forces was the next, and not the least important measure which demanded from the Congress the united exercise of its wisdom and authority. Its choice (and never was choice more happily directed) fell upon George Washington, whom previous scenes have already introduced to our acquaintance, and whose services, especially in Braddock's campaign, had been always the more fondly appreciated by his countrymen, from the flattering contrast they suggested between British rashness and misconduct, and American skill, foresight, and energy. The deputies of the New England states, less acquainted with the achievements and character of Washington than

the people of the southern provinces, and warmly admiring their own officers, would willingly have conferred this high dignity upon one of them; and Putnam, Ward, and several others were named as candidates; but the partisans of these officers, perceiving that Washington possessed a majority of suffrages, and that his was the name the most widely spread abroad in America, forbore a vain opposition, and promoted the public confidence by uniting to render the election unanimous. [June 15.] Of the other officers who had been proposed, some, though inhabitants, were not natives of America; and some had distinguished themselves by undisguised and headlong zeal for American independence. None of them possessed the ample fortune of Washington, who, in addition to this advantage and to the claim arising from previous services, was a native American; and though a firm friend of American liberty, yet moderate in his relative views and language, and believed still to cherish the hope, or at least the wish, of reconciliation with the parent state. In conferring the supreme command on him, the partisans of conciliation meant to promote a friend, and the partisans of independence hoped to gain one. Nature and fortune had singularly combined to adapt and to designate this individual for the distinguished situations which he now and afterwards attained, and the arduous duties they involved. A long struggle to defend the frontiers of Virginia against continual incursions of the French and Indians,—the command of a clumsy, ill-organized provincial militia, prouder of being free citizens than effective soldiers, and among whom he had to introduce and establish the restraints of discipline,—obliged with minute labour and constant activity to superintend and give impulsion to every department of the service over which he presided, to execute as well as order, to negotiate, conciliate, project, command, and endure;—there could not have been a better preparatory education for the office of commander-in-chief of the motley, ardent, and untrained levies that constituted at present the army of America. His previous functions and exertions, arduous rather than splendid, excited respect without envy, and, combined with the influence of his character and manners, qualified him to exercise command and prepared his countrymen to brook his ascendancy. The language and deportment of this truly great man were in general remarkably exempt from every strain of irregular vehemence and every symptom of indeliberate thought; disclosing an even tenor of steadfast propriety, an austere but graceful simplicity, sound considerate sense and prudence, the gravity of a profound understanding and habitual reflection, and the tranquil grandeur of an elevated soul. Of this moral superiority, as of all human virtue, part was the fruit of wise discipline and resolute self-control; for Washington was naturally passionate and irritable, and had increased the vigour and authority of every better quality of his mind by the conquest and subjection of those rebellious elements of its composition. Calm,

modest, and reserved, yet dignified, intrepid, inflexibly firm, and persevering; indefatigably industrious and methodical; just, yet merciful and humane; frugal and calculating, yet disinterested; circumspect, yet enterprising; serious, virtuous, consistent, temperate, and sincere,—his moral portraiture displays a blended variety of excellence, in which it is difficult to assign a predominant lustre to any particular grace, except perhaps a grave majestic composure. Ever superior to fortune, he enjoyed her smiles with moderation, endured her frowns with serenity, and showed himself alike in victory forbearing, and in defeat undaunted. No danger or difficulty could disturb his equanimity, and no disaster paralyze his energy or dishearten his confidence. The same adverse vicissitude that would have drained an ordinary breast of all its spirit served but to call forth new streams of vigour from Washington's generous soul. His countenance and general aspect corresponded with the impression produced by his character. Fixed, firm, collected, and resolved, yet considerably kind, it seemed composed for dignity and high exploit. A sound believer in the divine doctrines of Christianity, he was punctual and devout in discharging every public and private office of Christian piety. Perhaps there never was another man who trod with more unsullied honour the highest ways of glory, or whose personal character and conduct exercised an influence so powerful and so beneficial on the destiny of a great nation. That he was childless was, considering his situation, a fortunate circumstance, as it obstructed the jealousies that might have impaired the public confidence, and facilitated the disinterested purpose of declining all emolument for his services,—a purpose declared in the modest yet firm and resolute speech in which he accepted the commission now conferred on him by his colleagues in Congress. This assembly assured him that they would support and adhere to him with their lives and fortunes; and, with a studied conformity to the language of the Roman Senate in seasons of public danger, instructed him, in the discharge of the great trust he had received, to make it his especial care *that the liberties of America receive no detriment*. Departing to assume the exercise of his function, [July 2,] Washington found, on his arrival in Massachusetts, that the British army, in two divisions, had intrenched itself on Bunker's Hill and Dorchester Neck, adjoining to Boston, where it was still blockaded by the American forces who occupied both sides of the river Charles. About two months afterwards, General Gage embarked for England, and the command of the British forces devolved on Sir William Howe.





SIEGE OF BOSTON.



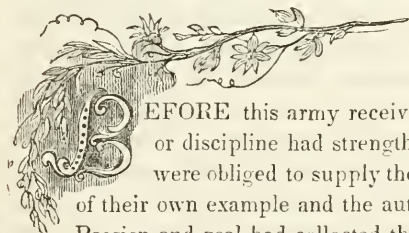
WASHINGTON, on his arrival at the camp, had found (he acknowledged) the materials for a good army, but assembled, rather than combined, and in a state of the crudest composition. Never was a military commander beset by a greater or more perplexing variety of counteractions. The troops having been separately raised by the various provincial governments, no uniformity existed among the regiments. Animated by the spirit of that liberty for which they were preparing to fight, and unaccustomed to discipline, they neither felt the inclination nor appreciated the importance of subjection to military rules. Every one was more forward to advise and to command than to obey,—forgetful that independence must be securely acquired before it can be safely enjoyed, and unaware that liberty, to be gained by battle, must be preceded by submission, nearly mechanical, to the sternest restraint of absolute authority. In many of the regiments the officers had been elected by their troops, whose suffrages too often were gained by a show of enthusiastic confidence which was mistaken for genius and valour, and of furious zeal for American liberty which not less erroneously was supposed the certain test of pure honour, generous virtue, and sound patriotism. In other cases, it proved, that when a regiment was in process of constitution, the men elected only those for officers who consented to throw their pay into a joint stock, from

which all the members of the regimental body, officers, drummers, and privates, drew equal shares. These defects were counterbalanced by the ardent zeal and stubborn resolution of the troops, and the strong persuasion they cherished of the justice and glory of their country's cause. When the last speech of the British monarch to his Parliament was circulated in the camp, it produced a violent burst of universal indignation, and was publicly burned by the soldiers with the strongest demonstrations of contempt and abhorrence. They expunged at the same time from their standards every emblem appropriate to the British crown, and adopted a flag variegated with thirteen coloured stripes, in allusion to the number of the confederated provinces. The difficulty of establishing a due subordination in the American camp was greatly enhanced by the shortness of the terms for which the regiments were enlisted, none of which were to endure for more than a few months. Nor was it long before Washington, in addition to his other embarrassments, made the alarming discovery, that his troops laboured under a deficiency of bayonets, and that all the powder in his possession was barely sufficient to furnish each man with nine cartridges. By the exertion of consummate address, and with a magnanimous sacrifice of his own reputation to his country's interest, he succeeded in concealing these dangerous deficiencies both from the enemy and from the general knowledge of the American people, some of whom, with audacious absurdity and injustice, imputed to him a wilful forbearance to destroy the British forces, for the sake of prolonging his own importance at the head of the American army. Destitute of tents, a great portion of this army was lodged in scattered dwellings, a circumstance unfavourable equally to discipline and to promptitude of operation. There was no commissary-general, and consequently no systematic arrangement for obtaining provisions. A supply of clothes was rendered peculiarly difficult by the effect of the non-importation agreements. There was besides a lack of engineers, and a deficiency of tools for the construction of works. The American States were unaccustomed to combined exertion, which was farther obstructed by the incompact and indefinite frame of the federal league into which their common rage and danger had driven them. Practically independent of the supreme authority of Congress, and little acquainted with each other's condition and resources, the provincial governments respectively indulged too often a narrow jealousy of imposing on their constituents a disproportioned share of the general burdens; and from inexperience, in addition to other causes, their operations were so defective in harmony, that stores of food, clothing, and implements of war, collected for the army, sometimes perished, and were often injuriously detained by neglect of the means of transporting them to their appointed destination.

Washington, happily qualified to endure and overcome difficulties, promptly adopted and patiently pursued the most judicious and effectual

means to organize the troops, to fit them for combined movements and active service, and to introduce and mature arrangements for securing a steady flow of the necessary supplies. Next to these measures, he judged the re-enlistment of the army the most interesting. To this essential object he had early solicited the attention of Congress, who appointed a committee of its members to repair to the military head-quarters at Cambridge, in order to consult with the commander-in-chief and the magistrates of the New England States on the most eligible mode of preserving, supporting, and regulating a continental army. Recruiting orders were issued; but the progress in collecting recruits was not proportioned to the public exigence. Many Americans, firmly attached to the cause of their country, indulged their reluctance to the toil and hardship of military life under the shelter of a fond credulity which still lingered in contemplation of an adjustment of the dispute with Britain without farther bloodshed. At the close of the last year, when all the original troops not engaged on the new establishment were disbanded, there had been enlisted for the army of 1776 little more than nine thousand men. An earnest recommendation of Washington to try the influence of a *bounty* was at length acceded to by the Congress, [January, 1776,] and during the winter the number of recruits was considerably augmented. Soon after his assumption of the supreme command, Washington engaged as his secretary and aid-de-camp, Joseph Reed, a distinguished lawyer in Pennsylvania, and latterly a determined advocate of American independence, who had resigned a lucrative forensic practice at Philadelphia, in order to serve as a volunteer in the continental army in Massachusetts. In his new functions Reed displayed so much valour and ability, that, on the promotion of Gates in the present year to a command directed against the British forces in Canada, he was appointed

to succeed to the post thereby vacated of adjutant-general of the American army.



BEFORE this army received its proper military organization, or discipline had strengthened the hands of the officers, they were obliged to supply their defective power by the influence of their own example and the authority of their personal character. Passion and zeal had collected the first levies of men. But passions spend themselves, and zeal declines, while habits of discipline abide; and though they render the character of an army much less romantic and interesting, they mightily increase its steadiness and vigour as an effective machine. After the first ardour of the American troops was somewhat spent, considerable vices and disorders broke out among them. The virtue, (and it was very great) that still manifested itself in their ranks was the more creditable from its superiority to the contagious influence of evil

example, and as arising purely from natural character and sentiment, and not from that professional sense of honour educated by the habits of civilized schools of war. Great disadvantage has accrued to the reputation of the American troops from the almost intolerable pressure of the distress and privations to which they were exposed; and in some of the works that record their campaigns, the virtue they long exerted in resisting temptations to mutiny and disorder is obscured by the acts of pillage and desertion to which the extremity of suffering did in the end occasionally impel them. Never before had there arisen in the world a war so universally interesting to mankind as the revolutionary warfare between Britain and America. Unlike prior wars, its incidents were instantly recorded by numerous pens and extensively circulated with the minutest detail. Harsh lines and features were thus preserved, which would have escaped or been softened in a more distant survey; and circumstances both melancholy and disgusting, the concomitants of every war, have by many writers and readers been regarded as almost, if not entirely, peculiar to the war of the American Revolution.

The conflicts of Lexington and Bunker's Hill, and other similar encounters that signalized the commencement of hostilities, tended to delude the Americans with very exaggerated notions of the efficacy of their militia, which had been exhibited in situations peculiarly favourable to a force of this description. They entertained a rooted prejudice against troops of the line, and, appreciating the example of Braddock as erroneously as that unfortunate commander had appreciated his own position, they cherished the chimerical hope of organizing every year a new militia force capable of withstanding the attack of a regular army. The prevalence and the dangerous consequences of this delusion were strikingly illustrated by the general panic and consternation that followed the first victories of the disciplined troops of Britain in the close of the present year. It was a more surprising and more honourable trait in the character of the American troops and people, that even in such trying circumstances they were never tempted to withdraw the generous confidence which they reposed in their commanders, but invariably displayed a noble superiority to those mean suspicions of treachery which rage and vanity so readily suggest to nations irritated by reverses after having been intoxicated by success. A numerous party in the Congress, however, continued long to resist the formation of a regular army; and even when this could no longer be avoided, they jealously opposed the measures that were necessary to the improvement of its military habits and discipline. "God forbid," they exclaimed, "that the civic character should be so far lost in the soldiers of our army, that they should cease to long for the enjoyments of domestic happiness. Let frequent furloughs be granted, rather than the endearments of wives and children should cease to allure the individuals of our army from camps to farms."

During the winter, the British troops that occupied Boston, suffered great privations from scarcity of food and of fuel. An armament, which their commander despatched in quest of provisions to Savannah, in Georgia, was opposed by the militia of this province, and, after some sharp encounters, finally repulsed. Washington had hitherto found ample scope for his most strenuous activity within the limits of his own encampment; but desirous now by some grand and important achievement to elevate the spirits of his army and country, he conceived the project of attacking Boston as soon as the circumstances of his situation might seem to justify an effort so critical and adventurous. Towards the middle of February, the coldest portion of the season having begun, and the ice becoming sufficiently firm to support the troops, he was disposed to undertake that enterprise; but deferred it with reluctance in consequence of the almost unanimous disapprobation of his council of war. The effective regular force of the Americans in this quarter now amounted to upwards of fourteen thousand men,—in addition to which, the commander-in-chief called into active service about six thousand of the militia of Massachusetts; and with these forces he determined to take possession of the Heights of Dorchester, whence he would possess the power of inflicting severe annoyance on the British soldiery and shipping in the town and harbour of Boston. By assuming this position, from which an attempt to dislodge him by the enemy was certain, he expected to bring on a general action, during which he intended to cross with a part of his forces from the Cambridge side of the river and attack the town of Boston; counting, doubtless, on being aided by a simultaneous insurrection of the citizens. To conceal his design, by diverting the attention of the British army, a heavy bombardment of their lines was commenced one evening [March 2] and continued during the two following nights. On the third evening, [March 4,] immediately after the firing began, a strong detachment of the American forces under the command of General Thomas, proceeding from Roxbury, took silent possession of Dorchester Heights. The ground was almost impenetrably hard, but the night was mild; and by labouring with great diligence, the troops before morning advanced their works so far as to cover themselves in a great measure from the shot of the enemy. When the British, at break of day, [March 5,] discovered these works, magnified to their view by the intervention of a hazy atmosphere, they were struck with astonishment, and gloomily anticipated a repetition of the carnage of Bunker's Hill. "The rebels have done more in one night," said General Howe, "than my whole army would have done in a month."

Nothing now remained but to abandon the town or instantly to dislodge the Americans from Dorchester Heights. Howe, with more enterprise and energy than usually characterized his military policy, decided to venture an attack; and took measures for the embarkation on the same evening of



SIEGE OF BOSTON.

two thousand chosen troops on this important and hazardous service. The Americans, remarking this demonstration, prepared to abide the encounter with a lively valour, which was inflamed to the utmost eagerness by Washington's seasonable remark to them, that this was the anniversary of the *Boston massacre*, and that the day of vengeance for their slaughtered countrymen had arrived. But the royal troops were hardly embarked in the transports, when a tremendous storm arose, and the fury of the elements, intercepting human strife, rendered the execution of Howe's design impracticable. A British council of war was assembled the next morning, [March 6,] and recommended the evacuation of Boston with all possible speed. Whether from the numerous preparations which were requisite, or from a lingering sentiment of shame in the breast of the British commander some delay occurred before this measure was carried into effect. Meanwhile, the Americans were actively engaged in strengthening and extending their works; and on the morning of the 17th of March, the British discovered a breastwork which had been constructed by their enemies during the night at Nook's Hill, on Dorchester Peninsula, and completely commanded Boston Neck, and the southern quarters of the town. Delay was no longer consistent with safety. A flag of truce was sent by the selectmen of the town to Washington, intimating that Howe was making preparation to retire, and that he was willing to leave the town undamaged, provided his own retreat were unmolested. Washington declined to give any pledge to this

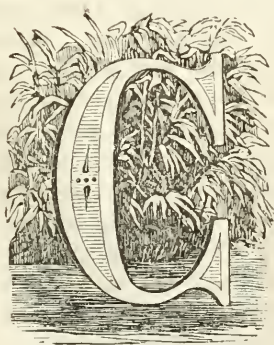
effect, but expressed himself in terms that tranquillized his countrymen and the British commander. At four o'clock the next morning, [March 18,] the discomfited British army, amounting to about ten thousand men, and attended by all the inhabitants of Boston who were attached to the royal cause, began to embark; and in a few hours they were under sail for Halifax, in Nova Scotia. As the British rear-guard embarked, Washington, at the head of his successful forces, marched into Boston, whose remaining inhabitants hailed their deliverance and deliverer with triumphant joy. A considerable quantity of valuable military stores fell into the possession of the victors; and a British vessel, arriving at Boston soon after, with a tardy reinforcement to the fugitive army, was forced to surrender the troops she conveyed as prisoners of war. The American Congress testified their satisfaction with this exploit by a formal resolve, "That thanks be presented to General Washington, and the officers and soldiers under his command, for their wise and spirited conduct in the siege and acquisition of Boston, and that a medal of gold be struck in commemoration of this great event and presented to his Excellency." Shortly after the departure of the British troops from the town, the fortification of its harbour was undertaken and accomplished by the zeal of the people of Boston, and of the neighbouring districts. Many persons (clergymen as well as laymen) aided as volunteers in this important service; and only the poorest of the inhabitants who took a share in it, received wages for their labour.





QUEBEC.

INVASION OF CANADA.



COLONEL ARNOLD having begun his military career with a series of successes, was urged by his native impetuosity to project more extensive operations. He wrote a letter to Congress, strongly urging an expedition into Canada, and offering with two thousand men to reduce the whole province. In his ardent zeal to oppose Great Britain, he had advised the adoption of offensive war, even before Congress had organized an army or appointed a single military officer. His importunity was at last successful, as shall hereafter be related, but not till two months had elapsed subsequent to his first proposition of conducting an expedition against Canada. Such was the increasing fervour of the public mind in 1775, that what, in the

early part of the year, was deemed violent and dangerous, was in its progress pronounced both moderate and expedient.

Sir Guy Carleton, the king's governor in Canada, no sooner heard that the Americans had surprised Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and obtained the command of Lake Champlain, than he planned a scheme for their recovery. Having only a few regular troops under his command, he endeavoured to induce the Canadians and Indians to co-operate with him, but they both declined. He established martial law that he might compel the inhabitants to take arms. They declared themselves ready to defend the province, but refused to march out of it, or to commence hostilities on their neighbours. Colonel Johnston had, on the same occasion, repeated conferences with the Indians, and endeavoured to influence them to take up the hatchet, but they steadily refused. In order to gain their co-operation, he invited them to feast on a Bostonian, and to drink his blood. This, in the Indian style, meant no more than to partake of a roasted ox and a pipe of wine, at a public entertainment, which was given on design to influence them to co-operate with the British troops. The colonial patriots affected to understand it in its literal sense. It furnished, in their mode of explication, a convenient handle for operating on the passions of the people.

These exertions in Canada, which were principally made with a view to recover Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and the command of Lake Champlain, induced Congress to believe that a formidable invasion of their north-western frontier was intended, from that quarter. The evident tendency of the Quebec act favoured this opinion. Believing it to be the fixed purpose of the British ministry to attack the united colonies on that side, they conceived that they would be inexcusable if they neglected the proper means for warding off so terrible a blow. They were also sensible that the only practicable plan to effect this purpose, was to make a vigorous attack upon Canada, while it was unable to resist the unexpected impression. Their success at Ticonderoga and Crown Point had already paved the way for this bold enterprise, and had broken down the fences which guarded the entrance into that province. On the other hand, they were sensible that by taking this step, they changed at once the whole nature of the war. From defensive it became offensive, and subjected them to the imputation of being the aggressors. They were well aware that several who had espoused their cause in Britain, would probably be offended at this measure, and charge them with heightening the mischiefs occasioned by the dispute. They knew that the principles of resistance, as far as they had hitherto acted upon them, were abetted by a considerable party even in Great Britain; and that to forfeit their good opinion, might be of great disservice. Considerations of this kind made them weigh well the important step before they ventured upon it. They, on the other hand, reflected that the eloquence of the minority in parliament, and the petitions and re-

monstrances of the merchants in Great Britain, had produced no solid advantages in their favour; and that they had no chance of relief, but from the smiles of Heaven on their own endeavours. The danger was pressing. War was not only inevitable, but already begun. To wait till they were attacked by a formidable force at their backs, in the very instant when their utmost exertions would be requisite, perhaps insufficient, to protect their cities and seacoast against an invasion from Britain, would be the summit of folly. The laws of war and of nations justified the forestalling of an enemy. The colonists argued that to prevent known hostile intentions, was a matter of self-defence; they were also sensible they had already gone such lengths as could only be vindicated by arms; and that if a certain degree of success did not attend their resistance, they would be at the mercy of an irritated government, and their moderation in the single instance of Canada would be an unavailing plea for indulgence. They were also encouraged to proceed, by certain information that the French inhabitants of Canada, except the noblesse and the clergy, were as much discontented with their present system of government as even the British settlers. It seemed therefore probable, that they would consider the provincials rather as friends than as enemies. The invasion of that province was therefore determined upon, if found practicable, and not disagreeable to the Canadians.

Congress had committed the management of their military arrangements, in this northern department, to General Schuyler and General Montgomery. While the former remained at Albany, to attend an Indian treaty, the latter was sent forward to Ticonderoga, with a body of troops from New York and New England. Soon after reaching Ticonderoga, he made a movement down Lake Champlain. General Schuyler overtook him at Cape la Motte; from thence they moved on to Isle aux Noix. About this time General Schuyler addressed the inhabitants, informing them "that the only views of Congress were to restore to them those rights which every subject of the British empire, of whatever religious sentiments he may be, is entitled to; and that in the execution of these trusts he had received the most positive orders to cherish every Canadian, and every friend to the cause of liberty, and sacredly to guard their property." The Americans, about one thousand in number, effected a landing at St. John's, which being the first British post in Canada, lies only one hundred and fifteen miles to the northward of Ticonderoga. The British piquets were driven into the fort. The environs were then reconnoitred, and the fortifications were found to be much stronger than had been suspected. This induced the calling of a council of war, which recommended a retreat to Isle aux Noix, twelve miles south of St. John's, to throw a boom across the channel, and to erect works for its defence. Soon after this event, an extreme bad state of health induced General Schuyler to retire to Ticonderoga, and the command devolved on General Montgomery.



This enterprising officer in a few days returned to the vicinity of St. John's, and opened a battery against it. Ammunition was so scarce that the siege could not be carried on with any prospect of speedy success. The general detached a small body of troops, to attempt the reduction of Fort Chamblee, only six miles distant. Success attended this enterprise. By its surrender six tons of gunpowder were obtained, which enabled the general to prosecute the

siege of St. John's with vigour. The garrison, though straitened for provisions, persevered in defending themselves with unabated fortitude. While General Montgomery was prosecuting this siege, the governor of the province collected at Montreal about eight hundred men, chiefly militia and Indians. He endeavoured to cross the river St. Lawrence with this force, and land at Lonqueil, intending to proceed thence to attack the besiegers; but Colonel Warner, with three hundred green mountain boys, and a four pounder, prevented the execution of the design. The governor's party was suffered to come near the shore, but was then fired upon with such effect as to make them retire after sustaining great loss.

An account of this affair being communicated to the garrison in St. John's, Major Preston, the commanding officer, surrendered on receiving honourable terms of capitulation. By these it was agreed, that the garrison should march out with the honours of war, that the officers and privates should ground their arms on the plain—the officers keep their side-arms, and their firearms be reserved for them, and that the people of the garrison should retain their effects. About five hundred regulars and a hundred Canadians became prisoners to the provincials. They also acquired thirty-nine pieces of cannon, seven mortars, and two howitzers, and about eight hundred stand of arms. Among the cannon were many brass field-pieces, an article of which the Americans were nearly destitute.

While the siege of St. John's was pending, Colonel Allen, who was returning with about eighty men from a tour on which he had been sent by his general, was captured by the British near Montreal, loaded with irons, and in that condition sent to England. Major Brown proposed that Colonel Allen should return to Lonqueil, procure canoes, and cross the river St. Lawrence, a little to the north of Montreal, while he with a force of about two hundred men crossed a little to the south of it. The former crossed in the night, but the latter by some means failed on his part. Colonel Allen found himself the next morning unsupported, and exposed to immediate danger, but, nevertheless, concluded on maintaining his

ground. General Carleton, knowing his weakness, marched out against him with a superior force. The colonel defended himself with his wonted bravery, but being deserted by several of his party, and having lost fifteen of his men, he was compelled to surrender with the remainder, amounting to thirty-eight.

After the reduction of St. John's, General Montgomery proceeded towards Montreal. The few British forces there, unable to stand their ground, repaired for safety on board the shipping, in hopes of escaping down the river; but they were prevented by Colonel Easton, who was stationed at the point of Sorel river, with a number of continental troops, some cannon, and an armed gondola. General Prescott, who was on board, with several officers, and about a hundred and twenty privates, having no chance of escape, submitted to be prisoners on terms of capitulation. Eleven sail of vessels, with all their contents, consisting of ammunition, provision, and intrenching tools, became the property of the provincials. Governor Carleton was, about this time, conveyed in a boat with muffled paddles, by a secret way to the Three Rivers, and from thence to Quebec in a few days.

When Montreal was evacuated by the troops, the inhabitants applied to General Montgomery for a capitulation. He informed them, that as they were defenceless, they could not expect such a concession; but he engaged upon his honour to maintain the individuals and religious communities of the city, in the peaceable enjoyment of their property, and the free exercise of their religion. In all his transactions, he spoke, wrote, and acted with dignity and propriety, and in particular treated the inhabitants with liberality and politeness.

Montreal, which at this time surrendered to the provincials, carried on an extensive trade, and contained many of those articles, which, from the operation of the resolutions of Congress, could not be imported into any of the united colonies. From these stores the American soldiers, who had hitherto suffered from the want of suitable clothing, obtained a plentiful supply.

General Montgomery, after leaving some troops in Montreal, and sending detachments into different parts of the province to encourage the Canadians, and to forward provisions, advanced towards the capital. His little army arrived with expedition before Quebec. Success had hitherto crowned every attempt of General Montgomery, but, notwithstanding, his situation was very embarrassing.—Much to be pitied is the officer, who having been bred to arms, in the strict discipline of regular armies, is afterwards called to command men who carry with them the spirit of freedom into the field. The greater part of the Americans, officers as well as soldiers, having never seen any service, were ignorant of their duty, and but feebly impressed with the military ideas of union, subordination,

and discipline. The army was continental in name and pay, but in no other respect. Not only the troops of different colonies conceived themselves independent of each other, but, in some instances, the different regiments of the same colony were backward to submit to the orders of officers in a higher grade of another line. They were also soon tired of a military life.—Novelty and the first impulse of passion had led them to camp; but the approaching cold season, together with the fatigues and dangers incident to war, induced a general wish to relinquish the service. Though by the terms of their enlistment, they were to be discharged in a few weeks, they could not brook an absence from their homes for that short space of time. The ideas of liberty and independence, which roused the colonists to oppose the claims of Great Britain, operated against that implicit obedience which is necessary to a well-regulated army.

Even in European states, where long habits have established submission to superiors as a primary duty of the common people, the difficulty of governing recruits, when first led to the field from civil occupations, is great; but to exercise discipline over freemen, accustomed to act only from the impulse of their own minds, required not only a knowledge of human nature, but an accommodating spirit, and a degree of patience which is rarely found among officers of regular armies. The troops under the immediate command of General Montgomery, were, from their usual habits, averse to the ideas of subordination, and had suddenly passed from domestic ease, to the numberless wants and distresses which are incident to marches through strange and desert countries. Every difficulty was increased by the short term for which they were enlisted. To secure the affections of the Canadians, it was necessary for the American general to restrain the appetites, and control the licentiousness of his soldiery, while the appearance of military harshness was dangerous, lest their good will might be forfeited. In this choice of difficulties, the genius of Montgomery surmounted many obstacles. During his short but glorious career, he conducted with so much prudence, as to make it doubtful whether we ought to admire most, the goodness of the man, or the address of the general.

About the same time that Canada was invaded, in the usual route from New York, a considerable detachment from the American army at Cambridge was conducted into that royal province by a new and unexpected passage. Colonel Arnold, who successfully conducted this bold undertaking, thereby acquired the name of the American Hannibal. He was detached [September 13] with a thousand men, from Cambridge, to penetrate into Canada, by ascending the river Kennebeck, and descending by the Chaun-diëre to the river St. Lawrence. Great were the difficulties these troops had to encounter in marching by an unexplored route three hundred miles through an uninhabited country. In ascending the Kennebeck, they were

constantly obliged to work upwards against an impetuous current. They were often compelled, by cataracts or other impediments, to land and to haul their batteaux up rapid streams, and over falls of rivers. Nor was their march by land more eligible than this passage by water. They had deep swamps, thick woods, difficult mountains, and craggy precipices alternatively to encounter. At some places they had to cut their way for miles together through forests, so embarrassed that their progress was only four or five miles a day. The constant fatigue caused many men to fall sick. One-third of the number which set out, were, from want of necessities, obliged to return ; the others proceeded with unabated fortitude and constancy. Provisions grew at length so scarce that some of the men eat their dogs, cartouch-boxes, breeches, and shoes. When they were a hundred miles from any habitation or prospect of a supply, their whole store was divided, which yielded four pints of flour for each man. After they had baked and eaten their last morsel, they had thirty miles to travel before they could expect any farther supply. The men bore up under these complicated distresses with the greatest fortitude. They gloried in the hope of completing a march which would rival the fame of similar expeditions undertaken by the heroes of antiquity. Having spent thirty-one days in traversing a hideous wilderness, without ever seeing any thing human, they at length reached the inhabited parts of Canada. They were there well received, and supplied with every thing necessary for their comfort. The Canadians were struck with amazement when they saw this armed force emerging from the wilderness. It had never entered their conceptions that it was possible for human beings to traverse such immense wilds. The most pointed instructions had been given to this corps, to conciliate the affections of the Canadians. It was particularly enjoined upon them, if the son of Lord Chatham, then an officer in one of the British regiments in that province, should fall into their hands, to treat him with all possible attention, in return for the great exertions of his father in behalf of American liberty. A manifesto subscribed by General Washington, which had been sent from Cambridge with this detachment, was circulated among the inhabitants of Canada. In this they were invited to arrange themselves under the standard of general liberty ; and they were informed that the American army was sent into the province, not to plunder but to protect them.

While General Montgomery lay at Montreal, Colonel Arnold lay at Point Levy, opposite Quebec. [November 8.] Such was the consternation of the garrison and inhabitants at his unexpected appearance, that had not the river intervened, an immediate attack in the first surprise and confusion might have been successful. The bold enterprise of one American army marching through the wilderness, at a time when success was crowning every undertaking of another invading in a

different direction, struck terror into the breasts of those Canadians who were unfriendly to the designs of Congress. The embarrassments of the garrison were increased by the absence of Sir Guy Garleton. That gallant officer, on hearing of Montgomery's invasion, prepared to oppose him in the extremes of the province. While he was collecting a force to attack invaders in one direction, a different corps, emerging out of the depths of an unexplored wilderness, suddenly appeared from another. In a few days after Colonel Arnold had arrived at Point Levy, he crossed the river St. Lawrence, but his chance of succeeding by a coup-de-main was in that short space greatly diminished. The critical moment was past. The panic occasioned by his first appearance had abated, and solid preparations for the defence of the town were adopted. The inhabitants, both English and Canadians, as soon as danger pressed, united for their common defence. Alarmed for their property, they were at their own request, embodied for its security. The sailors were taken from the shipping in the harbour, and put to the batteries on shore. As Colonel Arnold had no artillery, after parading some days on the heights near Quebec, he drew off his troops, intending nothing more until the arrival of Montgomery, than to cut off supplies from entering the garrison.

So favourable were the prospects of the united colonies at this period, that General Montgomery set on foot a regiment of Canadians, to be in the pay of Congress. James Livingston, a native of New York, who had long resided in Canada, was appointed to the command thereof, and several recruits were engaged for the term of twelve months. The inhabitants on both sides of the river St. Lawrence were very friendly. Expresses in the employ of the Americans went without molestation backwards and forwards, between Montreal and Quebec. Many individuals performed signal services in favour of the invading army. Among a considerable number, Mr. Price stands conspicuous, who advanced 5000*l.* in specie, for their use.

Various causes had contributed to attach the inhabitants of Canada, especially those of the inferior classes, to the interest of Congress, and to alienate their affections from the government of Great Britain. The contest was for liberty, and there is something in that sound, captivating to the mind of man in a state of original simplicity. It was for the colonies, and Canada was also a colony. The objects of the war were therefore supposed to be for their common advantage. The form of government lately imposed on them by act of parliament, was far from being so free as the constitutions of the other colonies, and was in many respects particularly oppressive. The common people had no representative share in enacting the laws by which they were to be governed, and were subjected to the arbitrary will of persons, over whom they had no constitutional control. Distinctions so degrading were not unobserved by the native Cana-

dians, but were more obvious to those who had known the privileges enjoyed in the neighbouring provinces. Several individuals educated in New England and New York, with the high ideas of liberty inspired by their free constitutions, had in the interval between the peace of Paris, 1763, and the commencement of the American war, migrated into Canada. Such sensibly felt the difference between the governments they had left, and the arbitrary constitution imposed on them, and, both from principle and affection, earnestly persuaded the Canadians to make a common cause with the united colonies.

Though motives of this kind induced the peasantry of the country to espouse the interest of Congress, yet sundry individuals, and some whole orders of men, threw the weight of their influence into the opposite scale. The legal privileges which the Roman Catholic clergy enjoyed made them averse to a change, lest they should be endangered by a more intimate connection with their Protestant neighbours. They used their influence in the next world, as an engine to operate on the movements of the present. They refused absolution to such of their flocks as abetted the Americans. This interdiction of the joys of heaven, by those who were supposed to hold the keys of it, operated powerfully on the opinions and practices of the superstitious multitude. The seigneurs had also immunities unknown in the other colonies. Such is the fondness for power in every human breast, that revolutions are rarely favoured by any order of men who have reason to apprehend that their future situation will, in case of a change, be less pre-eminent than before. The sagacious General Montgomery, no less a man of the world than an officer, discovered great address in accommodating himself to these clashing interests. Though he knew the part the popish clergy had acted in opposition to him, yet he conducted towards them as if totally ignorant of the matter; and treated them and their religion with great respect and attention. As far as he was authorized to promise, he engaged that their ecclesiastical property should be secured, and the free exercise of their religion continued. To all he held forth the flattering idea of calling a convention of representatives, freely chosen, to institute by its own will such a form of government as they approved. While the great mind of this illustrious man was meditating schemes of liberty and happiness, a military force was collecting and training to oppose him, which in a short time put a period to his valuable life.

At the time the Americans were before Montreal, General Carleton, as has been related, escaped through their hands and got safe to Quebec. His presence was itself a garrison. The confidence reposed in his talents inspired the men under his command to make the most determined resistance. Soon after his arrival, he issued a proclamation, setting forth: "That all persons liable to do militia duty, and residing in Quebec, who refused to arm in conjunction with the royal army, should in four days quit



GENERAL CARLETON.

Quebec with their families, and withdraw themselves from the limits of the district by the first of December. on pain of being treated afterwards as spies or rebels." All who were unwilling to co-operate with the British army being thus disposed of, the remaining inhabitants, though unused to arms, became in a little time so far acquainted with them as to be very useful in defending the town. They supported fatigues and submitted to command with a patience and cheerfulness that could not be exceeded by men familiarized to the hardships and subordination of a military life.

General Montgomery having effected, at Point aux Trembles, a junction with Colonel Arnold, commenced the siege of Quebec. Upon his arrival before the town, he wrote a letter to the British governor, recommending an immediate surrender, to prevent the dreadful consequences of a storm. Though the flag which conveyed this letter was fired upon, and all communication refused, General Montgomery found other means to convey a letter of the same tenor into the garrison, but the inflexible firmness of the governor could not be moved either by threats or dangers. The Americans

soon after commenced a bombardment with five small mortars, but with very little effect. In a few days General Montgomery opened a six-gun battery, at the distance of seven hundred yards from the walls, but his metal was too light to make any impression.

The news of General Montgomery's success in Canada had filled the colonies with expectations that the conquest of Quebec would soon add fresh lustre to his already brilliant fame. He knew well the consequences of popular disappointment, and was besides of opinion that unless something decisive was immediately done, the benefit of his previous acquisitions would in a great degree be lost to the American cause. On both accounts, he was strongly impelled to make every exertion for satisfying the expectations and promoting the interest of a people, who had honoured him with so great a share of their confidence. The government of Great Britain, in the extensive province of Canada, was at that time reduced to the single town of Quebec. The astonished world saw peaceable colonists suddenly transformed into soldiers, and these marching through unexplored wildernesses, and extending themselves by conquests, in the first moment after they had assumed the profession of arms. Towards the end of the year, the tide of fortune began to turn. Dissensions broke out between Colonel Arnold and some of his officers, threatening the annihilation of discipline. The continental currency had no circulation in Canada, and all the hard money furnished for the expedition was nearly expended. Difficulties of every kind were daily increasing. The extremities of fatigue were constantly to be encountered. The American general had not a sufficient number of men to make the proper reliefs in the daily labours they underwent; and that inconsiderable number, worn down with toil, was constantly exposed to the severities of a Canada winter. The period for which a great part of his men had enlisted, being on the point of expiration, he apprehended that they who were entitled to it would insist on their discharge. On the other hand, he saw no prospect of staggering the resolution of the garrison. They were well supplied with every thing necessary for their defence, and were daily acquiring additional firmness. The extremity of winter was fast approaching. From these combined circumstances, General Montgomery was impressed with a conviction, that the siege should either be raised, or brought to a summary termination. To storm the place was the only feasible method of effecting the latter purpose. But this was an undertaking, in which success was but barely possible. Great minds are seldom exact calculators of danger. Nor do they minutely attend to the difficulties which obstruct the attainment of their objects. Fortune, in contempt of the pride of man, has ever had an influence in the success or failure of military enterprises. Some of the greatest achievements, of that kind, have owed their success to a noble contempt of common forms.

The upper part of Quebec was surrounded with very strong works, and the access from the lower town was excessively difficult, from its almost perpendicular steepness. General Montgomery, from a native intrepidity, and an ardent thirst for glory, overlooked all these dangers, and resolved at once either to carry the place or perish in the attempt. Trusting much to his good fortune—confiding in the bravery of his troops, and their readiness to follow whithersoever he should lead—and depending somewhat on the extensiveness of the works, he determined to attempt the town by escalade.

The garrison of Quebec at this time consisted of about fifteen hundred and twenty men, of which eight hundred were militia, and four hundred and fifty were seamen, belonging to the king's frigates, or merchant ships in the harbour. The rest were marines, regulars, or Colonel Maclean's new raised emigrants. The American army consisted of about eight hundred men. Some had been left at Montreal, and near a third of Arnold's detachment, as has been related, had returned to Cambridge.

General Montgomery having divided this little force into four detachments, ordered two feints to be made against the upper town, one by Colonel Livingston, at the head of the Canadians, against St. John's Gate; and the other by Major Brown, against Cape Diamond, reserving to himself and Colonel Arnold the two principal attacks against the lower town. At five o'clock in the morning, [December 31,] General Montgomery advanced against the lower town. He passed the first barrier, and was just opening to attack the second, when he was killed, together with his aide-de-camp, Captain John McPherson, Captain Cheesman, and some others. This so dispirited the men, that Colonel Campbell, on whom the command devolved, thought proper to draw them off. In the mean time Colonel Arnold, at the head of about three hundred and fifty men, passed through St. Roques, and approached near a two-gun battery, without being discovered. This he attacked, and though it was well defended, carried it, but with considerable loss. In this attack Colonel Arnold received a wound, which made it necessary to carry him off the field of battle. His party, nevertheless, continued the assault, and, pushing on, made themselves masters of a second barrier. These brave men sustained the force of the whole garrison for three hours, but, finding themselves hemmed in, and without hopes either of success, relief, or retreat, they yielded to numbers, and the advantageous situation of their adversaries. The loss of the Americans in killed and wounded was about a hundred, and three hundred were taken prisoners. Among the slain were Captain Kendricks, Lieutenant Humphries, and Lieutenant Cooper. The behaviour of the provincial troops was such as might have silenced those who had reproached them for being deficient in courage. The most experienced veterans could not have exceeded the firmness they displayed in their last

attack. The issue of this assault relieved the garrison of Quebec from all apprehensions for its safety. The provincials were so much weakened, as to be scarcely equal to their own defence. However, Colonel Arnold had the boldness to encamp within three miles of the town, and had the address, even with his reduced numbers, to impede the conveyance of refreshments and provisions into the garrison. His situation was extremely difficult. He was at an immense distance from those parts where effectual assistance could be expected. On his first entrance into the province, he had experienced much kind treatment from the inhabitants. The Canadians, besides being fickle in their resolutions, are apt to be biased by success. Their disposition to aid the Americans became, therefore, daily more precarious. It was even difficult to keep the provincial troops from returning to their respective homes. Their sufferings were great. While their adversaries were comfortably housed in Quebec, they were exposed in the open air to the extreme rigour of the season. The severity of a Canada winter was far beyond any thing with which they were acquainted. The snow lay above four feet deep on a level.

This deliverance of Quebec may be considered as a proof of how much may be done by one man for the preservation of a country. It also proves that soldiers may in a short time be formed out of the mass of citizens.

The conflict being over, the ill will that had subsisted, during the siege, between the royal and provincial troops, gave way to sentiments of humanity. The Americans who surrendered were treated with kindness. Ample provisions were made for their wounded, and no unnecessary severity shown to any. Few men have ever fallen in battle, so much regretted, by both sides, as General Montgomery. His many amiable qualities had procured him an uncommon share of private affection, and his great abilities an equal proportion of public esteem. Being a sincere lover of liberty, he had engaged in the American cause from principle, and quitted the enjoyment of an easy fortune and the highest domestic felicity, to take an active share in the fatigues and dangers of a war, instituted for the defence of the community of which he was an adopted member. His well-known character was almost equally esteemed by the friends and foes of the side which he had espoused. In America he was celebrated as a martyr to the liberties of mankind; in Great Britain as a misguided good man, sacrificing to what he supposed to be the rights of his country. His name was mentioned in parliament with singular respect. Some of the most powerful speakers in that illustrious assembly displayed their eloquence in sounding his praise and lamenting his fate. Those in particular who had been his fellow-soldiers in the late war, expatiated on his many virtues. The minister himself acknowledged his worth while he reprobated the cause for which he fell. He concluded an

involuntary panegyric, by saying, "Curse on his virtues, they have undone his country."

Though the invasion of Canada was finally unsuccessful, yet the advantages which the Americans gained in the months of September and October, gave fresh spirits to their army and people. The boldness of the enterprise might have taught Great Britain the folly of persisting in the design of subjugating America. But instead of preserving the union, and restoring the peace of the empire by repealing a few of her laws, she, from mistaken dignity, resolved on a more vigorous prosecution of the war.

The tide of good fortune, which in the autumn of 1775 flowed in upon General Montgomery, induced Congress to reinforce the army under his command. Chamblee, St. John's, and Montreal having surrendered to the Americans, a fair prospect opened of expelling the British from Canada, and of annexing that province to the united colonies. While they were in imagination anticipating these events, the army in which they confided was defeated, and the general whom they adored was killed. The intelligence transmitted from General Montgomery, previous to his assault on Quebec, encouraged Congress to resolve that nine battalions should be kept up and maintained in Canada. The repulse of their army, though discouraging, did not extinguish the ardour of the Americans. It was no sooner known, at head-quarters in Cambridge, than General Washington convened a council of war, by which it was resolved, "That as no troops could be spared from Cambridge, the colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Hampshire, should be requested to raise three regiments and forward them to Canada. Congress also resolved to forward the reinforcements previously voted, and to raise four battalions in New York, for the defence of that colony, and to garrison Crown Point, and the several posts to the southward of that fortress. That the army might be supplied with blankets for this winter expedition, a committee was appointed to procure from householders, such as could be spared from their families. To obtain a supply of hard money for the use of the army in Canada, proper persons were employed to exchange paper money for specie. Such was the enthusiasm of the times that many thousand Mexican dollars were freely exchanged at par, by individuals, for the paper bills of Congress. It was also resolved to raise a corps of artillery for this service, and to take into the pay of the colonies one thousand Canadians, in addition to Colonel Livingston's regiment. Moses Hazen, a native of Massachusetts, who had resided many years in Canada, was appointed to the command of this new corps.

Congress addressed a letter to the Canadians in which they observed, "Such is the lot of human nature, that the best of causes are subject to vicissitudes; but generous souls, enlightened and warmed with the fire of liberty, become more resolute as difficulties increase." They stated to

them, "that eight battalions were raising to proceed to their province, and that if more force was necessary it should be sent." They requested them to seize with eagerness the favourable opportunity then offered to co-operate in the present glorious enterprise, and they advised them to establish associations in their different parishes, to elect deputies for forming a provincial assembly, and for representing them in Congress.

The cause of the Americans had received such powerful aid from many patriotic publications in their gazettes, and from the fervent exhortations of popular preachers, connecting the cause of liberty with the animating principles of religion, that it was determined to employ these two powerful instruments of revolution, printing and preaching, to operate on the minds of the Canadians. A complete apparatus for printing, together with a printer and a clergyman, were therefore sent into Canada.

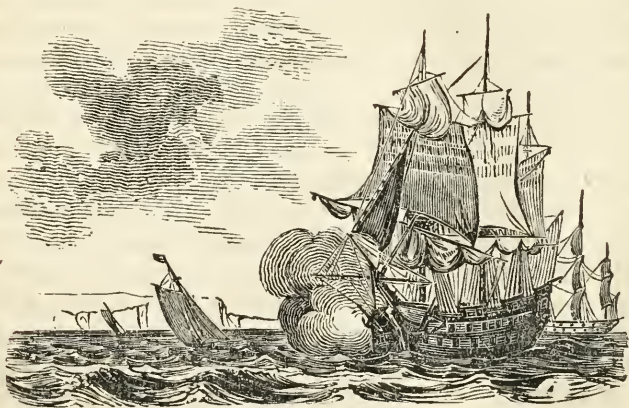
Congress also appointed Dr. Franklin, Mr. Chase and Mr. Carroll, the two first of whom were members of their body, and the last a respectable gentleman of the Roman Catholic persuasion, to proceed to Canada, with the view of gaining over the people of that colony to the cause of America, and authorized them to promise on behalf of the united colonies, that Canada should be received into their association on equal terms, and also that the inhabitants thereof should enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and the peaceable possession of all their ecclesiastical property.

The desire of effecting something decisive in Canada, before the approaching spring would permit relief to ascend the river St. Lawrence, added to the enthusiasm of the day, encountered difficulties, which, in less animated times, would be reckoned insurmountable. Arthur St. Clair, who was appointed colonel of one of the Pennsylvania regiments, received his recruiting orders on the 10th of January, and notwithstanding the shortness of the period, his regiment was not only raised, but six companies of it had, in this extreme cold season, completed their march from Pennsylvania to Canada, a distance of several hundred miles, and on the eleventh of April following, joined the American army before Quebec.

Though Congress and the states made great exertions to support the war in Canada, yet from the fall of Montgomery their interest in that colony daily declined. The reduction of Quebec was an object to which their resources were inadequate. Their unsuccessful assault on Quebec made an impression both on the Canadians and Indians unfavourable to their views. A woman infected with the small-pox had either been sent out, or voluntarily came out of Quebec, and by mixing with the American soldiers propagated that scourge of the new world, to the great diminution of the effective force of their army. The soldiers inoculated themselves, though their officers issued positive orders to the contrary. By the first of May so many new troops had arrived that the American army, in name, amounted to three thousand, but from the prevalence

of the small-pox there were only nine hundred fit for duty. The increasing number of invalids retarded their military operations, and discouraged their friends, while the opposite party was buoyed up with the expectation that the advancing season would soon bring them relief. To these causes of the declining interest of Congress, it must be added that the affections of the Canadians were alienated. They had many and well-founded complaints against the American soldiers. Unrestrained by the terror of civil law and refusing obedience to a military code, the hope of impunity and the love of plunder, led many of the invading army to practices not less disgraceful to themselves, than injurious to the cause in which they had taken arms. Not only the common soldiers but the officers of the American army deviated, in their intercourse with the Canadians, from the maxims of sound policy. Several of them having been lately taken from obscure life were giddy with their exaltation. Far from home, they were unawed by those checks which commonly restrain the ferocity of man.

The reduction of Chamblee, St. John's, and Montreal, together with the exposed situation of Quebec, being known in England, measures were without delay adopted by the British ministry to introduce into Canada, as soon as possible, a force sufficient for the double purpose of recovering what they had lost, and of prosecuting offensive operations from that quarter against the revolted colonies. [May 5.] The van of this force made good its passage, very early in the spring, through the ice up the river St. Lawrence. The expectation of their coming had for some time damped the hopes of the besiegers, and had induced them to think of a retreat. The day before the first of the British reinforcements arrived, that measure was resolved upon by a council of war, and arrangements were made for carrying it into execution.



Governor Carleton was too great a proficient in the art of war, to delay seizing the advantages which the consternation of the besiegers, and the arrival of a reinforcement afforded. A small detachment of soldiers and marines from the ships which had just ascended the river St. Lawrence, being landed and joined to the garrison in Quebec, he marched out at their head to attack the Americans. On his approach, he found every thing in confusion. The late besiegers abandoning their artillery and military stores, had in great precipitation retreated. In this manner, at the expiration of five months, the mixed siege and blockade of Quebec was raised. The fortitude and perseverance of the garrison reflected honour on both officers and privates.

The reputation acquired by General Carleton in his military character, for bravely and judiciously defending the province committed to his care, was exceeded by the superior applause, merited from his exercise of the virtues of humanity and generosity. Among the numerous sick in the American hospitals, several incapable of being moved were left behind. The victorious general proved himself worthy of success by his treatment of these unfortunate men; he not only fed and clothed them, but permitted them when recovered to return home. Apprehending that fear might make some conceal themselves in the woods, rather than by applying for relief make themselves known, he removed their doubts by a proclamation, [May 10,] in which he engaged, "that as soon as their health was restored, they should have free liberty of returning to their respective provinces." This humane line of conduct was more injurious to the views of the leaders in the American councils, than the severity practised by other British commanders. The truly politic, as well as humane, General Carleton, dismissed these prisoners, after liberally supplying their wants, with a recommendation "to go home, mind their farms, and keep themselves and their neighbours from all participation in the unhappy war."

The small force which arrived at Quebec early in May, was followed by several British regiments, together with the Brunswick troops, in such a rapid succession, that in a few weeks the whole was estimated at 13,000 men.

The Americans retreated forty-five miles before they stopped. After a short halt, they proceeded to the Sorel, at which place they threw up some slight works for their safety. They were there joined by some battalions coming to reinforce them. About this time General Thomas, the commander-in-chief in Canada, was seized with the small-pox and died; having forbidden his men to inoculate, he conformed to his own rule, and refused to avail himself of that precaution. On his death, the command devolved at first on General Arnold, and afterwards on General Sullivan. It soon became evident, that the Americans must abandon the whole province of Canada.

From a desire to do something which might counter-balance, in the minds of the Canadians, the unfavourable impression which this farther retreat would communicate, General Thomson projected an attack on the British post at the Three Rivers. This lies about half-way between Quebec and Montreal, and is so called from the vicinity of one of the branches of a large river, whose waters are discharged through three mouths into the St. Lawrence. With this view a detachment of six hundred men was put under the command of Colonel St. Clair. At their head he advanced to the village of Nicolette. When every thing was ready for the enterprise, intelligence was received that six transports escorted by two frigates from Quebec had arrived and brought a large addition to the late force at the Three Rivers. This caused some new movements, and a delay till more troops could be brought forward. General Thomson then came on with a reinforcement and took the command of the whole. It was determined to make the proposed attack in four different places at the same time. One division, commanded by Colonel Wayne, was to gain the eastern extremity of the town. One, commanded by Colonel Maxwell, was to enter from the northward about the centre, and the other two divisions, commanded by Colonels St. Clair and Irvine, were to enter from the westward. The whole having embarked at midnight, landed at the Point du Lac, about three hours before day. At some distance from this point, there are two ways of approaching Three Rivers, one by a road that leads along the banks of the St. Lawrence, the other by a road almost parallel, but at a considerable distance. It had been determined to advance on the last. Intelligence was brought to General Thomson, soon after his landing, that a party of three or four hundred men were posted at three miles' distance. The troops were instantly put in motion to dislodge them. The intelligence proved to be false, but it had carried the detachment some distance beyond the point where the roads separated. To have returned, would have consumed time that could not be spared, as the day was fast approaching. It was therefore resolved to proceed in a diagonal direction towards the road they had left. After being much retarded by very difficult grounds, they arrived at a morass which seemed impassable. Here the day broke, when they were six miles from their object. General Thomson, suspecting the fidelity of his guides, put them under arrest, reversed the order of his march, and again reached the road by the river. He had advanced but a small distance before he was fired upon by two armed vessels. All expectation of succeeding by surprise was now at an end. It was therefore instantly determined to make an open attack. The sun was rising. The drums were ordered to beat, and the troops moved on with the greatest alacrity. Having advanced three miles farther, the ships of war began to fire on them. The American officer who led the advance, struck into a road on the left, which also led to the town, and was covered

from the fire of the ships. This last road was circuitous, and led through a vast tract of woodland, at that season almost impassable. He nevertheless entered the wood, and the rest of the detachment followed. After incredible labour, and wading a rivulet breast-deep, they gained the open country north of the village. A party of the British were soon discovered about a mile to the left of the Americans, and between them and the town. Colonel Wayne, ardent for action, immediately attacked them. The onset was gallant and vigorous, but the contest was unequal. The Americans were soon repulsed and forced to retreat. In the beginning of the action General Thomson left the main body of his corps to join that which was engaged. The woods were so thick, that it was difficult for any person in motion, after losing sight of an object, to recover it. The general therefore never found his way back. The situation of Colonel St. Clair, the next in command, became embarrassing. In his opinion a retreat was necessary, but not knowing the precise situation of his superior officer, and every moment expecting his return, he declined giving orders for that purpose. At last when the British were discovered on the river road, advancing in a direction to gain the rear of the Americans, Colonel St. Clair, in the absence of General Thomson, ordered a retreat. This was made by treading back their steps through the same dismal swamp by which they had advanced. The British marched directly for the Point du Lac, with the expectation of securing the American batteaux. On their approach, Major Wood, in whose care they had been left, retired with them to the Sorel. At the Point du Lac, the British halted and took a very advantageous position. As soon as it was discovered that the Americans had retired, a party of the British pursued them. When the former arrived near the place of their embarkation, they found a large party of their enemies posted in their front, at the same time that another was only three-quarters of a mile in their rear. Here was a new and trying dilemma, and but little time left for consideration. There was an immediate necessity, either to lay down their arms, or attempt by a sudden march to turn the party in front and get into the country beyond it. The last was thought practicable. Colonel St. Clair having some knowledge of the country from his having served in it in the preceding war, gave them a route by the Acadian village, where the river de Loups is fordable. They had not advanced far when Colonel St. Clair found himself unable to proceed, from a wound, occasioned by a root which had penetrated through his shoe. His men offered to carry him, but this generous proposal was declined. He, and two or three officers, who, having been worn down with fatigue, remained behind with him, found an asylum under cover of a large tree which had been blown up by the roots. They had not been long in this situation when they heard a firing from the British in almost all directions. They nevertheless lay still, and in the night stole off from the midst of surrounding foes.

They were now pressed with the importunate cravings of hunger, for they were entering on the third day without food. After wandering for some time, they accidentally found some peasants, who entertained them with great hospitality. In a few days they joined the army at Sorel, and had the satisfaction to find that the greatest part of the detachment had arrived safe before them. In their way through the country, although they might in almost every step of it have been made prisoners, and had reason to fear that the inhabitants, from the prospect of reward, would have been tempted to take them, yet they met with neither injury nor insult. General Thomson was not so fortunate. After having lost the troops, and falling in with Colonel Irwine, and some other officers, they wandered the whole night in thick swamps, without being able to find their way out. Failing in their attempts to gain the river, they had taken refuge in a house, and were there made prisoners.

The British forces having arrived, and a considerable body of them having rendezvoused at the Three Rivers, a serious pursuit of the American army commenced. Had Sir Guy Carleton taken no pains to cut off their retreat, and at once attacked their post, or rather their fortified camp at Sorel, it would probably have fallen into his hands; but either the bold, though unsuccessful attack at the Three Rivers, had taught him to respect them, or he wished to reduce them without bloodshed. In the pursuit he made three divisions of his army, and arranged them so as to embrace the whole American encampment, and to command it in every part. The retreat was delayed so long that the Americans evacuated Sorel, only about two hours before one division of the British made its appearance.

While the Americans were retreating, they were daily assailed by the remonstrances of the inhabitants of Canada, who had either joined or befriended them. Great numbers of Canadians had taken a decided part in their favour, rendered them essential services, and thereby incurred the heavy penalties annexed to the crime of supporting rebellion. These, though Congress had assured them, but a few months before, "that they would never abandon them to the fury of their common enemies," were, from the necessity of the case, left exposed to the resentment of their provincial rulers. Several of them, with tears in their eyes, expostulated with the retreating army, and, bewailing their hard fate, prayed for support. The only relief the Americans could offer, was an assurance of continued protection, if they retreated with them, but this was a hard alternative to men who had wives, children, and immovable effects. They generally concluded, that it was the least of two evils to cast themselves on the mercy of that government against which they had offended.

The distresses of the retreating army were great. The British were close on their rear, and threatening them with destruction. The unfurnished state of the colonies in point of ordnance imposed a necessity of

preserving their cannon. The men were obliged to drag their loaded batteaux up the rapids by mere strength, and when they were to the middle in water. The retreating army was also encumbered with great numbers labouring under the small-pox and other diseases. Two regiments, at one time, had not a single man in health. Another had only six, and a fourth only forty, and two more were in nearly the same condition.



To retreat in face of an enemy is at all times hazardous; but on this occasion it was attended with an unusual proportion of embarrassments. General Sullivan, who conducted the retreat, nevertheless acted with so much judgment and propriety, that the baggage and public stores were saved, and the numerous sick brought off. The American army reached Crown Point on the first of July, and at that place made their first stand.

A short time before the Americans evacuated the province of Canada, General Arnold convened the merchants of Montreal, and proposed to them to furnish a quantity of specified articles, for the use of the army in the service of Congress. While they were deliberating on the subject, he placed sentinels at their shop doors, and made such arrangements, that what was at first only a request, operated as a command. A great quantity of goods were taken on pretence that they were wanted for the use of the American army, but in their number were many articles only serviceable to women, and to persons in civil life. His nephew soon after opened a store in Albany, and publicly disposed of goods which had been procured at Montreal.

The possession of Canada so eminently favoured the plans of defence adopted by Congress, that the province was evacuated with great reluctance. The Americans were not only mortified at the disappointment of their favourite scheme, of annexing it as a fourteenth link in the chain of their confederacy, but apprehended the most serious consequences from the ascending of the British power in that quarter. Anxious to preserve a footing there, they had persevered for a long time in stemming the tide of unfavourable events.

General Gates was, about this time, [June 17,] appointed to command in Canada, but on coming to the knowledge of the late events in that province, he concluded to stop short within the limits of New York. The scene was henceforth reversed. Instead of meditating the re-commencement of offensive operations, that army which had lately excited so much terror in Canada, was called upon to be prepared for repelling an invasion threatened from that province.

The attention of the Americans being exclusively fixed on plans of defence, their general officers commanding in the northern department were convened to deliberate on the place and means most suitable for that purpose. To form a judgment on this subject, a recollection of the events of the late war between France and England was of advantage. The same ground was to be fought over, and the same posts to be again contended for. On the confines of Lake George and Lake Champlain, two inland seas which stretch almost from the sources of Hudson's river to the St. Lawrence, are situated the famous posts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. These are of primary necessity to any power which contends for the possession of the adjacent country, for they afford the most convenient stand either for its annoyance or defence. In the opinion of some American officers, Crown Point, to which the army on the evacuation of Canada had retreated, was the most proper place for erecting works of defence, but it was otherwise determined by the council convened on this occasion. It was also, by their advice, resolved to move lower down, and to make the principal work on the strong ground east of Ticonderoga, and especially, by every means, to endeavour to maintain a naval superiority in Lake Champlain. In conformity to these resolutions, General Gates, with about twelve thousand men which had been collected in the course of the summer, was fixed in command of Ticonderoga, and a fleet was constructed at Skenesborough. This was carried on with so much rapidity, that in a short time there were afloat in Lake Champlain, [August 22,] one sloop, three schooners, and six gondolas, carrying in the whole, fifty-eight guns, eighty-six swivels, and four hundred and forty men. Six other vessels were also nearly ready for launching at the same time. The fleet was put under the command of General Arnold, and he was instructed by General Gates to proceed beyond Crown Point, down Lake Champlain, to the Split Rock; but most peremptorily restrained from advancing any farther, as security against an apprehended invasion was the ultimate end of the armament.

The expulsion of the American invaders from Canada was but a part of the British designs in that quarter. They urged the pursuit no farther than St. John's, but indulged the hope of being soon in a condition for passing the lakes, and penetrating through the country to Albany, so as to form a communication with New York. The objects they had in view were great, and the obstacles in the way of their accomplishment equally so. Before they could advance with any prospect of success, a fleet superior to that of the Americans on the lakes was to be constructed. The materials of some large vessels were, for this purpose, brought from England, but their transportation, and the labour necessary to put them together, required both time and patience. The spirit of the British commanders rose in proportion to the difficulties which were to be encoun-

tered. Nevertheless it was so late as the month of October, before their fleet was prepared to face the American naval force, on Lake Champlain. The former consisted of the ship *Inflexible*, mounting eighteen twelve-pounders, which was so expeditiously constructed, that she sailed from St. John's twenty-eight days after laying her keel; one schooner mounting fourteen and another twelve six-pounders. A flat-bottomed radeau carrying six twenty-four and six twelve-pounders, besides howitzers, and a gondola with seven nine-pounders. There were also twenty smaller vessels with brass field-pieces, from nine to twenty-four pounders, or with howitzers. Some long boats were furnished in the same manner. An equal number of large boats acted as tenders. Besides these vessels of war, there was a vast number destined for the transportation of the army, its stores, artillery, baggage and provisions. The whole was put under the command of Captain Pringle. The naval force of the Americans, from the deficiency of means, was far short of what was brought against them. Their principal armed vessel was a schooner, which mounted only twelve six and four-pounders, and their whole fleet in addition to this consisted of only fifteen vessels of inferior force.

No one step could be taken towards accomplishing the designs of the British, on the northern frontiers of New York, till they had the command of Lake Champlain. With this view their fleet proceeded up the lake, and engaged the Americans. [Oct. 11.] The wind was so unfavourable to the British, that their ship *Inflexible*, and some other vessel of force, could not be brought to action. This lessened the inequality between the contending fleets so much, that the principal damage sustained by the Americans, was the loss of a schooner and gondola. At the approach of night the action was discontinued. The vanquished took the advantage which the darkness afforded, to make their escape. This was effected by General Arnold, with great judgment and ability. By the next morning the whole fleet under his command was out of sight. The British pursued with all the sail they could crowd. The wind having become more favourable, they overtook the Americans, and brought them to action near Crown Point. [Oct. 13.] A smart engagement ensued, and was well supported on both sides for about two hours. Some of the American vessels which were most ahead escaped to Ticonderoga. Two galleys and five gondolas remained and resisted an unequal force, with a spirit approaching to desperation. One of the galleys struck and was taken. General Arnold, though he knew that to escape was impossible, and to resist unavailing, yet instead of surrendering, determined that his people should not become prisoners, nor his vessels a reinforcement to the British. This spirited resolution was executed with a judgment equal to the boldness with which it had been adopted. He ran the Congress galley, on board of which he was, together with the five gondolas, on shore, in such a position, as enabled him to land his men and

blow up the vessels. In the execution of this perilous enterprise, he paid a romantic attention to a point of honour. He did not quit his own galley till she was in flames, lest the British should board her, and strike his flag. The result of this action, though unfavourable to the Americans, raised the reputation of General Arnold higher than ever. In addition to the fame of a brave soldier, he acquired that of an able sea-officer.

The American naval force being nearly destroyed, the British had undisputed possession of Lake Champlain. On this event a few continental troops, which had been at Crown Point, retired to their main body at Ticonderoga. General Carleton took possession of the ground from which they had retreated, and was there soon joined by his army. He sent out several reconnoitering parties, and at one time pushed forward a strong detachment on both sides of the lake, which approached near to Ticonderoga. Some British vessels appeared at the same time, within cannon shot of the American works at that place. It is probable he had it in contemplation, if circumstances favoured, to reduce the post, and that the apparent strength of the works restrained him from making the attempt, and induced his return to Canada.

Such was the termination of the northern campaign in 1776. Though after the surrender of Montreal, evacuations, defeats, and retreats, had almost uninterruptedly been the portion of the Americans, yet with respect to the great object of defence on the one side, and of conquest on the other, a whole campaign was gained to them and lost to their adversaries.

The British had cleared Canada of its invaders, and destroyed the American fleet on the lakes, yet, from impediments thrown in their way, they failed in their ulterior designs. The delays contrived by General Gates retarded the British for so great a part of the summer, that by the time they had reached Ticonderoga, their retreat on account of the approaching winter became immediately necessary. On the part of the Americans some men and a few armed vessels were lost, but time was gained, their army saved, and the frontier of the adjacent states secured from a projected invasion. On the part of the British, the object of a campaign, in which thirteen thousand men were employed, and near a million of money expended, was rendered in a great measure abortive.





ADMIRAL PARKER.

BRITISH ATTACK UPON CHARLESTON.



ARLIAMENTARY sanction for carrying on the war against the colonists, as against alien enemies, being obtained, it became necessary to fix on a commander of the royal forces to be employed on this occasion. This, as a matter of right, was, in the first instance, offered to General Oglethorpe, as being the first on the list of general officers.

To the surprise of the minister, that respectable veteran readily accepted the command, on condition of his being properly supported. A numerous well-appointed army and a powerful fleet were promised him,

to which he replied, "I will undertake the business without a man or a ship of war, provided you will authorize me to assure the colonists on my arrival among them, that you will do them justice." He added farther, "I know the people of America well, and am satisfied, that his majesty has not, in any part of his dominions, more obedient or more loyal subjects. You may secure their obedience by doing them justice, but you will never subdue them by force of arms." These opinions, so favourable to the Americans, proved General Oglethorpe to be an improper person for the purpose intended by the British ministry. He was therefore passed over, and the command given to Sir William Howe.

It was resolved to open the campaign with such a powerful force as "would look down all opposition, and effectuate submission without bloodshed," and to direct its operations to the accomplishment of three objects. The first was the relief of Quebec, and the recovery of Canada, which also included a subsequent invasion of the north-western frontiers of the adjacent provinces. The second was a strong impression on some of the southern colonies. The third and principal, was to take possession of New York, with a force sufficiently powerful to keep possession of Hudson's River, and form a line of communication with the royal army in Canada, or to overrun the adjacent country.

The partial success of the first part of this plan has been in the preceding chapter explained. The execution of the second part was committed to General Clinton and Sir Peter Parker. The former, with a small force, having called at New York, and also visited in Virginia Lord Dunmore, the late royal governor of that colony, and finding that nothing could be done at either place, proceeded to Cape Fear river. At that place he issued a proclamation from on board the *Pallas* transport, offering free pardon to all such as should lay down their arms, excepting Cornelius Hasnett and Robert Howe; but the recent defeat of the regulators and Highlanders restrained even their friends from paying any attention to this act of grace.

At Cape Fear, a junction was formed between Sir Henry Clinton and Sir Peter Parker, the latter of whom had sailed with his squadron directly from Europe. They concluded to attempt the reduction of Charleston, as being of all places within the line of their instructions, the object at which they could strike with the greatest prospect of advantage. They had two thousand eight hundred land forces, which they hoped, with the co-operation of their shipping, would be fully sufficient.

For some months past every exertion had been made to put the colony of South Carolina, and especially its capital Charleston, in a respectable posture of defence. In subserviency to this view, works had been erected on Sullivan's island, which is situated so near the channel leading up to the town, as to be a convenient post for annoying vessels approaching it.

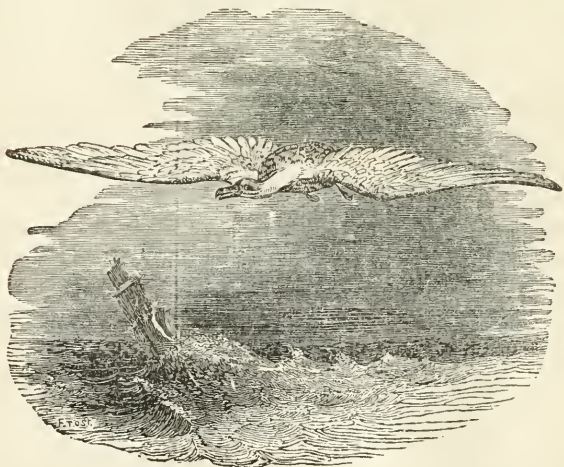
Sir Peter Parker attacked the fort on that island [June 28] with two fifty-gun ships, the Bristol and Experiment, four frigates, the Active, Aceton, Solebay and Syren, each of twenty-eight guns; the Sphynx of twenty guns, the Friendship armed vessel of twenty-two guns, Ranger sloop, and Thunder bomb, each of eight guns. On the fort were mounted twenty-six cannon, twenty-six eighteen and nine-pounders. The attack commenced between ten and eleven in the forenoon, and was continued for upwards of ten hours. The garrison, consisting of three hundred and seventy-five regulars and a few militia, under the command of Colonel Moultrie, made a most gallant defence. They fired deliberately, for the most part took aim, and seldom missed their object. The ships were torn almost to pieces, and the killed and wounded on board exceeded two hundred men. The loss of the garrison was only ten men killed, and twenty-two wounded. The fort being built of Palmetto, was little damaged. The shot which struck it were ineffectually buried in its soft wood. General Clinton had some time before the engagement landed with a number of troops on Long Island, and it was expected that he would have co-operated with Sir Peter Parker, by crossing over the narrow passage which divides the two islands, and attacking the fort in its unfinished rear; but the extreme danger to which he must unavoidably have exposed his men induced him to decline the perilous attempt. Colonel Thomson with seven or eight hundred men was stationed at the east end of Sullivan's island, to oppose their crossing. No serious attempt was made to land either from the fleet, or the detachment commanded by Sir Henry Clinton. The firing ceased in the evening, and soon after the ships slipped their cables. Before morning they had retired about two miles from the island. Within a few days more the troops re-embarked, and the whole sailed for New York. The thanks of Congress were given to General Lee, who had been sent on by Congress to take the command in Carolina, and also to Colonels Moultrie and Thomson, for their good conduct on this memorable day. In compliment to the commanding officer the fort from that time was called Fort Moultrie.

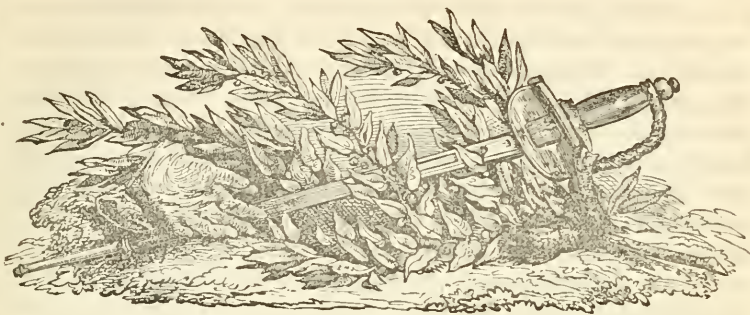
During the engagement the inhabitants stood with arms in their hands at their respective posts, prepared to receive the enemy wherever they might land. Impressed with high ideas of British power and bravery, they were apprehensive that the fort would be either silenced or passed, and that they should be called to immediate action. They were cantoned in the various landing places near Charleston, and their resolution was fixed to meet the invaders at the water's edge, and dispute every inch of ground, trusting the event to Heaven.

By the repulse of this armament the southern states obtained a respite from the calamities of war for two years and a half. The defeat the British met with at Charleston seemed in some measure to counterbalance the unfavorable impression made, by their subsequent successes, to the north-

ward. Throughout the whole summer, and till the close of the year, Congress had little else than the victory on Sullivan's island, to console them under the various evacuations, retreats and defeats, to which, as shall hereafter be related, their armies were obliged to submit in every other part of the union. The event of the expedition contributed greatly to establish the cause which it was intended to overset. In opposition to the bold assertions of some, and the desponding fears of others, experience proved that America might effectually resist a British fleet and army. Those who, from interested motives, had abetted the royal government, ashamed of their opposition to the struggles of an infant people for their dearest rights, retired into obscurity.

The effects of this victory, in animating the Americans, were much greater than could be warranted, by the circumstances of the action. As it was the first attack made by the British navy, its unsuccessful issue inspired a confidence which a more exact knowledge of military calculations would have corrected. The circumstance of its happening in the early part of the war, and in one of the weaker provinces, were happily instrumental in dispelling the gloom which overshadowed the minds of many of the colonists, on hearing of the powerful fleets and numerous armies which were coming against them.





BATTLE OF LONG ISLAND.



HE command of the force which was designed to operate against New York in this campaign, was given to Admiral Lord Howe, and his brother Sir William, officers who, as well from their personal characters, as the known bravery of their family, stood high in the confidence of the British nation. To this service was allotted a very powerful army, consisting of about thirty thousand men. This force was far superior to any thing that America had heretofore seen. The troops were amply provided with artillery, military stores, and warlike materials of every kind, and were supported by a numerous fleet. The

admiral and general, in addition to their military powers, were appointed commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies.

General Howe having in vain waited two months at Halifax for his brother, and the expected reinforcements from England, impatient of farther delays, sailed from that harbour, with the force which he had previously commanded in Boston, and directing his course towards New York, arrived in the latter end of June, off Sandy-Hook. Admiral Lord Howe, with part of the reinforcement from England, arrived at Halifax soon after his brother's departure. Without dropping anchor he followed, and soon after joined him near Staten Island. The British general, on his approach, found every part of New York island, and the most exposed parts of Long

Island fortified and well defended by artillery. About fifty British transports anchored near Staten Island, which had been not so much the object of attention. The inhabitants thereof, either from fear, policy, or affection, expressed great joy on the arrival of the royal forces. General Howe was there met by Tryon, late governor of the province, and by several of the loyalists, who had taken refuge with him in an armed vessel. He was also joined by about sixty persons from New Jersey, and two hundred of the inhabitants of Staten Island were embodied, as a royal militia. From these appearances, great hopes were indulged that as soon as the army was in a condition to penetrate into the country, and protect the loyalists, such numbers would flock to their standard as would facilitate the attainment of the objects of the campaign.

On the fourth day after the British transports appeared off Sandy-Hook, Congress, though fully informed of the numbers and appointment of the force about to be employed against the colonies, ratified their famous declaration of independence. This was publicly read to the American army, and received by them with unfeigned acclamations of joy. Though it was well known that Great Britain had employed a force of fifty-five thousand men, to war upon the new formed states, and that the continental army was not near equal to half that number, and only engaged for a few months, and that Congress was without any assurance of foreign aid, yet both the American officers and privates gave every evidence of their hearty approbation of the decree which severed the colonies from Great Britain, and submitted to the decision of the sword, whether they should be free states, or conquered provinces. Now, said they, "we know the ground on which we stand. Now we are a nation. No more shall the opprobrious term of rebel, with any appearance of justice, be applied to us. Should the fortune of war throw us into the hands of our enemies, we may expect the treatment of prisoners, and not the punishment of rebels. The prize for which we contend is of such magnitude that we may freely risk our lives to obtain it."

It had early occurred to General Washington, that the possession of New York would be with the British a favourite object. Its central situation and contiguity to the ocean enabled them to carry with facility the war to any part of the seacoast. The possession of it was rendered still more valuable by the ease with which it could be maintained. Surrounded on all sides by water, it was defensible by a small number of British ships, against adversaries whose whole navy consisted only of a few frigates. Hudson's river, being navigable for ships of the largest size to a great distance, afforded an opportunity of severing the eastern from the more southern states, and of preventing almost any communication between them.

From these well-known advantages, it was presumed by the Americans,

that the British would make great exertions to effect the reduction of New York. General Lee, while the British were yet in possession of the capital of Massachusetts, had been detached from Cambridge, to put Long Island and New York into a posture of defence. As the departure of the British from Boston became more certain, the probability of their instantly going to New York, increased the necessity of collecting a force for its safety. It had therefore been agreed in a council of war, [March 13,] that five regiments, together with a rifle battalion, should march without delay to New York, and that the states of New York and New Jersey should be requested to furnish the former two thousand, and the latter one thousand men for its immediate defence. General Washington soon followed, and early in April fixed his head-quarters in that city. A new distribution of the American army took place. Part was left in Massachusetts. Between two and three thousand were ordered to Canada: but the greater part rendezvoused at New York.

Experience had taught the Americans the difficulty of attacking an army, after it had effected a lodgment. They therefore made strenuous exertions to prevent the British from enjoying the advantages in New York, which had resulted from their having been permitted to land and fortify themselves in Boston. The sudden commencement of hostilities in Massachusetts, together with the previous undisturbed landing of the royal army, allowed no time for deliberating on a system of war. A change of circumstances indicated the propriety of fixing on a plan for conducting the defence of the new-formed states. On this occasion, General Washington, after much thought, determined on a war of posts. This mode of conducting military operations gave confidence to the Americans, and besides, it both retarded and alarmed their adversaries. The soldiers in the American army were new levies, and had not yet learned to stand uncovered, before the instruments of death. Habituating them to the sound of fire-arms, while they were sheltered from danger, was one step towards inspiring them with a portion of mechanical courage. The British remembered Bunker Hill, and had no small reverence for even slight fortifications, when defended by freemen. From views of this kind, works were erected in and about New York, on Long Island, and the Heights of Haerlem. These, besides batteries, were field redoubts, formed of earth with a parapet and ditch. The former were sometimes fraised, and the latter palisadoed, but they were in no instance formed to sustain a siege. Slight as they were, the campaign was nearly wasted away before they were so far reduced, as to permit the royal army to penetrate into the country.

The war having taken a more important turn than in the preceding year had been foreseen, Congress, at the opening of the campaign, found themselves destitute of a force sufficient for their defence. They, therefore, in June determined on a plan to reinforce their continental army, by bringing

into the field a new species of troops, that would be more permanent than the common militia, and yet more easily raised than regulars. With this view they instituted a flying camp, to consist of an intermediate corps, between regular soldiers and militia. Ten thousand men were called for [June 3] from the states of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware, to be in constant service to the first day of the ensuing December. Congress at the same time called for thirteen thousand eight hundred of the common militia from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey. The men for forming the flying camp were generally procured, but there were great deficiencies of the militia, and many of those who obeyed their country's call, so far as to turn out, manifested a reluctance to submit to the necessary discipline of camps.

The difficulty of providing the troops with arms while before Boston, was exceeded by the superior difficulty of supplying them in their new position. By the returns of the garrison at Fort Montgomery, in the Highlands, in April, it appeared that there were two hundred and eight privates, and only forty-one guns fit for use. In the garrison at Fort Constitution, there were a hundred and thirty-six men, and only sixty-eight guns fit for use. Flints were also much wanted. Lead would have been equally deficient, had not a supply for the musketry been obtained by stripping dwelling-houses.

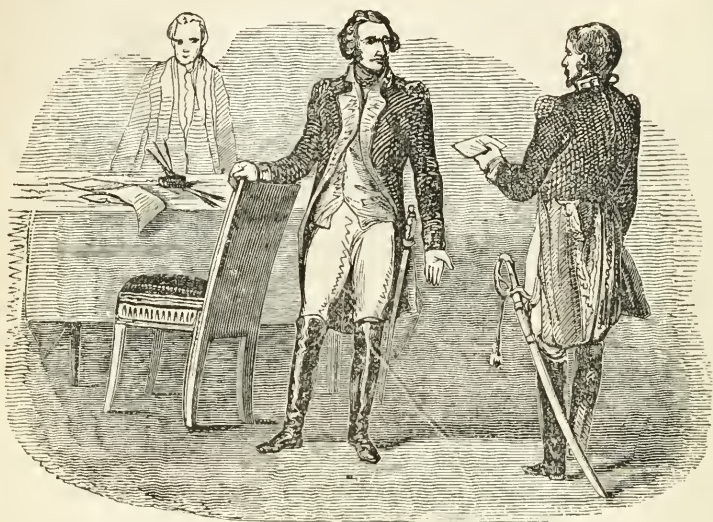
The uncertainty of the place where the British would commence their operations, added much to the embarrassment of General Washington. Not only each colony, but each seaport town, supposed itself to be the object of the British, and was ardent in its supplications to the commander-in-chief for his peculiar attention. The people of Massachusetts were strongly impressed with an idea, that the evacuation of Boston was only a feint, and that the British army would soon return. They were, for that reason, very desirous that the continental troops should not be withdrawn from their state. The inhabitants of Rhode Island urged, in a long petition, that their maritime situation exposed them to uncommon danger, while their great exertions in fitting out armed vessels had deprived them of many of their citizens. They, therefore, prayed for a body of continental soldiers, to be stationed for their constant and peculiar defence. So various were the applications for troops, so numerous the calls for arms, that a decided conduct became necessary to prevent the feeble American force, and the deficient stock of public arms from being divided and subdivided, so as to be unequal to the proper defence of any one place.

In this crisis of particular danger, the people of New York acted with spirit. Though they knew they were to receive the first impression of the British Army, yet their convention resolved, "that all persons residing within the state of New York, and claiming protection from its laws, owed it allegiance, and that any person owing it allegiance and levying war

against the state, or being an adherent to the king of Great Britain, should be deemed guilty of treason and suffer death." They also resolved that one-fourth of the militia of West Chester, Dutchess, and Orange counties should be forthwith drawn out for the defence of the liberties, property, wives and children of the good people of the state, to be continued in service till the last day of December," and "that, as the inhabitants of King's county had determined not to oppose the enemy, a committee should be appointed to inquire into the authenticity of these reports, and to disarm and secure the disaffected, to remove or destroy the stock of grain, and, if necessary, to lay the whole country waste."

The two royal commissioners, Admiral and General Howe, thought proper, before they commenced their military operations, to try what might be done in their civil capacity, towards effecting a re-union between Great Britain and the colonies. It was one of the first acts of Lord Howe, to send on shore a circular letter to several of the royal governors in America, informing them of the late act of parliament, "for restoring peace to the colonies, and granting pardon to such as should deserve mercy," and desiring them to publish a declaration which accompanied the same. In this he informed the colonists of the power with which his brother and he were intrusted, "of granting general or particular pardons to all those who, though they had deviated from their allegiance, were willing to return to their duty," and of declaring "any colony, province, county or town, port, district or place, to be at the peace of his majesty." Congress, impressed with a belief, that the proposals of the commissioners, instead of disuniting the people, would have a contrary effect, ordered them to be speedily published in the several American newspapers. Had a redress of grievances, at this late hour, been offered, though the honour of the states was involved in supporting their late declaration of independence, yet the love of peace, and the bias of great numbers to their parent state, would, in all probability, have made a powerful party for rescinding the act of separation, and for re-uniting with Great Britain. But when it appeared that the power of the royal commissioners was little more than to grant pardons, Congress appealed to the good sense of the people, for the necessity of adhering to the act of independence. The resolution for publishing the circular letter, and the declaration of the royal commissioners, assigned as a reason thereof, "that the good people of the United States may be informed of what nature are the commissioners, and what the terms, with expectation of which the insidious court of Great Britain had endeavoured to amuse and disarm them, and that the few who still remain suspended by a hope, founded either in the justice or moderation of their late king, may now at length be convinced that the valour alone of their country is to save its liberties."

About the same time flags were sent ashore by Lord Howe, with a letter



GENERAL WASHINGTON REFUSING TO RECEIVE LORD HOWE'S LETTER.

directed to George Washington, Esq., which he refused to receive as not being addressed to him with the title due to his rank. In his letter to Congress on this subject, he wrote as follows: "I would not on any occasion sacrifice essentials to punctilio, but in this instance I deem it a duty to my country and appointment, to insist on that respect which, in any other than a public view, I would willingly have waived." Congress applauded his conduct in a public resolution, and at the same time directed that no letter or message should be received on any occasion whatever, from the enemy, by the commander-in-chief, or others the commanders of the American army, but such as were directed to them in the characters they severally sustained."

Some time after, Adjutant-General Patterson was sent to New York by General Howe, with a letter addressed to George Washington, &c. &c. &c. On an interview, the adjutant-general, after expressing his high esteem for the person and character of the American general, and declaring that it was not intended to derogate from the respect due to his rank, expressed his hopes that the *et ceteras* would remove the impediments to their correspondence. General Washington replied, "That a letter directed to any person in a public character should have some description of it, otherwise it would appear a mere private letter. That it was true the *et ceteras*

implied every thing, but they also implied any thing, and that he should therefore decline the receiving any letter directed to him as a private person, when it related to his public station." A long conference ensued, in which the adjutant-general observed, that "the commissioners were armed with great powers, and would be very happy in effecting an accommodation." He received for answer, "that from what appeared, their powers were only to grant pardon; that they who had committed no fault wanted no pardon." Soon after this interview, a letter from Howe, respecting prisoners, which was properly addressed to Washington, was received.

While the British, by their manifestoes and declarations, were endeavouring to separate those who preferred a reconciliation with Great Britain from those who were the friends of independence, Congress, by a similar policy, was attempting to detach the foreigners who had come with the royal troops from the service of his Britannic majesty. Before hostilities had commenced, the following resolution was adopted and circulated among those on whom it was intended to operate: "Resolved, That these States will receive all such foreigners who shall leave the armies of his Britannic majesty in America, and shall choose to become members of any of these States, and they shall be protected in the free exercise of their respective religions, and be invested with the rights, privileges, and immunities of natives, as established by the laws of these States, and moreover, that this Congress will provide for every such person fifty acres of unappropriated lands in some of these States, to be held by him and his heirs as absolute property."

The numbers which were prepared to oppose the British when they should disembark, made them for some time cautious of proceeding to their projected land operations, but the superiority of their navy enabled them to go by water whithersoever they pleased.

A British forty-gun ship, with some smaller vessels, [July 12,] sailed up North River without receiving any damage of consequence, though fired upon from the batteries of New York, Paules Hook, Red-bank, and Governor's Island. An attempt was made, not long after, with two fire ships, to destroy the British vessels in the North River, but without effecting any thing more than the burning of a tender. They were also attacked with row galleys, but to little purpose. After some time the *Phoenix* and *Rose* men of war came down the river and joined the fleet. Every effort of the Americans from their batteries on land, as well as their exertions on the water, proved ineffectual. The British ships passed with less loss than was generally expected, but nevertheless the damage they received was such as deterred them from frequently repeating the experiment. In two or three instances they ascended the North River, and in one or two the East River; but those which sailed up the former speedily returned, and

by their return a free communication was opened through the upper part of the State.

The American army in and near New York amounted to seventeen thousand two hundred and twenty-five men. These were mostly new troops, and were divided in many small and unconnected posts, some of which were fifteen miles removed from others. The British force before New York was increasing by frequent successive arrivals from Halifax, South Carolina, Florida, the West Indies, and Europe. But so many unforeseen delays had taken place, that the month of August was far advanced before they were in a condition to open the campaign.

When all things were ready, the British commanders resolved to make their first attempt on Long Island. This was preferred to New York, as it abounded with those supplies which their forces required.

The British landed, without opposition, between two small towns, Utrecht and Gravesend. The American works protected a small peninsula having Wallabout Bay to the left, and stretching over to Red Hook on the right, and the East River being in their rear. General Sullivan, with a strong force, was encamped within these works at Brooklyn. From the east side of the Narrows runs a ridge of hills covered with thick wood, about five or six miles in length, which terminates near Jamaica. There were three passes through these hills, one near the Narrows, a second on the Flatbush road, and a third on the Bedford road, and they are all defensible. These were the only roads which could be passed from the south side of the hills to the American lines, except a road which led round the easterly end of the hills to Jamaica. The Americans had eight hundred men on each of these roads, and Colonel Miles was placed with his battalion of riflemen to guard the road from the south of the hills to Jamaica, and to watch the motions of the British.

General de Heister, with his Hessians, took post at Flatbush in the evening, Aug. 26. In the following night the greater part of the British army, commanded by General Clinton, marched to gain the road leading round the easterly end of the hills to Jamaica, and to turn the left of the Americans. He arrived about two hours before day within half a mile of this road. One of his parties fell in with a patrol of American officers, and took them all prisoners, which prevented the early transmission of intelligence. Upon the first appearance of day, General Clinton advanced and took possession of the heights over which the road passed. General Grant, with the left wing, advanced along the coast by the west road, near the Narrows; but this was intended chiefly as a feint.

The guard which was stationed at this road fled, without making any resistance. A few of them were afterwards rallied, and Lord Stirling advanced with fifteen hundred men, and took possession of a hill, about two miles from the American camp, and in front of General Grant.

An attack was made very early in the morning by the Hessians from Flatbush, [August 27,] under General de Heister, and by General Grant on the coast, and was well supported for a considerable time by both sides. The Americans who opposed General de Heister were first informed of the approach of General Clinton, who had come round on their left. They immediately began to retreat to their camp, but were intercepted by the right wing under General Clinton, who got into the rear of their left, and attacked them with his light infantry and dragoons, while returning to their lines. They were driven back till they were met by the Hessians. They were thus alternately chased and intercepted between General de Heister and General Clinton. Some of their regiments nevertheless found their way to the camp. The Americans under Lord Stirling, consisting of Colonel Miles's two battalions, Colonel Atlee's, Colonel Smallwood's, and Colonel Hache's regiments, who were engaged with General Grant, fought with great resolution for about six hours. They were uninformed of the movements made by General Clinton, till some of the troops under his command had traversed the whole extent of country in their rear. Their retreat was thus intercepted, but several, notwithstanding, broke through and got into the woods. Many threw themselves into the marsh, some were drowned, and others perished in the mud; but a considerable number escaped by this way to their lines.

The king's troops displayed great valour throughout the whole day. The variety of the ground occasioned a succession of small engagements, pursuits and slaughter, which lasted for many hours. British discipline, in every instance, triumphed over the native valour of raw troops, who had never been in action, and whose officers were unacquainted with the stratagems of war.

The loss of the British and Hessians was about four hundred and fifty. The killed, wounded, and prisoners of the Americans, including those who were drowned or perished in the woods or mud, considerably exceeded a thousand. Among the prisoners of the latter were two of their general officers, Sullivan and Lord Stirling; three colonels, four lieutenant-colonels, three majors, eighteen captains, forty-three lieutenants, and eleven ensigns. Smallwood's regiment, the officers of which were young men of the best families in the state of Maryland, sustained a loss of two hundred and fifty-nine men. The British after their victory were so impetuous, that it was with difficulty they could be restrained from attacking the American lines.

In the time of, and subsequent to the engagement, General Washington drew over to Long Island the greatest part of his army. After he had collected his principal force there, it was his wish and hope, that Sir William Howe would attempt to storm the works on the island. These, though insufficient to stand a regular siege, were strong enough to resist a



RETREAT FROM LONG ISLAND.

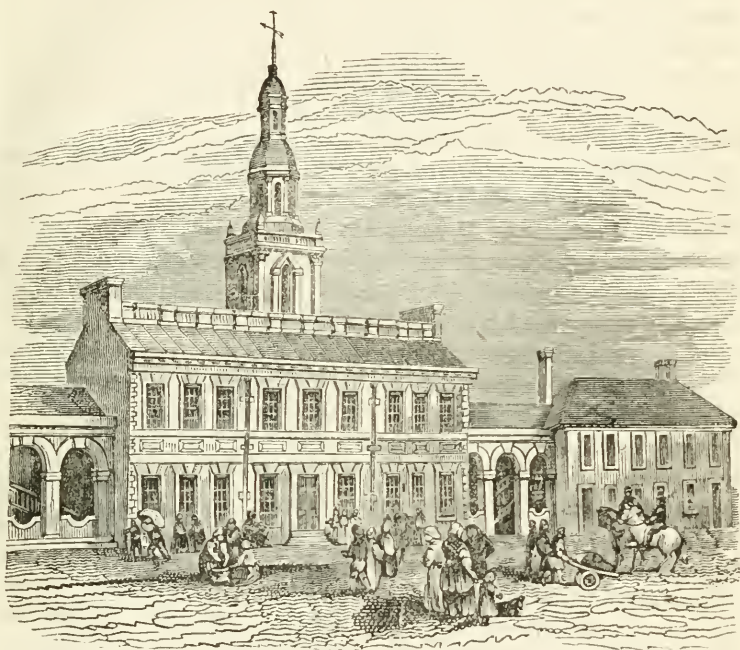
coup de main. The remembrance of Bunker Hill, and a desire to spare his men, restrained the British general from making an assault. On the contrary, he made demonstrations of proceeding by siege, and broke ground within three hundred yards to the left at Putnam's redoubt. Though General Washington wished for an assault, yet being certain that his works would be untenable, when the British batteries should be fully opened, he called a council of war, [August 30,] to consult on the measures proper to be taken. It was then determined that the objects in view were in no degree proportioned to the dangers to which, by a continuation on the island, they would be exposed. Conformably to this opinion, dispositions were made for an immediate retreat. This commenced soon after it was dark from two points, the upper and lower ferries, on East river. General McDougal regulated the embarkation at one, and Colonel Knox at the other. The intention of evacuating the island had been so prudently concealed from the Americans, that they knew not whither they were going, but supposed to attack the enemy. The field artillery, tents, baggage, and about nine thousand men, were conveyed to the city of New York over East River, more than a mile wide, in less than thirteen hours, and without the knowledge of the British, though not six hundred yards distant. Providence, in a remarkable manner, favoured the retreating army. For some time after the Americans began

to cross, the state of the tide and a strong north-east wind made it impossible for them to make use of their sail boats, and their whole number of row-boats was insufficient for completing the business in the course of the night. But about eleven o'clock the wind died away, and soon after sprung up at south-east, and blew fresh, which rendered the sail-boats of use, and at the same time made the passage from the island to the city, direct, easy and expeditious. Towards morning an extreme thick fog came up, which hovered over Long Island, and by concealing the Americans, enabled them to complete their retreat without interruption, though the day had begun to dawn some time before it was finished. By a mistake in the transmission of orders, the American lines were evacuated for about three-quarters of an hour before the last embarkation took place; but the British, though so near that their working parties could be distinctly heard, being enveloped in the fog, knew nothing of the matter. The lines were repossessed and held till six o'clock in the morning. When every thing, except some heavy cannon, was removed, General Mifflin, who commanded the rear-guard, left the lines, and under the cover of the fog got off safe. In about half an hour the fog cleared away, and the British entered the works which had been just relinquished. Had the wind not shifted, the half of the American army could not have crossed; and even as it was, if the fog had not concealed their rear, it must have been discovered, and could hardly have escaped. General Sullivan, who was taken prisoner on Long Island, was immediately sent on parole, with the following verbal message from Lord Howe to Congress, "that though he could not at present treat with them in that character, yet he was very desirous of having a conference with some of the members, whom he would consider as private gentlemen; that he, with his brother the general, had full powers to compromise the dispute between Great Britain and America, upon terms advantageous to both—that he wished a compact might be settled, at a time when no decisive blow was struck, and neither party could say it was compelled to enter into such agreement—that were they disposed to treat, many things which they had not yet asked might and ought to be granted, and that if upon conference they found any probable ground of accommodation, the authority of Congress would be afterwards acknowledged to render the treaty complete." Three days after this message was received, General Sullivan was requested to inform Lord Howe, "that Congress being the representatives of the free and independent states of America, they cannot with propriety send any of their members to confer with his lordship in their private characters; but that ever desirous of establishing peace on reasonable terms, they will send a committee of their body, to know whether he has any authority to treat with persons authorized by Congress for that purpose, on behalf of America, and what that authority is; and to hear such propositions as he shall think fit to make respecting

the same." They elected Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge, their committee for this purpose. In a few days they met Lord Howe on Staten Island, and were received with great politeness. On their return they made a report of their conference, which they summed up by saying, "It did not appear to your committee that his lordship's commission contained any other authority than that expressed in the act of parliament—namely, that of granting pardons, with such exceptions as the commissioners shall think proper to make, and of declaring America, or any part of it, to be in the king's peace, on submission: For as to the power of inquiring into the state of America, which his lordship mentioned to us, and of conferring and consulting with any persons the commissioners might think proper, and representing the result of such conversation to the ministry, who, provided the colonies would subject themselves, might after all, or might not, at their pleasure, make any alterations in the former instructions to governors, or propose in parliament any amendment of the acts complained of, we apprehended any expectation from the effect of such a power would have been too uncertain and precarious to be relied on by America, had she still continued in her state of dependence." Lord Howe had ended the conference on his part, by expressing his regard for America, and the extreme pain he would suffer in being obliged to distress those whom he so much regarded. Dr. Franklin thanked him for his regards, and assured him, "that the Americans would show their gratitude, by endeavouring to lessen as much as possible all pain he might feel on their account, by exerting their utmost abilities in taking good care of themselves."

The committee in every respect maintained the dignity of Congress. Their conduct and sentiments were such as became their character. The friends to independence rejoiced that nothing resulted from this interview that might disunite the people. Congress, trusting to the good sense of their countrymen, ordered the whole to be printed for their information. All the states would have then rejoiced at less beneficial terms than they obtained about seven years after. But Great Britain counted on the certainty of their absolute conquest, or unconditional submission. Her offers, therefore, comported so little with the feelings of America, that they neither caused demur nor disunion among the new-formed states.

The unsuccessful termination of the action on the 27th, led to consequences more seriously alarming to the Americans than the loss of their men. Their army was universally dispirited. The militia ran off by companies. Their example infected the regular regiments. The loose footing on which the militia came to camp, made it hazardous to exercise over them that discipline, without which an army is a mob. To restrain one part of an army, while another claimed and exercised the right of doing as they pleased, was no less impracticable than absurd.



INDEPENDENCE HALL.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.



N former ages it was common for a part of a community to migrate, and erect themselves into an independent society. Since the earth has been more fully peopled, and especially since the principles of union have been better understood, a different policy has prevailed. A fondness for planting colonies has, for three preceding centuries, given full scope to a disposition for emigration, and at the same time the emigrants have been retained in a connection with their parent state. By these means Europeans have made the riches both of the east and west subservient to their avarice and ambition. Though they occupy the smallest portion of the four quarters of the globe, they have contrived to subject the other three to their influence or command.

The circumstances under which New England was planted, would a few centuries ago have entitled them, from their first settlement, to the privileges of independence. They were virtually exiled from their native country, by being denied the rights of men—they set out on their own expense, and after purchasing the consent of the native proprietors, improved an uncultivated country, to which, in the eye of reason and philosophy, the king of England had no title.

If it is lawful for individuals to relinquish their native soil, and pursue their own happiness in other regions, and under other political associations, the settlers of New England were always so far independent as to owe no obedience to their parent state, but such as resulted from their voluntary assent. The slavish doctrine of the divine right of kings, and the corruptions of Christianity, by undervaluing heathen titles, favoured an opposite system. What for several centuries after the Christian era would have been called the institution of a new government, was by modern refinement denominated only an extension of the old, in the form of a dependent colony. Though the prevailing ecclesiastical and political creeds tended to degrade the condition of the settlers in New England, yet there was always a party there which believed in their natural right to independence. They recurred to first principles, and argued, that as they received from government nothing more than a charter, founded on ideal claims of sovereignty, they owed it no other obedience than what was derived from express or implied compact. It was not till the present century had more than half elapsed, that it occurred to any number of the colonists, that they had an interest in being detached from Great Britain. Their attention was first turned to this subject, by the British claim of taxation. This opened a melancholy prospect, boundless in extent, and endless in duration. The Boston Port Act, and the other acts, passed in 1774 and 1775, which have been already the subject of comment, progressively weakened the attachment of the colonists to the birth place of their forefathers. The commencement of hostilities on the 19th of April, 1775, exhibited the parent state in an odious point of view, and abated the original dread of separating from it. But nevertheless, at that time, and for a twelve-month after, a majority of the colonists wished for no more than to be re-established as subjects in their ancient rights. Had independence been their object even at the commencement of hostilities, they would have rescinded these associations which have been already mentioned, and imported more largely than ever. Common sense revolts at the idea, that colonists, unfurnished with military stores, and wanting manufactures of every kind, should at the time of their intending a serious struggle for independence, by a voluntary agreement, deprive themselves of the obvious means of procuring such foreign supplies as their circumstances might make necessary. Instead of pursuing a line of conduct which might have been dictated by a wish for independence, they

continued their exports for nearly a year after they ceased to import. This not only lessened the debts they owed to Great Britain, but furnished additional means for carrying on the war against themselves. To aim at independence, and at the same time to transfer their resources to their enemies, could not have been the policy of an enlightened people. It was not till some time in 1776, that the colonists began to take other ground, and contend that it was for their interest to be for ever separated from Great Britain. In favour of this opinion it was said, that in case of their continuing subjects, the mother country, though she redressed their present grievances, might at pleasure repeat similar oppressions; that she ought not to be trusted, having twice resumed the exercise of taxation, after it had been apparently relinquished. The favourers of separation also urged, that Great Britain was jealous of their increasing numbers, and rising greatness—that she would not exercise government for their benefit, but for her own; that the only permanent security for American happiness, was to deny her the power of interfering with their government or commerce. To effect this purpose they were of opinion, that it was necessary to cut the knot which connected the two countries, by a public renunciation of all political connections between them.

The Americans about this time began to be influenced by new views. The military arrangements of the preceding year—their unexpected union, and prevailing enthusiasm, expanded the minds of the leaders, and elevated the sentiments of the great body of their people. Decisive measures, which would have been lately reprobated, now met with approbation.

The favourers of subordination under the former constitution urged the advantages of a supreme head, to control the disputes of interfering colonies, and also the benefits which flowed from union; that independence was untried ground, and should not be entered upon, but in the last extremity.

They flattered themselves that Great Britain was so fully convinced of the determined spirit of America, that if the present controversy was compromised, she would not, at any future period, resume an exercise of her supremacy. They were therefore for proceeding no farther than to defend themselves in the character of subjects, trusting that ere long the present hostile measures would be relinquished, and the harmony of the two countries re-established. The favourers of this system were embarrassed, and all their arguments weakened, by the perseverance of Great Britain in her schemes of coercion. A probable hope of a speedy repeal of a few acts of parliament, would have greatly increased the number of those who were advocates for reconciliation. But the certainty of intelligence to the contrary gave additional force to the arguments of the opposite party. Though new weight was daily thrown into the scale, in which the advantages of independence were weighed, yet it did not preponderate till about that time

in 1776, when intelligence reached the colonists of the act of parliament passed in December, 1775, for throwing them out of British protection, and of hiring foreign troops to assist in effecting their conquest. Respecting the first it was said, "that protection and allegiance were reciprocal, and that the refusal of the first was a legal ground of justification for withholding the last." They considered themselves to be thereby discharged from their allegiance, and that to declare themselves independent was no more than to announce to the world the real political state in which Great Britain had placed them. This act proved that the colonists might constitutionally declare themselves independent, but the hiring of foreign troops to make war upon them, demonstrated the necessity of their doing it immediately. They reasoned that if Great Britain called in the aid of strangers to crush them, they must seek similar relief for their own preservation. But they well knew this could not be expected, while they were in arms against their acknowledged sovereign. They had therefore only a choice of difficulties, and must either seek foreign aid as independent states, or continue in the awkward and hazardous situation of subjects, carrying on war from their own resources, both against their king and such mercenaries as he chose to employ for their subjugation. Necessity, not choice, forced them on the decision. Submission without obtaining a redress of their grievances was advocated by none who possessed the public confidence. Some of the popular leaders may have secretly wished for independence from the beginning of the controversy, but their number was small, and their sentiments were not generally known.



WHILE the public mind was balancing on this eventful subject, several writers placed the advantages of independence in various points of view. Among these, Thomas Paine, in a pamphlet, under the signature of Common Sense, held the most distinguished rank. The style, manner, and language of this performance were calculated to interest the passions, and to rouse all the active powers of human nature. With the view of operating on the sentiments of a religious people, Scripture was pressed into his service, and the powers, and even the name of a king were rendered odious in the eyes of the numerous colonists who had read and studied the history of the Jews, as recorded in the Old Testament. The folly of that people in revolting from a government, instituted by Heaven itself, and the oppressions to which they were subjected in consequence of their lusting after kings to rule over them, afforded an excellent handle for prepossessing the colonists in favour of republican institutions, and prejudicing them against kingly government. Hereditary succession was turned into ridicule. The absurdity of subjecting a great continent to a small island on the other side of the globe, was represented in such striking language, as to interest the honour and pride of the colonists in re-

nouncing the government of Great Britain. The necessity, the advantages, and practicability of independence, were forcibly demonstrated. Nothing could be better timed than this performance. It was addressed to freemen, who had just received convincing proof, that Great Britain had thrown them out of her protection, had engaged foreign mercenaries to make war upon them, and seriously designed to compel their unconditional submission to her unlimited power. It found the colonists most thoroughly alarmed for their liberties, and disposed to do and suffer any thing that promised their establishment. In union with the feelings and sentiments of the people, it produced surprising effects. Many thousands were convinced, and were led to approve and long for a separation from the mother country. Though that measure, a few months before, was not only foreign from their wishes, but the object of their abhorrence, the current suddenly became so strong in its favour that it bore down all opposition. The multitude was hurried down the stream, but some worthy men could not easily reconcile themselves to the idea of an eternal separation from a country, to which they had been long bound by the most endearing ties. They saw the sword drawn, but could not tell when it would be sheathed. They feared that the dispersed individuals of the several colonies would not be brought to coalesce under an efficient government, and that after much anarchy some future Cæsar would grasp their liberties, and confirm himself in a throne of despotism. They doubted the perseverance of their countrymen in effecting their independence, and were also apprehensive that in case of success, their future condition would be less happy than their past. Some respectable individuals whose principles were pure, but whose souls were not of that firm texture which revolutions require, shrunk back from the bold measures proposed by their more adventurous countrymen. To submit without an appeal to Heaven, though secretly wished for by some, was not the avowed sentiment of any. But to persevere in petitioning and resisting was the system of some misguided honest men. The favourers of this opinion were generally wanting in that decision which grasps at great objects, and influenced by that timid policy which does its work by halves. Most of them dreaded the power of Britain. A few, on the score of interest or an expectancy of favours from royal government, refused to concur with the general voice. Some of the natives of the parent state who, having lately settled in the colonies, had not yet exchanged European for American ideas, together with a few others, conscientiously opposed the measures of Congress: but the great bulk of the people, and especially of the spirited and independent part of the community, came with surprising unanimity into the project of independence.

The eagerness for independence resulted more from feeling than reasoning. The advantages of an unfettered trade, the prospect of honours and emoluments in administering a new government, were of themselves insuf-

ficient motives for adopting this bold measure. But what was wanting from considerations of this kind, was made up by the perseverance of Great Britain, in her schemes of coercion and conquest. The determined resolution of the mother country to subdue the colonists, together with the plans she adopted for accomplishing that purpose, and their equally determined resolution to appeal to Heaven rather than submit, made a declaration of independence as necessary in 1776 as was the non-importation agreement of 1774, or the assumption of arms in 1775. The last naturally resulted from the first. The revolution was not forced on the people by ambitious leaders grasping at supreme power, but every measure of it was forced on Congress by the necessity of the case and the voice of the people. The change of the public mind of America respecting connection with Great Britain is without a parallel. In the short space of two years, nearly three millions of people passed over from the love and duty of loyal subjects, to the hatred and resentment of enemies.

The motion for declaring the colonies free and independent was first made in Congress, by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia. He was warranted in making this motion by the particular instructions of his immediate constituents, and also by the general voice of the people of all the states. When the time for taking the subject under consideration arrived, much knowledge, ingenuity, and eloquence were displayed on both sides of the question. The debates were continued for some time, and with great animation. In these, John Adams and John Dickinson took leading and opposite parts. The former began one of his speeches, by an invocation of the god of eloquence, to assist him in defending the claims and in enforcing the duty of his countrymen. He strongly urged the immediate dissolution of all political connection of the colonies with Great Britain, from the voice of the people, from the necessity of the measure in order to obtain foreign assistance, from a regard to consistency, and from the prospects of glory and happiness, which opened beyond the war, to a free and independent people. Mr. Dickinson replied to this speech. He began by observing that the member from Massachusetts (Mr. Adams) had introduced his defence of the declaration of independence by invoking a heathen god, but that he should begin his objections to it, by solemnly invoking the Governor of the Universe, so to influence the minds of the members of Congress, that if the proposed measure was for the benefit of America, nothing which he should say against it might make the least impression. He then urged that the present time was improper for the declaration of independence, that the war might be conducted with equal vigour without it, that it would divide the Americans, and unite the people of Great Britain against them. He then proposed that some assurance should be obtained of assistance from a foreign power, before they renounced their connection with Great Britain, and that the declaration of independence should

be the condition to be offered for this assistance. He likewise stated the disputes that existed between several of the colonies, and proposed that some measures for the settlement of them should be determined upon, before they lost sight of that tribunal which had hitherto been the umpire of all their differences.

After a full discussion, the measure of declaring the colonies free and independent was approved, by nearly an unanimous vote. The anniversary of the day on which this great event took place, has ever since been consecrated by the Americans to religious gratitude and social pleasures. It is considered by them as the birthday of their freedom.

The act of the united colonies for separating themselves from the government of Great Britain, and declaring their independence, was expressed in the following words :

“When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature’s God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

“We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.—That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed ; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its power in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes ; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

“He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

"He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained ; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

"He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

"He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

"He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

"He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected ; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise ; the state remaining in the mean time exposed to all the danger of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

"He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states ; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners ; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

"He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

"He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

"He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

"He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

"He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

"He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws ; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation :

"For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us :

"For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states :

"For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world :

"For imposing taxes on us without our consent :

"For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury :

"For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences :

"For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring pro-

vince, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies :

“For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments :

“For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

“He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

“He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

“He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

“He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

“He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

“In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms : our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

“Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts made by their legislature, to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends.

“We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, **FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES** ; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown ;

and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

“JOHN HANCOCK, President.

New Hampshire.

JOSIAH BARTLETT,
WILLIAM WHIPPLE,
MATTHEW THORNTON.

JAMES SMITH,
GEORGE TAYLOR,
JAMES WILSON,
GEORGE ROSS.

Massachusetts Bay.

SAMUEL ADAMS,
JOHN ADAMS,
ROBERT TREAT PAINE,
ELBRIDGE GERRY.

Delaware.

CÆSAR RODNEY,
GEORGE READ,
THOMAS MCKEAN.

Rhode Island, &c.

STEPHEN HOPKINS,
WILLIAM ELLERY.

Maryland.

SAMUEL CHASE,
WILLIAM PACA,
THOMAS STONE,
CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton.

Connecticut.

ROGER SHERMAN,
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON
WILLIAM WILLIAMS,
OLIVER WOLCOTT.

Virginia.

GEORGE WYTHE,
RICHARD HENRY LEE,
THOMAS JEFFERSON,
BENJAMIN HARRISON,
THOMAS NELSON, Jr.
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE,
CARTER BRAXTON.

New York.

WILLIAM FLOYD,
PHILIP LIVINGSTON,
FRANCIS LEWIS,
LEWIS MORRIS.

North Carolina.

WILLIAM HOOPER,
JOSEPH HEWES,
JOHN PENN.

New Jersey.

RICHARD STOCKTON,
JOHN WITHERSPOON,
FRANCIS HOPKINSON,
JOHN HART,
ABRAHAM CLARKE.

South Carolina.

EDWARD RUTLEDGE,
THOMAS HEYWARD, Jr.
THOMAS LYNCH, Jr.
ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

Pennsylvania.

ROBERT MORRIS,
BENJAMIN RUSH,
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
JOHN MORTON,
GEORGE CLYNER,

Georgia.

BURTON GWINNETT,
LYMAN HALL,
GEORGE WALTON.”

From the promulgation of this declaration, every thing assumed a new form. The Americans no longer appeared in the character of subjects in arms against their sovereign, but as an independent people, repelling the attacks of an invading foe. The propositions and supplications for reconciliation were done away. The dispute was brought to a single point, whether the late British colonies should be conquered provinces, or free and independent states.

The declaration of independence was read publicly in all the states, and was welcomed with many demonstrations of joy. The people were encouraged by it to bear up under the calamities of war, and viewed the evils they suffered only as the thorn that ever accompanies the rose. The army received it with particular satisfaction. As far as it had validity, so far it secured them from suffering as rebels, and held out to their view an object, the attainment of which would be an adequate recompense for the toils and dangers of war. They were animated by the consideration that they were no longer to risk their lives for the trifling purpose of procuring a repeal of a few oppressive acts of parliament, but for a new organization of government, that would for ever put it out of the power of Great Britain to oppress them. The flattering prospects of an extensive commerce, freed from British restrictions, and the honours and emoluments of office in independent states, now began to glitter before the eyes of the colonists, and reconciled them to the difficulties of their situation. What was supposed in Great Britain to be their primary object, had only a secondary influence. While they were charged with aiming at independence from the impulse of avarice and ambition, they were ardently wishing for a reconciliation. But after they had been compelled to adopt that measure, these powerful principles of human actions opposed its retraction, and stimulated to its support. That separation which the colonists at first dreaded as an evil, they soon gloried in as a national blessing. While the rulers of Great Britain urged their people to a vigorous prosecution of the American war, on the idea that the colonists were aiming at independence, they imposed on them a necessity of adopting that very measure, and actually effected its accomplishment. By repeatedly charging the Americans with aiming at the erection of a new government, and by proceeding on that idea to subdue them, predictions which were originally false eventually became true. When the declaration of independence reached Great Britain, the partisans of the ministry triumphed in their sagacity. "The measure," said they, "we have long foreseen, is now come to pass." They inverted the natural order of things. Without reflecting that their own policy had forced a revolution contrary to the original design of the colonists, the declaration of independence was held out to the people of Great Britain as a justification of those previous violences, which were its efficient cause.

The act of Congress for dissevering the colonies from their parent state was the subject of many animadversions.

The colonists were said to have been precipitate in adopting a measure, from which there was no honourable ground of retreating. They replied, that for eleven years they had been incessantly petitioning the throne for a redress of their grievances. Since the year 1765, a continental Congress had at three sundry times stated their claims, and prayed for their constitutional rights. That each Assembly of the thirteen colonies had also, in its separate capacity, concurred in the same measure. That from the perseverance of Great Britain in her schemes for their coercion, they had no alternative, but a mean submission, or a vigorous resistance; and that as she was about to invade their coasts with a large body of mercenaries, they were compelled to declare themselves independent, that they might be put into an immediate capacity for soliciting foreign aid.

The virulence of those who had been in opposition to the claims of the colonists, was increased by their bold act in breaking off all subordination to the parentstate. "Great Britain," said they, "has founded colonies at great expense—has incurred a load of debt by wars on their account—has protected their commerce, and raised them to all the consequence they possess, and now in the insolence of adult years, rather than pay their proportion of the common expenses of government, they ungratefully renounce all connection with the nurse of their youth, and the protectress of their riper years." The Americans acknowledged that much was due to Great Britain for the protection which her navy procured to the coasts and the commerce of the colonies, but contended that much was paid by the latter, in consequence of the restrictions imposed on their commerce by the former. "The charge of ingratitude would have been just," said they, "had allegiance been renounced while protection was given, but when the navy, which formerly secured the commerce and seaport towns of America, began to distress the former, and to burn the latter, the previous obligations to obey or be grateful were no longer in force."

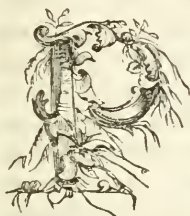
That the colonists paid nothing and would not pay to the support of government, was confidently asserted, and no credit was given for the sums indirectly levied upon them, in consequence of their being confined to the consumption of British manufactures. By such ill-founded observations were the people of Great Britain inflamed against their fellow-subjects in America. The latter were represented as an ungrateful people, refusing to bear any part of the expenses of a protecting government, or to pay their proportion of a heavy debt, said to be incurred on their account. Many of the inhabitants of Great Britain, deceived in matters of fact, considered their American brethren as deserving the severity of military coercion. So strongly were the two countries riveted together, that if the whole truth had been known to the people of both, their separation would

have been scarcely possible. Any feasible plan by which subjection to Great Britain could have been reconciled with American safety, would, at any time previous to 1776, have met the approbation of the colonists. But while the lust of power and of gain blinded the rulers of Great Britain, misstated facts and uncandid representations brought over their people to second the infatuation. A few honest men, properly authorized, might have devised measures of compromise, which, under the influence of truth, humility, and moderation, would have prevented a dismemberment of the empire; but these virtues ceased to influence, and falsehood, haughtiness, and blind zeal usurped their places. Had Great Britain, even after the declaration of independence, adopted the magnanimous resolution of declaring her colonies free and independent states, interest would have prompted them to form such a connection as would have secured to the mother country the advantages of their commerce, without the expense or trouble of their governments. But misguided politics continued the fatal system of coercion and conquest. Several on both sides of the Atlantic have called the declaration of independence, "a bold, and, accidentally, a lucky speculation," but subsequent events proved that it was a wise measure. It is acknowledged that it detached some timid friends from supporting the Americans in their opposition to Great Britain, but it increased the vigour and union of those who possessed more fortitude and perseverance. Without it, the colonists would have had no object adequate to the dangers to which they exposed themselves, in continuing to contend with Great Britain. If the interference of France was necessary to give success to the resistance of the Americans, the declaration of independence was also necessary, for the French expressly founded the propriety of their treaty with Congress on the circumstance, "that they found the United States in possession of independence."

All political connection between Great Britain and her colonies being dissolved, the institution of new forms of government became unavoidable. [May 15.] The necessity of this was so urgent that Congress, before the declaration of independence, had recommended to the respective Assemblies and Conventions of the United States, to adopt such governments as should, in their opinion, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents. During more than twelve months the colonists had been held together by the force of ancient habits, and by laws under the simple style of recommendations. The impropriety of proceeding in courts of justice by the authority of a sovereign, against whom the colonies were in arms, was self-evident. The impossibility of governing, for any length of time, three millions of people, by the ties of honour, without the authority of law, was equally apparent. The rejection of British sovereignty, therefore, drew after it the necessity of fixing on some other principle of government. The genius of the Americans, their republican habits and

sentiments, naturally led them to substitute the majesty of the people, in lieu of discarded royalty. The kingly office was dropped, but in most of the subordinate departments of government, ancient forms and names were retained. Such a portion of power had at all times been exercised by the people and their representatives, that the change of sovereignty was hardly perceptible, and the revolution took place without violence or convulsion. Popular elections elevated private citizens to the same offices which formerly had been conferred by royal appointment. The people felt an uninterrupted continuation of the blessings of law and government under old names, though derived from a new sovereignty, and were scarcely sensible of any change in their political constitution. The checks and balances which restrained the popular Assemblies under the royal government, were partly dropped, and partly retained, by substituting something of the same kind. The temper of the people would not permit that any one man, however exalted by office, or distinguished by abilities, should have a negative on the declared sense of a majority of their representatives, but the experience of all ages had taught them the danger of lodging all power in one body of men. A second branch of legislature, consisting of a few select persons, under the name of senate, or council, was therefore constituted in eleven of the thirteen states, and their concurrence made necessary to give the validity of law to the acts of a more numerous branch of popular representatives. New York and Massachusetts went one step farther. The former constituted a council of revision, consisting of the governor and the heads of judicial departments, on whose objecting to any proposed law, a reconsideration became necessary, and unless it was confirmed by two-thirds of both houses, it could have no operation. A similar power was given to the governor of Massachusetts. Georgia and Pennsylvania were the only states whose legislature consisted of only one branch. Though many in these states, and a majority in all the others, saw and acknowledged the propriety of a compounded legislature, yet the mode of creating two branches out of a homogeneous mass of people was a matter of difficulty. No distinction of ranks existed in the colonies, and none were entitled to any rights, but such as were common to all. Some possessed more wealth than others, but riches and ability were not always associated. Ten of the eleven states, whose legislatures consisted of two branches, ordained that the members of both should be elected by the people. This rather made two co-ordinate houses of representatives, than a check on a single one by the moderation of a select few. Maryland adopted a singular plan for constituting an independent senate. By her constitution, the members of that body were elected for five years, while the members of the house of delegates held their seats only for one. The number of senators was only fifteen, and they were all elected indiscriminately from the inhabitants of any part of the state, excepting that

nine of them were to be residents on the west, and six on the east side of the Chesapeake Bay. They were elected not immediately by the people, but by electors, two from each county, appointed by the inhabitants for that sole purpose. By these regulations the Senate of Maryland consisted of men of influence, integrity, and abilities, and such as were a real and beneficial check on the hasty proceedings of a more numerous branch of popular representatives. The laws of that state were well digested, and its interest steadily pursued with a peculiar unity of system; while elsewhere it too often happened in the fluctuation of public assemblies, and where the legislative department was not sufficiently checked, that passion and party predominated over principle and public good.



PENNSYLVANIA, instead of a legislative council or senate, adopted the expedient of publishing bills after the second reading, for the information of the inhabitants. This had its advantages and disadvantages. It prevented the precipitate adoption of new regulations, and gave an opportunity of ascertaining the sense of the people on those laws by which they were to be bound; but it carried the spirit of discussion into every corner, and disturbed the peace and harmony of neighbourhoods. By making the business of government the duty of every man, it drew off the attention of many from the steady pursuit of their respective businesses.

The state of Pennsylvania also adopted another institution peculiar to itself, under the denomination of a council of censors. These were to be chosen once every seven years, and were authorized to inquire whether the constitution had been preserved—whether the legislative and executive branch of government had performed their duty, or assumed to themselves, or exercised other or greater powers, than those to which they were constitutionally entitled. To inquire whether the public taxes had been justly laid and collected, and in what manner the public moneys had been disposed of, and whether the laws had been duly executed. However excellent this institution may appear in theory, it is doubtful whether in practice it will answer any valuable end. It most certainly opens a door for discord, and furnishes abundant matter for periodical altercation. Either from the disposition of its inhabitants, its form of government, or some other cause, the people of Pennsylvania have constantly been in a state of fermentation. The end of one public controversy has been the beginning of another. From the collision of parties, the minds of the citizens were sharpened, and their active powers improved, but internal harmony has been unknown. They who were out of place so narrowly watched those who were in, that nothing injurious to the public could easily be effected; but from the fluctuation of power, and the total want of permanent system, nothing great or lasting could with safety be undertaken, or prosecuted to

effect. Under all these disadvantages, the state flourished, and from the industry and ingenuity of its inhabitants acquired an unrivalled ascendancy in arts and manufactures. This must in a great measure be ascribed to the influence of habits of order and industry, that had long prevailed.

The Americans agreed in appointing a supreme executive head to each state, with the title either of governor or president. They also agreed in deriving the whole powers of government, either mediately or immediately, from the people. In the Eastern States, and in New York, the governors were elected by the inhabitants, in their respective towns or counties, and in the other states by the legislatures: but in no case was the smallest title of power exercised from hereditary right. New York was the only state which invested its governor with executive authority without a council. Such was the extreme jealousy of power which pervaded the American states, that they did not think proper to trust the man of their choice with the power of executing their own determinations, without obliging him in many cases to take the advice of such counsellors as they thought proper to nominate. The disadvantages of this institution far outweighed its advantages. Had the governors succeeded by hereditary right, a council would have been often necessary to supply the real want of abilities, but when an individual had been selected by the people as the fittest person for discharging the duties of this high department, to fetter him with a council was either to lessen his capacity of doing good, or to furnish him with a screen for doing evil. It destroyed the secrecy, vigour and despatch, which the executive power ought to possess, and by making governmental acts the acts of a body, diminished individual responsibility. In some states it greatly enhanced the expenses of government, and in all retarded its operations. without any equivalent advantages.



NEW YORK, in another particular, displayed political sagacity superior to her neighbours. This was in her council of appointment, consisting of one senator from each of her four great election districts, authorized to designate proper persons for filling vacancies in the executive departments of government. Large bodies are far from being the most proper depositories of the power of appointing to offices. The assiduous attention of candidates is too apt to bias the voice of individuals in popular assemblies. Besides, in such appointments, the responsibility for the conduct of the officer is in a great measure annihilated. The concurrence of a select few on the nomination of one, seems a more eligible mode for securing a proper choice, than appointments made either by one, or by

a numerous body. In the former case there would be danger of favouritism, in the latter that modest unassuming merit would be overlooked, in favour of the forward and obsequious.

A rotation of public officers made a part of most of the American constitutions. Frequent elections were required by all, but several went still farther, and deprived the electors of the power of continuing the same office in the same hands, after a specified length of time. Young politicians suddenly called from the ordinary walks of life, to make laws and institute forms of government, turned their attention to the histories of ancient republics and the writings of speculative men on the subject of government. This led them into many errors, and occasioned them to adopt sundry opinions unsuitable to the state of society in America, and contrary to the genius of real republicanism.

The principle of rotation was carried so far, that, in some of the states, public officers in several departments scarcely knew their official duty, till they were obliged to retire and give place to others as ignorant as they had been on their first appointment. If offices had been instituted for the benefit of the holders, the policy of diffusing these benefits would have been proper, but instituted as they were for the convenience of the public, the end was marred by such frequent changes. By confining the objects of choice, it diminished the privileges of electors, and frequently deprived them of the liberty of choosing the man who, from previous experience, was of all men the most suitable. The favourers of this system of rotation contended for it, as likely to prevent a perpetuity of office and power in the same individual or family, and as a security against hereditary honours. To this it was replied, that free, fair and frequent elections were the most natural and proper securities for the liberties of the people. It produced a more general diffusion of political knowledge, but made more smatterers than adepts in the science of government.

As a farther security for the continuance of republican principles in the American constitutions, they agreed in prohibiting all hereditary honours and distinction of ranks.

It was one of the peculiarities of these new forms of government, that all religious establishments were abolished. Some retained a constitutional distinction between Christians and others, with respect to eligibility to office, but the idea of supporting one denomination at the expense of others, or of raising any one sect of Protestants to a legal pre-eminence, was universally reprobated. The alliance between church and state was completely broken, and each was left to support itself, independent of the other.

The far-famed social compact between the people and their rulers did not apply to the United States. The sovereignty was in the people. In their sovereign capacity by their representatives, they agreed on forms of

government for their own security, and deputed certain individuals as their agents to serve them in public stations agreeably to constitutions which they prescribed for their conduct.

The world has not hitherto exhibited so fair an opportunity for promoting social happiness. It is hoped for the honour of human nature, that the result will prove the fallacy of those theories, which suppose that mankind are incapable of self-government. The ancients, not knowing the doctrine of representation, were apt, in their public meetings, to run into confusion, but in America this mode of taking the sense of the people is so well understood, and so completely reduced to system, that its most populous states are often peaceably convened in an assembly of deputies, not too large for orderly deliberation, and yet representing the whole in equal proportions. These popular branches of legislature are miniature pictures of the community, and from the mode of their election are likely to be influenced by the same interests and feelings with the people whom they represent. As a farther security for their fidelity, they are bound by every law they make for their constituents. The assemblage of these circumstances gives as great a security that laws will be made, and government administered for the good of the people, as can be expected from the imperfection of human institutions.

In this short view of the formation and establishment of the American constitutions, we behold our species in a new situation. In no age before, and in no other country, did man ever possess an election of the kind of government under which he would choose to live. The constituent part of the ancient free governments were thrown together by accident. The freedom of modern European governments was, for the most part, obtained by the concessions or liberality of monarchs, or military leaders. In America alone reason and liberty concurred in the formation of constitutions. It is true, from the infancy of political knowledge in the United States, there were many defects in their forms of government. But in one thing they were all perfect. They left in the people the power of altering and amending them whenever they pleased. In this happy peculiarity they placed the science of politics on a footing with the other sciences, by opening it to improvements from experience and the discoveries of future ages. By means of this power of amending American constitutions, the friends of mankind have fondly hoped that oppression will one day be no more, and that political evil will at least be prevented or restrained with as much certainty, by a proper combination or separation of power, as natural evil is lessened or prevented by the application of the knowledge or ingenuity of man to domestic purposes. No part of the history of ancient or modern Europe can furnish a single fact that militates against this opinion, since in none of its governments have the principles of equal representation and checks been applied, for the preservation of freedom. On these

two pivots are suspended the liberties of most of the states. Where they are wanting, there can be no security for liberty; where they exist, they render any farther security unnecessary.

The rejection of British sovereignty not only involved a necessity of erecting independent constitutions, but of cementing the whole United States by some common bond of union. The act of independence did not hold out to the world thirteen sovereign states, but a common sovereignty of the whole in their united capacity. It therefore became necessary to run the line of distinction between the local legislatures and the assembly of the states in Congress. A committee was appointed for digesting articles of confederation between the states or united colonies, as they were then called, at the time the propriety of declaring independence was under debate, and some weeks previously to the adoption of that measure, but the plan was not for sixteen months after so far digested as to be ready for communication to the states. Nor was it finally ratified by the accession of all the states, till nearly three years more had elapsed. In discussing its articles, many difficult questions occurred. One was to ascertain the ratio of contributions from each state. Two principles presented themselves—numbers of people, and the value of lands. The last was preferred as being the truest barometer of the wealth of nations, but from an apprehended impracticability of carrying it into effect, it was soon relinquished, and recurrence had to the former. That the states should be represented in proportion to their importance, was contended for by those who had extensive territory, but they who were confined to small dimensions, replied, that the states confederated as individuals, in a state of nature, and should therefore have equal votes. From fear of weakening their exertions against the common enemy, the large states for the present yielded the point, and consented that each state should have an equal suffrage.

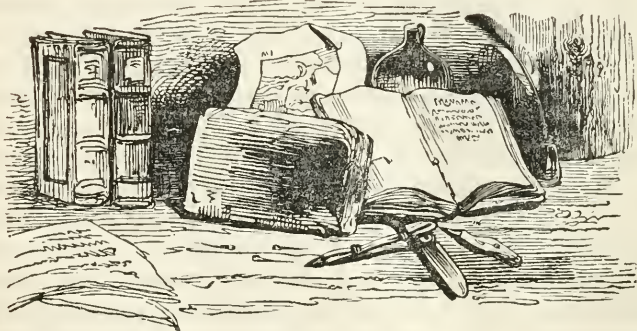
It was not easy to define the power of the state legislatures, so as to prevent a clashing between their jurisdiction and that of the general government. On mature deliberation it was thought proper, that the former should be abridged of the power of forming any other confederation or alliance—of laying on any imposts or duties that might interfere with treaties made by Congress—or keeping up any vessels of war, or granting letters of marque or reprisal. The powers of Congress were also defined. Of these the principal were as follows: To have the sole and exclusive right of determining on peace and war—of sending and receiving ambassadors—of entering into treaties and alliances—of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace—to be the last resort on appeal, in all disputes between two or more states—to have the sole and exclusive right of regulating the alloy and value of coin, of fixing the standard of weights and measures—regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians—establishing and regulating post-offices—to borrow money or emit

bills on the credit of the United States—to build and equip a navy—to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each state for its quota of men, in proportion to the number of its white inhabitants.

No coercive power was given to the general government, nor was it invested with any legislative power over individuals, but only over states in their corporate capacity. As at the time the articles of confederation were proposed for ratification, the Americans had little or no regular commercial intercourse with foreign nations, a power to regulate trade or to raise a revenue from it, though both were essential to the welfare of the union, made no part of the federal system. To remedy this and all other defects, a door was left open for introducing farther provisions, suited to future circumstances.

The articles of confederation were proposed at a time when the citizens of America were young in the science of politics, and when a commanding sense of duty, enforced by the pressure of a common danger, precluded the necessity of a power of compulsion. The enthusiasm of the day gave such credit and currency to paper emissions, as made the raising of supplies an easy matter. The system of federal government was therefore more calculated for what men then were, under these circumstances, than for the languid years of peace, when selfishness usurped the place of public spirit, and when credit no longer assisted in providing for the exigencies of government.

The experience of a few years after the termination of the war proved that a radical change of the whole system was necessary to the good government of the United States.





CLOSE OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1776.



AFTER the retreat of the American army from Long Island, a council of war recommended to act on the defensive, and not to risk the army for the sake of New York. To retreat, subjected the commander-in-chief to reflections painful to bear, and yet inpolitic to refute. To stand his ground, and by suffering himself to be surrounded, to hazard the fate of America on one decisive engagement, was contrary to every rational plan of defending the wide extended states committed to his care. A middle line between abandoning and defending was therefore for a short time adopted. The public stores were moved to Dobbs' Ferry, about twenty-six miles from New York. Twelve thousand men were ordered to the northern extremity of New York island, and four thousand five hundred to remain for the defence of the city; while the remainder occupied the intermediate space, with orders either to support the city or Kingsbridge, as exigencies might require. Before the British landed, it was impossible to tell what place would be first attacked. This made it necessary to erect works for the defence of a variety of places, as well as of New York. Though every thing was abandoned when the crisis came that either the city must be relinquished, or the army risked for its defence, yet from the delays, occasioned by the redoubts and other works, which had been erected on the idea of making the defence of the states a war of posts, a whole campaign was lost to the British and saved to the Americans. The year began with

hopes that Great Britain would recede from her demands, and therefore every plan of defence was on a temporary system. The declaration of independence, which the violence of Great Britain forced the colonies to adopt in July, though neither foreseen nor intended at the commencement of the year, pointed out the necessity of organizing an army, on new terms, correspondent to the enlarged objects for which they had resolved to contend. Congress accordingly determined to raise eighty-eight battalions, to serve during the war. Under these circumstances, to wear away the campaign with as little misfortune as possible, and thereby to gain time for raising a permanent army against the next year, was to the Americans a matter of the last importance. Though the commander-in-chief abandoned those works which had engrossed much time and attention, yet the advantage resulting from the delays they occasioned, far overbalanced the expense incurred by their erection.

The same short-sighted politicians who had before censured General Washington for his cautious conduct in not storming the British lines at Boston, renewed their clamours against him for adopting this evacuating and retreating system. Supported by a consciousness of his own integrity, and by a full conviction that these measures were best calculated for securing the independence of America, he, for the good of his country, voluntarily subjected his fame to be overshadowed by a temporary cloud.

General Howe having prepared every thing for a descent on New York island, [Sept. 15,] began to land his men under cover of ships of war, between Kepps's bay and Turtle bay. A breast-work had been erected in the vicinity, and a party stationed in it to oppose the British in case of their attempting to land. But on the first appearance of danger, they ran off in confusion. The commander-in-chief came up, and in vain attempted to rally them. Though the British in sight did not exceed sixty, he could not either by example, entreaty, or authority, prevail on a superior force to stand their ground and face that inconsiderable number. Such dastardly conduct raised a tempest in the usually tranquil mind of General Washington. Having embarked in the American cause from the purest principles, he viewed with infinite concern this shameful behaviour as threatening ruin to his country. He recollected the many declarations of Congress, of the army, and of the inhabitants, preferring liberty to life, and death to dishonour, and contrasted them with their present scandalous flight. His soul was harrowed up with apprehensions that his country would be conquered—her army disgraced, and her liberties destroyed. He anticipated, in imagination, that the Americans would appear to posterity in the light of high sounding boasters, who blustered when danger was at a distance, but shrunk at the shadow of opposition. Extensive confiscations and numerous attainders presented themselves in full view to his agitated mind. He saw, in imagination, new formed states, with the means of defence in their

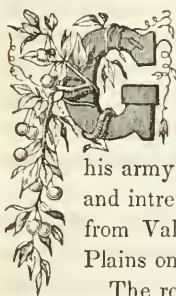
hands, and the glorious prospects of liberty before them, levelled to the dust, and such constitutions imposed on them as were likely to crush the vigour of the human mind, while the unsuccessful issue of the present struggle would for ages to come deter posterity from the bold design of asserting their rights. Impressed with these ideas he hazarded his person for some considerable time in rear of his own men, and in front of the enemy with his horse's head towards the latter, as if in expectation that by an honourable death he might escape the infamy he dreaded from the dastardly conduct of troops on whom he could place no dependence. His aids and the confidential friends around his person, by indirect violence, compelled him to retire. In consequence of their address and importunity, a life was saved for public service, which otherwise, from a sense of honour, and a gust of passion, seemed to be devoted to almost certain destruction.

On the day after this shameful flight of part of the American army, a skirmish took place between two battalions of light infantry and Highlanders commanded by Brigadier Leslie, and some detachments from the American army, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Knowlton of Connecticut, and Major Leitch of Virginia. The colonel was killed and the major badly wounded. Their men behaved with great bravery, and fairly beat their adversaries from the field. Most of these were the same men who had disgraced themselves the day before, by running away; struck with a sense of shame for their late misbehaviour, they had offered themselves as volunteers, and requested the commander-in-chief to give them an opportunity to retrieve their honour. Their good conduct, at this second engagement, proved an antidote to the poison of their example on the preceding day. It demonstrated that Americans only wanted resolution and good officers to be on a footing with the British, and inspired them with hopes that a little more experience would enable them to assume, not only the name and garb, but the spirit and firmness of soldiers.

The Americans having evacuated the city of New York, a brigade of the British army marched into it. They had been but a few days in possession, when a dreadful fire, most probably occasioned by the disorderly conduct of some British sailors, who had been permitted to regale themselves on shore, broke out, and consumed about a thousand houses. Dry weather and a brisk wind spread the flames to such an extent, that had it not been for great exertions of the troops and sailors, the whole city must have shared the same fate. After the Americans had evacuated New York, they retired to the north end of the island on which that city is erected. In about four weeks General Howe began to execute a plan for cutting off General Washington's communication with the Eastern States, and enclosing him so as to compel a general engagement on the island. With this view, the greater part of the royal army passed through Hell-gate, entered the Sound, and landed on Frog's Neck, in West Chester

county. Two days after they made this movement, General Lee arrived from his late successful command to the southward. He found that there was a prevailing disposition among the officers in the American army for remaining on New York island. A council of war was called, in which General Lee gave such convincing reasons for quitting it, that they resolved immediately to withdraw the bulk of the army. He also pressed the expediency of evacuating Fort Washington, but in this he was opposed by General Greene, who argued that the possession of that post would divert a large body of the enemy from joining their main force, and in conjunction with Fort Lee would be of great use in covering the transportation of provisions and stores up the North River for the service of the American troops. He added farther, that the garrison could be brought off at any time by boats from the Jersey side of the river. His opinion prevailed. Though the system of evacuating and retreating was in general adopted, an exception was made in favour of Fort Washington, and near three thousand men were assigned for its defence.

The royal army, after a halt of six days at Frog's Neck, advanced near to New Rochelle. On their march they sustained a considerable loss by a party of Americans whom General Lee posted behind a wall. After three days General Howe moved the right and centre of his army two miles to the northward of New Rochelle, on the road to the White Plains, and there he received a large reinforcement.



GENERAL Washington, while retreating from New York island, was careful to make a front towards the British, from East Chester almost to White Plains, in order to secure the march of those who were behind, and to defend the removal of the sick, the cannon, and stores of his army. In this manner his troops made a line of small detached and intrenched camps, on the several heights and strong grounds, from Valentine's hill on the right, to the vicinity of the White Plains on the left.

The royal army moved in two columns, and took a position with the Bronx in front, upon which the Americans assembled their main force at White Plains behind intrenchments. A general action was hourly expected, and a considerable one took place, in which several hundreds fell. The Americans were commanded by General McDougal, and the British by General Leslie. While they were engaged, the American baggage was moved off, in full view of the British army. Soon after this, General Washington changed his front, his left wing stood fast, and his right fell back to some hills. In this position, which was an admirable one in a military point of view, he both desired and expected an action; but General Howe declined it, and drew off his forces towards Dobbs' ferry. The Americans afterwards retired to North Castle.

General Washington, with part of his army, crossed the North River, and took post in the neighbourhood of Fort Lee. A force of about seven thousand five hundred men was left at North Castle, under General Lee.

The Americans having retired, Sir William Howe determined to improve the opportunity of their absence, for the reduction of Fort Washington. This, the only post the Americans then held on New York island, was under the command of Colonel Magaw. The royal army made four attacks upon it. The first on the north side, was led on by General Knyphausen. The second on the east by General Matthews, supported by Lord Cornwallis. The third was under the direction of Lieutenant-colonel Stirling, and the fourth was commanded by Lord Percy. The troops under Knyphausen, when advancing to the fort, had to pass through a thick wood which was occupied by Colonel Rawling's regiment of riflemen, and suffered very much from their well-directed fire. During this attack, a body of the British light infantry advanced against a party of the Americans who were annoying them from behind rocks and trees, and obliged them to disperse. Lord Percy carried an advance work on his side, and Lieutenant-colonel Stirling forced his way up a steep height and took one hundred and seventy prisoners. Their outworks being carried, the Americans left their lines and crowded into the fort. Colonel Rahl, who led the right column of Knyphausen's attack, pushed forward and lodged his column within a hundred yards of the fort, and was there soon joined by the left column—the garrison surrendered on terms of capitulation, by which the men were to be considered as prisoners of war, and the officers to keep their baggage and side-arms. The number of prisoners amounted to two thousand seven hundred. The loss of the British, inclusive of killed and wounded, was about one thousand two hundred. Shortly after Fort Washington had surrendered, [Nov. 18,] Lord Cornwallis, with a considerable force, passed over to attack Fort Lee, on the opposite Jersey shore.

The garrison was saved by an immediate evacuation, but at the expense of their artillery and stores. General Washington, about this time, retreated to Newark. Having abundant reason, from the posture of affairs, to count on the necessity of a farther retreat, he asked Colonel Reed—"Should we retreat to the back parts of Pennsylvania, will the Pennsylvanians support us?" The colonel replied, "If the lower counties are subdued and give up, the back counties will do the same." The general replied, "We must retire to Augusta county, in Virginia. Numbers will be obliged to repair to us for safety, and we must try what we can do in carrying on a predatory war, and if overpowered, we must cross the Allegheny mountains."

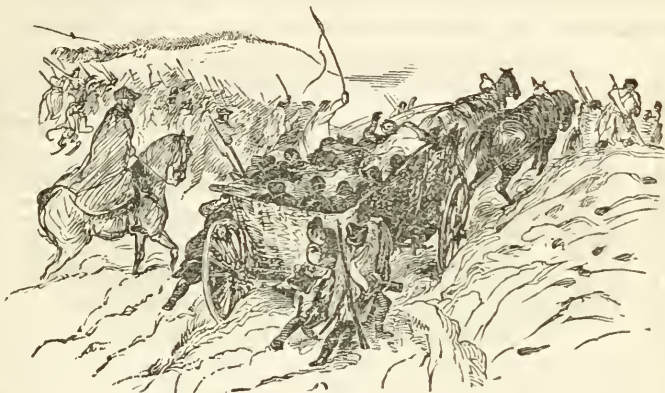
While a tide of success was flowing in upon General Howe, he and his brothers, as royal commissioners, issued a proclamation, in which they commanded "All persons assembled in arms against his majesty's govern-

ment to disband, and all general or provincial congresses to desist from their treasonable actings and to relinquish their usurped power." They also declared, "that every person who, within sixty days, should appear before the governor, lieutenant-governor, or commander-in-chief of any of his majesty's colonies, or before the general or commanding officer of his majesty's forces, and claim the benefit of the proclamation, and testify his obedience to the laws by subscribing a certain declaration, should obtain a full and free pardon of all treasons by him committed, and of all forfeitures and penalties for the same." Many who had been in office, and taken an active part in support of the new government, accepted of these offers and made peace by submission. Some who had been the greatest blusterers in favour of independence, veered round to the strongest side. Men of fortune generally gave way. The few who stood firm were mostly to be found in the middle ranks of the people.

The term of time for which the American soldiers had engaged to serve ended in November or December, with no other exception than that of two companies of artillery, belonging to the state of New York, which were engaged for the war. The army had been organized at the close of the preceding year, on the fallacious idea that an accommodation would take place within a twelve-month. Even the flying camp, though instituted after the prospect of that event had vanished, was enlisted only till the first of December, from a presumption that the campaign would terminate by that time.

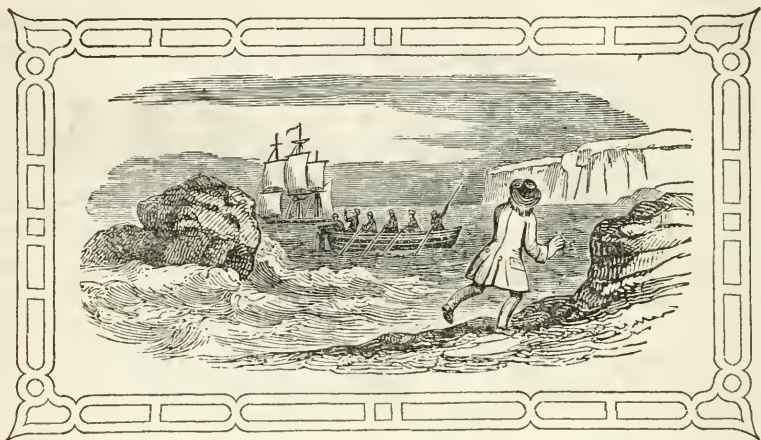
When it was expected that the conquerors would retire to winter quarters, they commenced a new plan of operations, more alarming than all their previous conquests. The reduction of Fort Washington, the evacuation of Fort Lee, and the diminution of the American army by the departure of those whose time of service had expired, encouraged the British, notwithstanding the severity of the winter, and the badness of the roads, to pursue the remaining inconsiderable continental force, with the prospect of annihilating it. By this turn of affairs, the interior country was surprised into confusion, and found an enemy within its bowels without a sufficient army to oppose it. To retreat, was the only expedient left. This having commenced, Lord Cornwallis followed and was close in the rear of General Washington, as he retreated successively to Newark, to Brunswick, to Princeton, to Trenton, and to the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware. The pursuit was urged with so much rapidity, that the rear of the one army, pulling down bridges, was often within sight and shot of the van of the other, building them up.

This retreat into and through New Jersey was attended with almost every circumstance that could occasion embarrassment and depression of spirits. It commenced in a few days after the Americans had lost two thousand seven hundred men in Fort Washington. In fourteen days after



RETREAT OF THE AMERICAN ARMY THROUGH NEW JERSEY.

that event, the whole flying camp claimed their discharge. This was followed by the almost daily departure of others, whose engagements terminated nearly about the same time. A farther disappointment happened to General Washington at this time. Gates had been ordered by Congress to send two regiments from Ticonderoga to reinforce his army. Two Jersey regiments were put under the command of General St. Clair, and forwarded in obedience to this order, but the period for which they were enlisted was expired, and the moment they entered their own state they went off to a man. A few officers, without a single private, were all that General St. Clair brought of those two regiments to the aid of the retreating American army. The few who remained with General Washington were in a most forlorn condition. They consisted mostly of the troops which had garrisoned Fort Lee, and had been compelled to abandon that post so suddenly that they commenced their retreat without tents or blankets, and without any utensils to dress their provisions. In this situation they performed a march of about ninety miles, and had the address to prolong it to the space of nineteen days. As the retreating Americans marched through the country, scarcely one of the inhabitants joined them, while numbers were daily flocking to the royal army, to make their peace and obtain protection. They saw on the one side a numerous, well-appointed, and full clad army dazzling their eyes with the elegance of uniformity; on the other a few poor fellows, who from their shabby clothing were called ragamuffins, fleeing for their safety. Not only the common people changed sides in this gloomy state of public affairs, but some of the leading men in New Jersey and Pennsylvania adopted the same expedient. Among these Mr. Galloway and the family of the Allens of Philadelphia were most



DESCENT ON RHODE ISLAND.

distinguished The former, and one of the latter, had been members of Congress. In this hour of adversity they came within the British lines, and surrendered themselves to the conquerors, alleging in justification of their conduct, that though they had joined with their countrymen in seeking for a redress of grievances in a constitutional way, they had never approved of the measures lately adopted, and were in particular, at all times, averse to independence.

On the day General Washington retreated over the Delaware, the British took possession of Rhode Island without any loss, and at the same time blocked up Commodore Hopkins' squadron and a number of privateers at Providence.

In this period, when the American army was relinquishing its general—the people giving up the cause, some of their leaders going over to the enemy, and the British commanders succeeding in every enterprise, General Lee was taken prisoner at Baskenridge, by Lieutenant Colonel Harcourt. This caused a depression of spirits among the Americans, far exceeding any real injury done to their essential interests. He had been repeatedly ordered to come forward with his division and join General Washington, but these orders were not obeyed. This circumstance, and the dangerous crisis of public affairs, together with his being alone at some distance from the troops which he commanded, begat suspicions that he chose to fall into the hands of the British. Though these apprehensions were without foundation, they produced the same extensive mischief as if they had been realities. The Americans had reposed extravagant confidence in his military talents and experience of regular European war.

Merely to have lost such an idol of the states at any time would have been distressful, but losing him under circumstances which favoured an opinion that, despairing of the American cause, he chose to be taken a prisoner, was to many an extinguishment of every hope.

By the advance of the British into New Jersey, the neighbourhood of Philadelphia became the seat of war. This prevented that undisturbed attention to public business which the deliberations of Congress required. They therefore adjourned themselves to meet in eight days at Baltimore, resolving at the same time, "that General Washington should be possessed of full powers to order and direct all things relative to the department, and the operations of war."

The activity of the British in the close of the campaign seemed in some measure to compensate for their tardiness in the beginning of it.

Hitherto they had succeeded in every scheme. They marched up and down the Jersey side of the river Delaware, and through the country, without any molestation. All opposition to the re-establishment of royal government seemed to be on the point of expiring. The Americans had thus far acted without system, or rather feebly executed what had been tardily adopted. Though the war was changed from its first ground, a redress of grievances to a struggle for sovereignty, yet some considerable time elapsed before arrangements conformable to this new system were adopted, and a much longer before they were carried into execution.

With the year 1776, a retreating, half-naked army, was to be dismissed, and the prospect of a new one was both distant and uncertain. The recently assumed independence of the states was apparently on the verge of dissolution. It was supposed by many, that the record of their existence would have been no more than that "a fickle people, impatient of the restraints of regular government, had in a fit of passion abolished that of Great Britain, and established in its room free constitutions of their own; but these new establishments, from want of wisdom in their rulers, or of spirit in their people, were no sooner formed than annihilated. The leading men, in their respective governments, and the principal members of Congress, (for by this name the insurgents distinguished their supreme council,) were hanged and their estates confiscated. Washington, the gallant leader of their military establishments—worthy of a better fate—deserted by his army—abandoned by his country—rushing on the thickest battalions of the foe, provoked a friendly British bayonet to deliver him from an ignominious death."

To human wisdom it appeared probable, that such a paragraph would have closed some small section in the history of England, treating of the American troubles; but there is in human affairs an ultimate point of elevation or depression, beyond which they neither grow better nor worse, but turn back in a contrary course.

In proportion as difficulties increased, Congress redoubled their exertions to oppose them. They addressed the states in animated language, calculated to remove their despondency—renew their hopes—and confirm their resolutions.

They at the same time despatched gentlemen of character and influence to excite the militia to take the field. General Mifflin was, on this occasion, particularly useful. He exerted his great abilities in rousing his fellow-citizens, by animated and affectionate addresses, to turn out in defence of their endangered liberties.

Congress also recommended to each of the United States, “to appoint a day of solemn fasting and humiliation, to implore of Almighty God the forgiveness of their many sins, and to beg the countenance and assistance of his providence, in the prosecution of the present just and necessary war.”

In the dangerous situation to which every thing dear to the friends of independence was reduced, Congress transferred extraordinary powers to General Washington, by a resolution expressed in the following words :

[December 27.] “The unjust, but determined purpose of the British court to enslave these free states, obvious through every delusive insinuation to the contrary, having placed things in such a situation that the very existence of civil liberty now depends on the right execution of military powers ; and the vigorous decisive conduct of these being impossible to distant, numerous and deliberative bodies—This Congress, having maturely considered the present crisis, and having perfect reliance on the wisdom, vigour, and uprightness of General Washington, do hereby

“*Resolve*, That General Washington shall be, and he is hereby vested with full, ample, and complete powers, to raise and collect together, in the most speedy and effectual manner, from any or all of these United States, sixteen battalions of infantry, in addition to those already voted by Congress ; to appoint officers for the said battalions of infantry ; to raise, officer, and equip three thousand light horse, three regiments of artillery, and a corps of engineers, and to establish their pay ; to apply to any of the states for such aid of the militia as he shall judge necessary ; to form such magazines of provisions, and in such places as he shall think proper : to displace and appoint all officers under the rank of brigadier-general, and to fill up all vacancies in every other department in the American armies ; to take, wherever he may be, whatever he may want, for the use of the army, if the inhabitants will not sell it, allowing a reasonable price for the same ; to arrest and confine persons who refuse to take continental currency, or are otherwise disaffected to the American cause ; and return to the states, of which they are citizens, their names, and the nature of their offences, together with the witnesses to prove them : That the foregoing

powers be vested in General Washington, for and during the term of six months, from the date hereof, unless sooner determined by Congress."

In this hour of extremity, the attention of Congress was employed in devising plans to save the states from sinking under the heavy calamities which were bearing them down. It is remarkable, that, neither in the present condition, though trying and severe, nor in any other since the declaration of independence, was Congress influenced either by force, distress, artifice, or persuasion, to entertain the most distant idea of purchasing peace, by returning to the condition of British subjects. So low were they reduced in the latter part of 1776, that some members, distrustful of their ability to resist the power of Great Britain, proposed to authorize their commissioners at the court of France (whose appointment shall be hereafter explained) to transfer to that country the same monopoly of their trade which Great Britain had hitherto enjoyed. On examination it was found, that concessions of this kind would destroy the force of the many arguments heretofore used in favour of independence, and, probably, disunite their citizens. It was next proposed to offer a monopoly of certain enumerated articles of produce. To this the variant interests of the different states were so directly opposed as to occasion a speedy and decided negative. Some proposed offering to France a league offensive and defensive, in case she would heartily support American independence; but this was also rejected. The more enlightened members of Congress argued, "Though the friendship of small states might be purchased, that of France could not." They alleged, if she would risk a war with Great Britain, by openly espousing their cause, it would not be so much from the prospect of direct advantages, as from a natural desire to lessen the overgrown power of a dangerous rival. It was therefore supposed, that the only inducement likely to influence France to an interference, was an assurance that the United States were determined to persevere in refusing a return to their former allegiance. Instead of listening to the terms of the royal commissioners, or to any founded on the idea of their resuming the character of British subjects, it was, therefore, again resolved, to abide by their declared independence, and proffered freedom of trade to every foreign nation, trusting the event to Providence and risking all consequences. Copies of these resolutions were sent to the principal courts of Europe, and proper persons were appointed to solicit their friendship to the new-formed states. These despatches fell into the hands of the British, and were by them published. This was the very thing wished for by Congress. They well knew, that an apprehension of their making up all differences with Great Britain was the principal objection to the interference of foreign courts, in what was represented to be no more than a domestic quarrel. A resolution adopted in the deepest distress, and the worst of times, that Congress would listen to no terms of re-union with

their parent state, convinced those who wished for the dismemberment of the British empire, that it was sound policy to interfere, so far as would prevent the conquest of the United States.

These judicious determinations in the cabinet were accompanied with vigorous exertions in the field. In this crisis of danger fifteen hundred of the Pennsylvania militia embodied to reinforce the continental army. The merchant, the farmer, the tradesman and the labourer, cheerfully relinquished the conveniences of home, to perform the duties of private soldiers, in the severity of a winter campaign. Though most of them were accustomed to the habits of a city life, they slept in tents, barns, and sometimes in the open air, during the cold months of December and January. There were, nevertheless, only two instances of sickness, and only one of death in that large body of men, in the course of six weeks. The delay so judiciously contrived on the retreat through Jersey, afforded time for these volunteer reinforcements to join General Washington. The number of troops under his command at that time fluctuated between two and three thousand men. To turn round and face a victorious and numerous foe with this inconsiderable force was risking much; but the urgency of the case required that something should be attempted. The recruiting business for the proposed new continental army was at a stand, while the British were driving the Americans before them. The present regular soldiers could, as a matter of right, in less than a week claim their discharge and scarce a single recruit offered to supply their place. Under these circumstances, the bold resolution was formed of re-crossing into the state of Jersey, and attacking that part of the enemy which was posted at Trenton.

When the Americans retreated over the Delaware the boats in the vicinity were removed out of the way of their pursuers—this arrested their progress: but the British commanders in the security of conquest cantoned their army in Burlington, Bordentown, Trenton, and other towns of New Jersey, in daily expectation of being enabled to cross into Pennsylvania, by means of ice, which is generally formed about that time.

Of all events, none seemed to them more improbable than that their late retreating, half-naked enemies, should, in this extreme cold season, face about and commence offensive operations. They indulged themselves in a degree of careless inattention to the possibility of a surprise, which in the vicinity of an enemy, however contemptible, can never be justified. It has been said that Colonel Rahl, the commanding officer in Trenton, being under some apprehension for that frontier post, applied to General Grant for a reinforcement, and that the general returned for answer, "Tell the colonel, he is very safe; I will undertake to keep the peace in New Jersey with a corporal's guard."

In the evening of Christmas day, General Washington made arrange-



BATTLE OF TRENTON.

ments for re-crossing the Delaware in three divisions ; at McKonkey's ferry, at Trenton ferry, and at or near Bordentown. The troops which were to have crossed at the two last places, were commanded by Generals Ewing and Cadwalader ; they made every exertion to get over, but the quantity of ice was so great that they could not effect their purpose. The main body, which was commanded by General Washington, crossed at McKonkey's ferry, but the ice in the river retarded their passage so long that it was three o'clock in the morning before the artillery could be got over. On their landing in Jersey, they were formed into two divisions, commanded by Generals Sullivan and Greene, who had under their command Brigadiers Lord Stirling, Mercer, and St. Clair: one of these divisions was ordered to proceed on the lower, or river road, the other on the upper or Pennington road. Col. Stark, with some light troops, was also directed to advance near to the river, and to possess himself of that part of the town, which is beyond the bridge. The divisions having nearly the same distance to march, were ordered immediately on forcing the out-guards to push directly into Trenton, that they might charge the enemy before they had time to form. Though they marched different roads, yet they arrived at the enemy's advanced post within three minutes of each other. The out-guards of the Hessian troops at Trenton soon fell back, but kept up a constant retreating fire. Their main body being hard pressed by the Americans, who had already got possession of half their artillery, attempted to file off by a road leading towards Princeton, but were checked by a body of troops thrown in their way. Finding they were surrounded, they laid down their arms. The number which submitted, was twenty-three officers and eight hundred and eighty-six men. Between thirty and forty of the

Hessians were killed and wounded. Colonel Rahl was among the former, and seven of his officers among the latter. Captain Washington, of the Virginia troops, and five or six of the Americans were wounded. Two were killed, and two or three were frozen to death. The detachment in Trenton consisted of the regiments of Rahl, Losberg, and Knyphausen, amounting in the whole to about fifteen hundred men, and a troop of British light-horse. All these were killed or captured, except about six hundred, who escaped by the road leading to Bordentown.

The British had a strong battalion of light infantry at Princeton, and a force yet remaining near the Delaware, superior to the American army. General Washington, therefore, in the evening of the same day, thought it most prudent to re-cross into Pennsylvania with his prisoners.

The effects of this successful enterprise were speedily felt in recruiting the American army. About fourteen hundred regular soldiers, whose time of service was on the point of expiring, agreed to serve six weeks longer, on a promised gratuity of ten paper dollars to each. Men of influence were sent to different parts of the country to rouse the militia. The rapine and impolitic conduct of the British operated more forcibly on the inhabitants, to expel them from the state, than either patriotism or persuasion to prevent their overrunning it.

The Hessian prisoners taken on the 26th being secured, General Washington re-crossed the Delaware, and took possession of Trenton. The detachments which had been distributed over New Jersey, previous to the capture of the Hessians, immediately after that event assembled at Princeton, and were joined by the army from Brunswick under Lord Cornwallis. From this position they came forward towards Trenton in great force, hoping by a vigorous onset to repair the injury their cause had sustained by the late defeat. Truly delicate was the situation of the feeble American army. To retreat was to hazard the city of Philadelphia, and to destroy every ray of hope which had begun to dawn from their late success. To risk an action with a superior force in front, and a river in rear, was dangerous in the extreme. To get round the advanced party of the British, and by pushing forwards to attack their rear, was deemed preferable to either. The British on their advance from Princeton, about 4 P. M., attacked a body of Americans which were posted with four field-pieces a little to the northward of Trenton, and compelled them to retreat. The pursuing British, being checked at the bridge over Sanpink creek, which runs through that town, by some field-pieces, which were posted on the opposite banks of that rivulet, fell back so far as to be out of reach of the cannon, and kindled their fires. The Americans were drawn up on the other side of the creek, and in that position remained till night, cannonading the enemy and receiving their fire. In this critical hour, two armies, on which the success or failure of the American revolution materially depended, were crowded into the small village of Trenton, and only separated

by a creek, in many places fordable. The British, believing they had all the advantages they could wish for, and that they could use them when they pleased, discontinued all farther operations, and kept themselves in readiness to make the attack next morning. Sir William Erskine is reported to have advised an immediate attack, or at least to place a strong guard at a bridge over Sanpink creek, which lay in the route the Americans took to Princeton, giving for reason that, otherwise, Washington, if a good general, would make a move to the left of the royal army, and attack the post at Princeton in their rear. The next morning presented a scene as brilliant on the one side as it was unexpected on the other. Soon after it became dark, General Washington ordered all his baggage to be silently removed, and having left guards, for the purpose of deception, marched with his whole force by a circuitous route to Princeton. This manœuvre was determined upon in a council of war, from a conviction that it would avoid the appearance of a retreat, and at the same time the hazard of an action in a bad position, and that it was the most likely way to preserve the city of Philadelphia from falling into the hands of the British. General Washington also presumed, that from an eagerness to efface the impressions made by the late capture of the Hessians at Trenton, the British commanders had pushed forward their principal force, and that of course the remainder in the rear at Princeton was not more than equal to his own. The event verified this conjecture. The more effectually to disguise the departure of the Americans from Trenton, fires were lighted up in front of their camp. These not only gave an appearance of going to rest, but, as flame cannot be seen through, concealed from the British what was transacting behind them. In this relative position they were a pillar of fire to the one army, and a pillar of cloud to the other. Providence favoured this movement of the Americans. The weather had been for some time so warm and moist, that the ground was soft and the roads so deep as to be scarcely passable: but the wind suddenly changed to the north-west, and the ground in a short time was frozen so hard, that when the Americans took up their line of march, they were no more retarded than if they had been upon a solid pavement.

General Washington reached Princeton early in the morning, and would have completely surprised the British, had not a party which was on their way to Trenton descried his troops when they were about two miles distant, and sent back couriers to alarm their unsuspecting fellow-soldiers in their rear. These consisted of the seventeenth, the fortieth, and fifty-fifth regiments of British infantry, and some of the royal artillery, with two field-pieces and three troops of light dragoons. The centre of the Americans, consisting of the Philadelphia militia, while on their line of march, was briskly charged by a party of the British, and gave way in disorder. The moment was critical. General Washington pushed forward, and placed



BATTLE OF PRINCETON.

himself between his own men and the British, with his horse's head fronting the latter. The Americans, encouraged by his example and exhortations, made a stand, and returned the British fire. The general, though between both parties, was providentially uninjured by either. A party of the British fled into the college, and were there attacked with field-pieces, which were fired into it. The seat of the muses became for some time the scene of action. The party which had taken refuge in the college, after receiving a few discharges from American field-pieces, came out and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. In the course of the engagement sixty of the British were killed, and a greater number wounded, and about three hundred of them were taken prisoners. The rest made their escape, some by pushing on towards Trenton, others by returning towards Brunswick. The Americans lost only a few, but Colonels Haslet and Potter, and Captain Neal, of the artillery, were among the slain. General Mercer received three bayonet wounds, of which he died in a short time. He was a Scotchman by birth, but from principle and affection had engaged to support the liberties of his adopted country with a zeal equal to that of any of its native sons. In private life he was amiable, and his character as an officer stood high in the public esteem.

While they were fighting in Princeton, the British in Trenton were under arms, and on the point of making an assault on the evacuated camp of the Americans. With so much address had the movement to Princeton

been conducted, that though, from the critical situation of the two armies, every ear may be supposed to have been open, and every watchfulness to have been employed, yet General Washington moved completely off the ground with his whole force, stores, baggage, and artillery, unknown to and unsuspected by his adversaries. The British in Trenton were so entirely deceived, that when they heard the report of the artillery at Princeton, though it was in the depth of winter, they supposed it to be thunder.

That part of the royal army which, having escaped from Princeton, retreated towards New Brunswick, was pursued for three or four miles. Another party, which had advanced as far as Maidenhead, on their way to Trenton, hearing the frequent discharge of firearms in their rear, wheeled round and marched to the aid of their companions. The Americans, by destroying bridges, retarded these, though close in their rear, so long as to gain time for themselves to move off in good order to Pluckemin.

So great was the consternation of the British at these unexpected movements, that they instantly evacuated both Trenton and Princeton, and retreated with their whole force to New Brunswick. The American militia collected, and forming themselves into parties, waylaid their enemies, and cut them off whenever an opportunity presented. In a few days they overran the Jerseys. General Maxwell surprised Elizabethtown, and took near one hundred prisoners. Newark was abandoned, and the late conquerors were forced to leave Woodbridge. The royal troops were confined to Amboy and Brunswick, which held a water communication with New York. Thus, in the short space of a month, that part of Jersey, which lies between New Brunswick and Delaware, was both overrun by the British and recovered by the Americans. The retreat of the continental army, the timid policy of the Jersey farmers, who chose rather to secure their property by submission than defend it by resistance, made the British believe their work was done, and that little else remained but to reap a harvest of plunder as the reward of their labours. Unrestrained by the terrors of civil law, uncontrolled by the severity of discipline, and elated with their success, the soldiers of the royal army, and particularly the Hessians, gave full scope to the selfish and ferocious passions of human nature. A conquered country, and submitting inhabitants, presented easy plunder equal to their unbounded rapacity. Infants, children, old men and women, were stripped of their blankets and clothing. Furniture was burnt or otherwise destroyed. Domestic animals were carried off, and the people robbed of their necessary household provisions. The rapes and brutalities committed on women, and even on very young girls, would shock the ears of modesty, if particularly recited. These violences were perpetrated on inhabitants who had remained in their houses, and received printed protections, signed by order of the commander-in-chief. It was in

vain that they produced these protections as a safeguard. The Hessians could not read them, and the British soldiers thought they were entitled to a share of the booty, equally with their foreign associates.

Such, in all ages, has been the complexion of the bulk of armies, that immediate and severe punishments are indispensably necessary to keep them from flagrant enormities. That discipline, without which an army is a band of armed plunderers, was, as far as respected the inhabitants, either neglected, or but feebly administered in the royal army. The soldiers, finding they might take, with impunity, what they pleased, were more strongly urged by avarice than checked by policy or fear. Had every citizen been secured in his rights, protected in his property, and paid for his supplies, the consequences might have been fatal to the hopes of those who were attached to independence. What the warm recommendations of Congress and the ardent supplications of General Washington could not effect, took place of its own accord, in consequence of the plunderings and devastations of the royal army.

The whole country became instantly hostile to the invaders. Sufferers of all parties rose as one man, to revenge their personal injuries. Those who, from age or infirmities, were incapable of bearing arms, kept a strict watch on the movements of the royal army, and, from time to time, communicated information to their countrymen in arms. Those who lately declined all military opposition, though called upon by the sacred tie of honour pledged to each other on the declaration of independence, cheerfully embodied, when they found submission to be unavailing for the security of their estates. This was not done originally in consequence of the victories of Trenton and Princeton. In the very moment of these actions, or before the news of them had circulated, sundry individuals, unknowing of General Washington's movements, were concerting private insurrections, to revenge themselves on the plunderers. The dispute originated about property, or, in other words, about the right of taxation. From the same source, at this time it received a new and forcible impulse. The farmer, who could not trace the consequences of British taxation, nor of American independence, felt the injuries he sustained from the depredation of licentious troops. The militia of New Jersey, who had hitherto behaved most shamefully, from this time forward redeemed their character, and throughout a tedious war performed services with a spirit and discipline, in many respects, equal to that of regular soldiers.

The victories of Trenton and Princeton seemed to be like a resurrection from the dead, to the desponding friends of independence. A melancholy gloom had, in the first twenty-five days of December, overspread the United States; but from the memorable era of the 26th of the same month, their prospects began to brighten. The recruiting service, which for some time had been at a stand, was successfully renewed, and hopes

were soon indulged, that the commander-in-chief would be enabled to take the field in the spring, with a permanent regular force. General Washington retired to Morristown, that he might afford shelter to his suffering army. The American militia had sundry successful skirmishes with detachments of their adversaries. Within four days after the affair at Princeton, between forty and fifty Waldeckers were killed, wounded or taken, by an equal number of the same New Jersey militia, which, but a month before, suffered the British to overrun their country without opposition. This enterprise was conducted by Colonel Spencer, whose gallantry, on the occasion, was rewarded with the command of a regiment.

During the winter movements, which have been just related, the soldiers of both armies underwent great hardships, but the Americans suffered by far the greater. Many of them were without shoes, though marching over frozen ground, which so gashed their naked feet, that every step was marked with blood. There was scarcely a tent in their whole army. The city of Philadelphia had been twice laid under contribution, to provide them with blankets. Officers had been appointed to examine every house, and after leaving a scanty covering for the family, to bring off the rest for the use of the troops in the field; but, notwithstanding these exertions, the quantity procured was far short of decency, much less of comfort.

The officers and soldiers of the American army were, about this time, inoculated in their cantonment at Morristown. As very few of them had ever had the small-pox, the inoculation was nearly universal. The disorder had previously spread among them in the natural way, and proved mortal to many: but after inoculation was introduced, though whole regiments were inoculated in a day, there was little or no mortality from the small-pox, and the disorder was so slight that from the beginning to the end of it there was not a single day in which they could not, and, if called upon, would not have turned out and fought the British. To induce the inhabitants to accommodate officers and soldiers in their houses, while under the small-pox, they and their families were inoculated gratis by the military surgeons. Thus, in a short time, the whole army and the inhabitants in and near Morristown were subjected to the small-pox, and with very little inconvenience to either.

Three months, which followed the actions of Trenton and Princeton, passed away without any important military enterprise on either side. Major-general Putnam was directed to take post at Princeton, and cover the country in the vicinity. He had only a few hundred troops, though he was no more than eighteen miles distant from the strong garrison of the British at Brunswick. At one period he had fewer men for duty than he had miles of frontier to guard. The situation of General Washington, at Morristown, was not more eligible. His force was trifling, when

compared with that of the British, but the enemy, and his own countrymen, believed the contrary. Their deception was cherished, and artfully continued by the specious parade of a considerable army. The American officers took their station in positions of difficult access, and kept up a constant communication with each other. This secured them from insult and surprise. While they covered the country, they harassed the foraging parties of the British, and often attacked them with success. Of a variety of these, the two following are selected as most worthy of notice. [January 20.] General Dickinson, with four hundred Jersey militia, and fifty of the Pennsylvania riflemen, crossed Millstone river, near Somerset court-house, and attacked a large foraging party of the British with so much spirit that they abandoned their convoy and fled. Nine of them were taken prisoners. Forty wagons, and upwards of one hundred horses, with a considerable booty, fell into the hands of the general. While the British were loading their wagons, a single man began to fire on them from the woods. He was soon joined by more of his neighbours, who could not patiently see their property carried away. After the foragers had been annoyed for some time by these unseen marksmen, they fancied, on the appearance of General Dickinson, that they were attacked by a superior force, and began a precipitate flight.

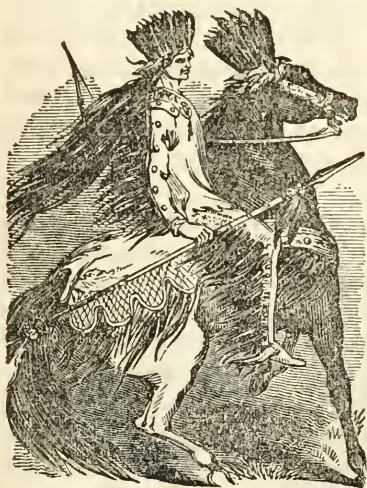
In about a month after the affair of Somerset court-house, [February 18,] Colonel Nelson, of Brunswick, with a detachment of one hundred and fifty militia-men, surprised and captured at Lawrence's Neck a major and fifty-nine privates, of the refugees, who were in British pay.

Throughout the campaign of 1776, an uncommon degree of sickness raged in the American army. Husbandmen, transferred at once from the conveniences of domestic life, to the hardships of a field encampment, could not accommodate themselves to the sudden change. The southern troops sickened from the want of salt provisions. Linen shirts were too generally worn in contact with the skin. The salutary influence of flannel, in preventing the diseases of camps, was either unknown or disregarded. The discipline of the army was too feeble to enforce those regulations which experience has proved to be indispensably necessary for preserving the health of large bodies of men collected together. Cleanliness was also too much neglected. On the 8th of August, the whole American army before New York consisted of 17,225 men, but of that number only 10,514 were fit for duty. These numerous sick suffered much from the want of necessaries. Hurry and confusion added much to their distresses. There was besides a real want of the requisites for their relief.

A proper hospital establishment was beyond the abilities of Congress, especially as the previous arrangements were not entered upon till the campaign had begun. Many, perhaps some thousands, in the American army were swept off in a few months by sickness. The country every-

where presented the melancholy sight of soldiers suffering poverty and disease, without the aid of medicine or attendance. Those who survived gave such accounts of the sufferings of the sick, as greatly discouraged the recruiting service. A rage for plundering, under the pretence of taking Tory property, infected many of the common soldiery, and even some of the officers. The army had been formed on such principles, in some of the states, that commissions were, in several instances, bestowed on persons who had no pretensions to the character of gentlemen. Several of the officers were chosen by their own men; and they often preferred those from whom they expected the greatest indulgencies. In other cases, the choice of the men was in favour of those who had consented to throw their pay into a joint stock with the privates, from which officers and men drew equal shares.

The army consisting mostly of new recruits and unexperienced officers, and being only engaged for a twelve-month, was very deficient in that mechanism and discipline which time and experience bestow on veteran troops. General Washington was unremitting in his representations to Congress, favouring such alterations as promised permanency, order and discipline in the army, but his judicious opinions on these subjects were slowly adopted. The sentiments of liberty which then generally prevailed, made some distinguished members of Congress so distrustful of the future power and probable designs of a permanent domestic army, that they had wellnigh sacrificed their country to their jealousies.



The unbounded freedom of the savage who roams the woods must be restrained when he becomes a citizen of orderly government, and from the necessity of the case must be much more so when he submits to be a soldier. The individuals composing the army of America could not at once pass over from the full enjoyment of civil liberty to the discipline of a camp; nor could the leading men in Congress for some time be persuaded to adopt energetic establishments. "God forbid, would such say, that the citizen should be so far lost in the soldiers of our army, that they should give over longing for the

enjoyments of domestic happiness. Let frequent furloughs be granted, rather than the endearments of wives and children should cease to allure the individuals of our army from camps to farms." The amiableness of

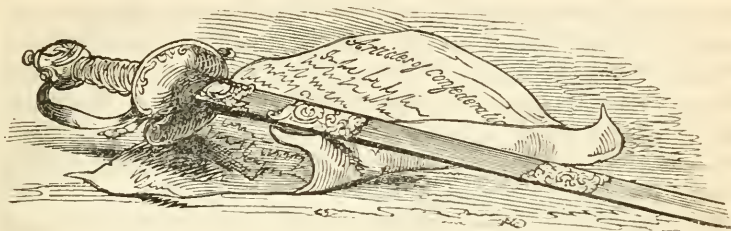
this principle veiled the error of the sentiment. The minds of the civil leaders in the councils of America were daily occupied in contemplating the rights of human nature, and investigating arguments on the principles of general liberty, to justify their own opposition to Great Britain. Warmed with these ideas, they trusted too much to the virtue of their countrymen, and were backward to enforce that subordination and order in their army, which, though it intrenches on civil liberty, produces effects in the military line unequalled by the effusions of patriotism, or the exertions of undisciplined valour.

The experience of two campaigns evinced the folly of trusting the defence of the country to militia, or to levies raised only for a few months, and had induced a resolution for recruiting an army for the war. The good effects of this measure will appear in the sequel.

The campaign of 1776 did not end till it had been protracted into the first month of the year 1777. The British had counted on the complete and speedy reduction of their late colonies; but they found the work more difficult of execution than was supposed. They wholly failed in their designs on the southern states. In Canada they recovered what, in the preceding year, they had lost—drove the Americans out of their borders, and destroyed their fleet on the lakes, but they failed in making their intended impression on the north-western frontier of the states. They obtained possession of Rhode Island, but the acquisition was of little service—perhaps was of detriment. For near three years several thousand men, stationed thereon for its security, were lost to every purpose of active co-operation with the royal forces in the field, and the possession of it secured no equivalent advantages. The British completely succeeded against the city of New York and the adjacent country; but when they pursued their victories into New Jersey, and subdivided their army, the recoiling Americans soon recovered the greatest part of what they had lost.

Sir William Howe, after having nearly reached Philadelphia, was confined to limits so narrow, that the fee-simple of all he commanded would not reimburse the expense incurred by its conquest.

The war, on the part of the Americans, was but barely begun. Hitherto they had engaged with temporary forces, for a redress of grievances; but towards the close of this year they made arrangements for raising a permanent army to contend with Great Britain for the sovereignty of the country. To have thus far stood their ground, with their new levies, was a matter of great importance, because to them delay was victory, and not to be conquered was to conquer.



THE CAMPAIGN OF 1777, IN THE MIDDLE STATES.



SOON after the Declaration of Independence, the authority of Congress was obtained for raising an army, that would be more permanent than the temporary levies, which they had previously brought into the field. [1777.] It was at first proposed to

recruit for the indefinite term of the war, but it being found on experiment that the habits of the people were averse to engagements, for such an uncertain period of service, the recruiting officers were instructed to offer the alternative of either enlisting for the war, or for three years. Those who engaged on the first conditions were promised a hundred acres of land, in addition to their pay and bounty. The troops raised by Congress for the service of the United States were called continentals. Though in September, 1776, it had been resolved to raise eighty-eight battalions, and in December following, authority was given to General Washington to raise sixteen more, yet very little progress had been made in the recruiting business, till after the battles of Trenton and Princeton. Even after that period, so much time was necessarily consumed before these new recruits joined the commander-in-chief, that his whole force at Morristown, and the several outposts, for some time, did not exceed fifteen hundred men. Yet, what is almost incredible, these fifteen hundred men kept as many thousands of the British closely pent up in Brunswick. Almost every party that was sent out by the latter, was successfully opposed by the former, and the adjacent country preserved in a great degree of tranquillity.

It was matter of astonishment, that the British suffered the dangerous interval between the disbanding of one army, and the raising of another, to pass away without attempting something of consequence against the remaining shadow of an armed force. Hitherto there had been a deficiency of arms and ammunition, as well as of men, but in the spring of 1777, a vessel of twenty-four guns arrived from France at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, with upwards of eleven thousand stand of arms, and one thousand barrels of powder. Ten thousand stand of arms arrived about the same time, in another part of the United States.

Before the royal army took the field, in prosecution of the main business of the campaign, two enterprises for the destruction of American stores were undertaken, in an opposite direction to what proved eventually to be the theatre of the operations of Sir William Howe. The first was conducted by Colonel Bird, the second by Major General Tryon. The former landed with about five hundred men at Peekskill, near fifty miles from New York. [March 23.] General Washington had repeatedly cautioned the commissaries not to suffer large quantities of provisions to be near the water, in such places as were accessible to shipping, but his prudent advice had not been regarded. The few Americans under General McDougal, who were stationed as a guard at Peekskill, on the approach of Colonel Bird, fired the principal storehouses, and retired to a good position, about two or three miles distant. The loss of provisions, forage, and other valuable articles, was considerable.

Major-General Tryon, with a detachment of two thousand men, embarked at New York, and passing through the Sound, landed between Fairfield and Norwalk. [April 26.] They advanced through the country without interruption, and arrived in about twenty hours at Danbury. On their approach, the few continentals who were in the town withdrew from it. The British began to burn and destroy, but abstained from injuring the property of such as were reputed tories. Eighteen houses, eight hundred barrels of pork and beef, eight hundred barrels of flour, two thousand bushels of grain, seventeen hundred tents, and some other articles were lost to the Americans. Generals Wooster, Arnold, and Silliman having hastily collected a few hundred of the inhabitants, made arrangements for interrupting the march of the royal detachment, but the arms of those who came forward on this emergency were injured by excessive rains, and the men were worn down with a march of thirty miles in the course of a day. Such dispositions were nevertheless made, and such advantageous posts were taken, as enabled them greatly to annoy the invaders when returning to their ships. General Arnold, with about five hundred men, by a rapid movement, reached Ridgefield in their front—barricaded the road, kept up a brisk fire upon them, and sustained their attack till they had made a lodgment on a ledge of rocks on his left. After the British had gained

this eminence, a whole platoon levelled at General Arnold, not more than thirty yards distant. His horse was killed, but he escaped. While he was extricating himself from his horse, a soldier advanced to run him through with a bayonet, but he shot him dead with his pistol, and afterwards got off safe. The Americans, in several detached parties, harassed the rear of the British, and from various stands kept up a scattering fire upon them till they reached their shipping.

The British accomplished the object of the expedition, but it cost them dear. They had nearly two hundred men killed, wounded, or taken. The loss of the Americans was about twenty killed and forty wounded. Among the former was Dr. Atwater, a gentleman of respectable character and considerable influence. Colonel Lamb was among the latter. General Wooster, though seventy years old, behaved with the vigour and spirit of youth. While gloriously defending the liberties of his country, he received a mortal wound. Congress resolved that a monument should be erected to his memory, as an acknowledgment of his merit and services. They also resolved, that a horse, properly caparisoned, should be presented to General Arnold, in their name, as a token of their approbation of his gallant conduct.

Not long after the excursion to Danbury, Colonel Meigs, an enterprising American officer, transported a detachment of about one hundred and seventy Americans, in whale-boats, over the Sound which separates Long Island from Connecticut, and burned several brigs and sloops belonging to the British, and destroyed a large quantity of forage and other articles collected for their use in Saggs-Harbour, on that island—killed six of their soldiers, and brought off ninety prisoners, without having a single man either killed or wounded. The colonel and his party returned to Guilford in twenty-five hours from the time of their departure, having in that short space not only completed the object of their expedition, but traversed by land and water a space not less than ninety miles. Congress ordered an elegant sword to be presented to Colonel Meigs for his good conduct in this expedition.

As the season advanced, the American army in New Jersey was reinforced by the successive arrival of recruits, but nevertheless, at the opening of the campaign, it amounted only to eight thousand three hundred and seventy-eight, of whom nearly two thousand were sick.

Great pains had been taken to recruit the British army with American levies. A commission of brigadier-general had been conferred on Mr. Oliver Delancey, a loyalist of great influence in New York, and he was authorized to raise three battalions. Every effort had been made to raise the men, both within and without the British lines, and also from among the American prisoners, but with all these exertions only five hundred and ninety-seven were procured. Mr. Courtland Skinner, a loyalist well

known in Jersey, was also appointed a brigadier, and authorized to raise five battalions. Great efforts were also made to procure recruits for his command, but their whole number amounted only to five hundred and seventeen.

Towards the latter end of May, General Washington quitted his winter encampment at Morristown, and took a strong position at Middlebrook. Soon after this movement was effected, the British marched from Brunswick, and extended their van as far as Somerset Court-house, but in a few days returned to their former station. This sudden change was probably owing to the unexpected opposition which seemed to be collecting from all quarters, for the Jersey militia turned out in a very spirited manner to oppose them. Six months before, that same army marched through New Jersey without being fired upon, and even small parties of them had safely patrolled the country at a distance from their camp; but experience having proved that British protections were no security for property, the inhabitants generally resolved to try the effects of resistance, in preference to a second submission. A fortunate mistake gave them an opportunity of assembling in great force on this emergency. Signals had been agreed on, and beacons erected in high places, with the view of communicating over the country instantaneous intelligence of the approach of the British. A few hours before the royal army began their march, the signal of alarm, on the foundation of a false report, had been hoisted. The farmers, with arms in their hands, ran to the place of rendezvous from considerable distances. They had set out at least twelve hours before the British, and on their appearance were collected in formidable numbers. Whether Sir William Howe intended to force his way through the country to the Delaware, and afterwards to Philadelphia, or to attack the American army, is uncertain, but whatever was his design, he thought proper suddenly to relinquish it, and fell back to Brunswick. The British army, on their retreat, burned and destroyed the farm-houses on the road, nor did they spare those buildings which were dedicated to the service of the Deity.

Sir William Howe, after his retreat to Brunswick, endeavoured to provoke General Washington to an engagement, and left no manœuvre untried that was calculated to induce him to quit his position. At one time he appeared as if he intended to push on without regarding the army opposed to him. At another he accurately examined the situation of the American encampment, hoping that some unguarded part might be found on which an attack might be made that would open the way to a general engagement. All these hopes were frustrated. General Washington knew the full value of his situation. He had too much penetration to lose it from the circumvention of military manœuvres, and too much temper to be provoked to a dereliction of it. He was well apprized it was not the interest of his country to commit its fortune to a single action.

Sir William Howe suddenly relinquished his position in front of the Americans, and retired with his whole force to Amboy. The apparently retreating British were pursued by a considerable detachment of the American army, and General Washington advanced from Middlebrook to Quibbletown, to be near at hand for the support of his advanced parties. The British general immediately marched his army back from Amboy with great expedition, hoping to bring on a general action on equal ground, but he was disappointed. General Washington fell back, and posted his army in such an advantageous position, as compensated for the inferiority of his numbers. Sir William Howe was now fully convinced of the impossibility of compelling a general engagement on equal terms, and also satisfied that it would be too hazardous to attempt passing the Delaware while the country was in arms, and the main American army in full force in his rear. He therefore returned to Amboy, and thence passed over to Staten Island, resolving to prosecute the objects of the campaign by another route. During the period of these movements, the real designs of General Howe were involved in great obscurity. Though the season for military operations was advanced as far as the month of July, yet his determinate object could not be ascertained. Nothing on his part had hitherto taken place but alternately advancing and retreating. General Washington's embarrassment on this account was increased by intelligence which arrived, that Burgoyne was coming in great force towards New York, from Canada. Apprehending that Sir William Howe would ultimately move up the North River, and that his movements, which looked southwardly, were calculated to deceive, the American general detached a brigade to reinforce the northern division of his army. Successive advices of the advance of Burgoyne favoured the idea that a junction of the two royal armies near Albany was intended. Some movements were therefore made by General Washington towards Peekskill, and on the other side towards Trenton, while the main army was encamped near the Clove, in readiness to march either to the north or south, as the movements of Sir William Howe might require. At length the main body of the royal army, consisting of thirty-six British and Hessian battalions, with a regiment of light horse, and a loyal provincial corps, called the Queen's Rangers, and a powerful artillery, amounting in the whole to about sixteen thousand men, departed from Sandy Hook, and were reported to steer southwardly. About the time of this embarkation, a letter from Sir William Howe to General Burgoyne was intercepted. This contained intelligence that the British troops were destined to New Hampshire. The intended deception was so superficially veiled, that, in conjunction with the intelligence of the British embarkation, it produced a contrary effect. Within one hour after the reception of this intercepted letter, General Washington gave orders to his army to move to the southward, but he was nevertheless so much impressed with a conviction, that

it was the true interest of Howe to move towards Burgoyne, that he ordered the American army to halt for some time at the river Delaware, suspecting that the apparent movement of the royal army to the southward was a feint calculated to draw him farther from the North River. The British fleet having sailed from Sandy Hook, were a week at sea before they reached Cape Henlopen. At this time and place, for reasons that do not obviously occur, General Howe gave up the idea of approaching Philadelphia by ascending the Delaware, and resolved on a circuitous route by the way of the Chesapeake. Perhaps he counted on being joined by large reinforcements from the numerous Tories in Maryland or Delaware, or perhaps he feared the obstructions which the Pennsylvanians had planted in the Delaware. If these were his reasons, he was mistaken in both. From the Tories he received no advantage, and from the obstructions in the river his ships could have received no detriment if he had landed his troops at Newcastle, which was fourteen miles nearer Philadelphia than the head of Chesapeake bay.

The British fleet, after they had left the capes of the Delaware, had a tedious and uncomfortable passage, being twenty days before they entered the capes of Virginia. They ascended the bay with a favourable wind, and landed at Turkey Point. The circumstance of the British fleet putting out to sea, after they had looked into the Delaware, added to the apprehension before entertained, that the whole was a feint calculated to draw the American army farther from the North River, so as to prevent their being at hand to oppose a junction between Howe and Burgoyne. Washington therefore fell back to such a middle station, as would enable him either speedily to return to the North River, or advance to the relief of Philadelphia. The British fleet, after leaving the capes of Delaware, were not heard of for near three weeks, except that they had once or twice been seen near the coast steering southwardly. A council of officers, convened at Neshaminy, near Philadelphia, unanimously gave it as their opinion, that Charleston, in South Carolina, was most probably their object, and that it would be impossible for the army to march in season for its relief. It was therefore concluded to try to repair the loss of Charleston, which was considered as unavoidable, either by attempting something on New York island, or by uniting with the northern army, to give more effectual opposition to Burgoyne. A small change of position, conformably to this new system, took place. The day before the above resolution was adopted, the British fleet entered the Chesapeake. Intelligence thereof, in a few days, reached the American army, and dispelled that mist of uncertainty, in which General Howe's movements had been heretofore enveloped. The American troops were put in motion to meet the British army. Their numbers on paper amounted to fourteen thousand, but their real effective force on which dependence might be placed in the day of battle, did not much ex-

ceed eight thousand men. Every appearance of confidence was assumed by them as they passed through Philadelphia, that the citizens might be intimidated from joining the British. About the same time a number of the principal inhabitants of that city, being suspected of disaffection to the American cause, were taken into custody, and sent to Virginia.

Soon after Sir William Howe had landed his troops in Maryland, he put forth a declaration, in which he informed the inhabitants, that he had issued the strictest orders to the troops "for the preservation of regularity and good discipline, and that the most exemplary punishment should be inflicted upon those who should dare to plunder the property, or molest the persons of any of his majesty's well-disposed subjects." It seemed as though, fully apprized of the consequences which had resulted from the indiscriminate plunderings of his army in New Jersey, he was determined to adopt a more politic line of conduct. Whatever his lordship's intentions might be, they were by no means seconded by his troops.

The royal army set out from the eastern heads of the Chesapeake, [September 3,] with a spirit which promised to compensate for the various delays which had hitherto wasted the campaign. Their tents and baggage were left behind, and they trusted their future accommodation to such quarters as their arms might procure. They advanced with boldness, till they were within two miles of the American army, which was then posted near Newport. General Washington soon changed his position, and took post on the high ground near Chadd's Fort, on the Brandywine creek, with an intention of disputing the passage. It was the wish, but by no means the interest of the Americans, to try their strength in an engagement. Their regular troops were not only greatly inferior in discipline, but in numbers, to the royal army. The opinion of the inhabitants, though founded on no circumstances more substantial than their wishes, imposed a species of necessity on the American general to keep his army in front of the enemy, and to risk an action for the security of Philadelphia. Instead of this, had he taken the ridge of high mountains on his right, the British must have respected his numbers, and probably would have followed him up the country. In this manner the campaign might have been wasted away in a manner fatal to the invaders, but the bulk of the American people were so impatient of delays, and had such an overweening conceit of the numbers and prowess of their army, that they could not comprehend the wisdom and policy of manœuvres to shun a general engagement.

On this occasion necessity dictated, that a sacrifice should be made on the altar of public opinion. A general action was therefore hazarded. [September 11.] This took place at Chadd's Ford, on the Brandywine, a small stream which empties itself into Christiana Creek, near its conflux with the river Delaware.

The royal army advanced at day-break in two columns, commanded by



BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE.

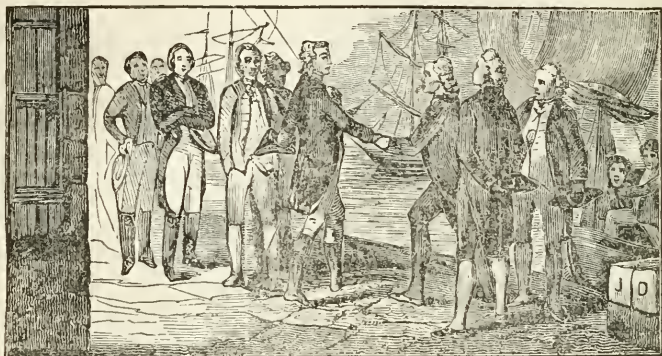
Lieutenant-general Knyphausen and by Lord Cornwallis. The first took the direct road to Chadd's Ford, and made a show of passing it, in front of the main body of the Americans. At the same time the other column moved up on the west side of the Brandywine to its fork, and crossed both its branches about two o'clock in the afternoon, and then marched down on the east side thereof, with the view of turning the right wing of their adversaries.

This they effected, and compelled them to retreat with great loss. General Knyphausen amused the Americans with the appearance of crossing the ford, but did not attempt it until Lord Cornwallis having crossed above, and moved down on the opposite side, had commenced his attack. Knyphausen then crossed the ford, and attacked the troops posted for its defence. These, after a severe conflict, were compelled to give way. The retreat of the Americans soon became general, and was continued to Chester, under cover of General Weeden's brigade, which came off in good order. The final issue of battles often depends on small circumstances, which human prudence cannot control—one of these occurred here, and prevented General Washington from executing a bold design, to effect which his troops were actually in motion. This was to have crossed the Brandywine, and attacked Knyphausen, while General Sullivan and Lord Stirling should keep Earl Cornwallis in check. In the most critical moment, General Washington received intelligence which he was obliged to credit, that the column of Lord Cornwallis had been only making a feint, and was returning to join Knyphausen. This prevented the execution of a plan, which, if carried into effect, would probably have given a different turn to the events of the day. The killed and wounded in the royal army were near



LAFAYETTE OFFERING HIS SERVICES TO THE AMERICANS.

six hundred. The loss of the Americans was twice that number. In the list of their wounded, were two of their general officers—the Marquis de Lafayette and General Woodford. The former was a French nobleman of high rank, who, animated with the love of liberty, had left his native country, and offered his service to Congress. While in France, and only nineteen years of age, he espoused the cause of the Americans, with the most disinterested and generous ardour. Having determined to join them, he communicated his intentions to the American commissioners at Paris. They justly conceived, that a patron of so much importance would be of service to their cause, and encouraged his design. Before he had embarked from France, intelligence arrived in Europe, that the American insurgents, reduced to two thousand men, were fleeing through Jersey before a British force of thirty thousand. Under these circumstances, the American commissioners at Paris thought it but honest to dissuade him from the present prosecution of his perilous enterprise. It was in vain that they acted so candid a part. His zeal to serve a distressed country was not abated by her misfortunes. Having embarked in a vessel, which he purchased for the purpose, he arrived in Charleston, early in 1777, and soon after joined the American army. Congress resolved, that “in consideration of his zeal, illustrious



LAFAYETTE SAILS FOR AMERICA.

family and connections, he should have the rank of major-general in their army." Independent of the risk he ran as an American officer, he hazarded his large fortune, in consequence of the laws of France, and also the confinement of his person, in case of capture, when on his way to the United States, without the chance of being acknowledged by any nation; for his court had forbidden his proceeding to America, and had despatched orders to have him confined in the West Indies, if found in that quarter. This gallant nobleman, who, under all these disadvantages, had demonstrated his good will to the United States, received a wound in his leg at the battle of Brandywine, but he nevertheless continued in the field, and exerted himself both by word and example in rallying the Americans. Other foreigners of distinction also shared in the engagement. Count Pulaski, a Polish nobleman, the same who a few years before had carried off King Stanislaus from his capital, though surrounded with a numerous body of guards, and a Russian army, fought with the Americans at Brandywine. He was a thunderbolt of war, and always sought for the post of danger as the post of honour. Soon after this engagement, Congress appointed him commander of horse, with the rank of brigadier. Monsieur du Coudray, a French officer of high rank and great abilities, while on his way from Philadelphia to join the American army, about this time was drowned in the river Schuylkill. He rode into the flat-bottomed boat on a spirited mare, whose career he was not able to stop, and she went out at the farther end into the river, with her rider on her back.

The evening after the battle of Brandywine, a party of the British went

to Wilmington, and took President McKinley prisoner. They also took possession of a shallop, loaded with the most valuable effects of the inhabitants.

Howe persevered in his scheme of gaining the right flank of the Americans. This was no less steadily pursued on the one side, than avoided on the other. Washington came forward in a few days with a resolution of risking another action. He accordingly advanced as far as the Warren tavern, on the Lancaster road. Near that place, both armies were on the point of engaging with their whole force, but were prevented by a most violent storm of rain, which continued for a whole day and night. [September 18.] When the rain ceased, the Americans found that their ammunition was almost entirely ruined. They, therefore, withdrew to a place of safety. Before a proper supply was procured, the British marched from their position, near the White Horse tavern, down towards the Swedes' Ford. The Americans again took post in their front; but the British, instead of urging an action, began to march up towards Reading. To save the stores which had been deposited in that place, Washington took a new position, and left the British in undisturbed possession of the roads which lead to Philadelphia. His troops were worn down with a succession of severe duties. There were in his army above a thousand men who were barefooted, and who had performed all their late movements in that condition. About this time the Americans sustained a considerable loss by a night attack, conducted by General Grey, on a detachment of their troops, which was encamped near the Paoli tavern, under Wayne. [September 20.] The outposts and pickets were forced without noise, about one o'clock in the morning. The men had scarcely time to turn out, and when they turned out, they unfortunately paraded in the light of their own fires. This directed the British how and where to proceed. They rushed in upon them, and by a free and exclusive use of the bayonet, succeeded in killing or wounding over two hundred of the Americans. The enterprise was conducted with so much address that the loss of the assailants did not exceed eight.

Congress, which after a short residence at Baltimore had returned to Philadelphia, were obliged a second time to consult their safety by flight. They retired at first to Lancaster, and afterwards to Yorktown.

The bulk of the British army being left in Germantown, Sir William Howe, with a small part, made his triumphal entry into Philadelphia, and was received with the hearty welcome of numerous citizens, [September 26,] who, either from conscience, cowardice, interest, or principle, had hitherto separated themselves from the class of active Whigs.

The possession of the largest city in the United States, together with the dispersion of that grand council which had heretofore conducted their public affairs, were reckoned by the short-sighted as decisive of their fate.

The submission of countries, after the conquest of their capital, had often been a thing of course ; but in the great contest for the sovereignty of the United States, the question did not rest with a ruler, or a body of rulers, nor was it to be determined by the possession or loss of any particular place. It was the public mind, the sentiments and opinions of the yeomanry of the country, which were to decide. Though Philadelphia had become the residence of the British army, yet as long as the bulk of the people of the United States were opposed to their government, the country was unsubdued. Indeed it was presumed by the more discerning politicians, that the luxuries of a great city would so far enervate the British troops as to indispose them for those active exertions to which they were prompted, while inconveniently encamped in the open country.

To take off the impression the British successes might make in France, to the prejudice of America, Doctor Franklin gave them an ingenious turn, by observing, "that instead of saying Sir William Howe had taken Philadelphia, it would be more proper to say, Philadelphia had taken Sir William Howe."

One of the first objects of the British, after they had got possession, was to erect batteries to command the river, and to protect the city from any insult by water. The British shipping were prevented from ascending the Delaware, by obstructions hereafter to be described, which were fixed near Mud Island. Philadelphia, though possessed by the British army, was exposed to danger from the American vessels in the river. The American frigate Delaware, of thirty-two guns, anchored within five hundred yards of the unfinished batteries, and being seconded by some smaller vessels, commenced a heavy cannonade upon the batteries and the town, but upon the falling of the tide, she ran a-ground. Being briskly fired upon from the town while in this condition, she was soon compelled to surrender. The other American vessels, not able to resist the fire from the batteries after losing one of their number, retired.



General Washington having been reinforced by two thousand five hundred men from Peekskill and Virginia, and having been informed that General Howe had detached a considerable part of his force, for reducing the forts on the Delaware, conceived a design of attacking the British post at Germantown. Their line of encampment crossed the town at right angles near its centre. The left wing extended to the Schuylkill, and was covered in front by the mounted and dismounted chasseurs. The queen's American rangers and a battalion of light infantry were in front of the right. The Fortieth regiment, with another battalion

of light infantry, were posted on the Chestnut Hill road, three-quarters of a mile in advance. Lord Cornwallis lay at Philadelphia with four battalions of grenadiers. A few of the general officers of the American army, whose advice was requested on this occasion, unanimously recommended an attack; and it was agreed that it should be made in different places to produce the greater confusion, and to prevent the several parts of the British forces from affording support to each other. From an apprehension that the Americans, from the want of discipline, would not persevere in a long attack, it was resolved that it should be sudden and vigorous, and if unsuccessful to make an expeditious retreat. The divisions of Sullivan and Wayne, flanked by Conway's brigade, were to enter the town by the way of Chestnut Hill, while General Armstrong, with the Pennsylvania militia, should fall down the Manatawny road, and gain the left and rear of the British. The divisions of Greene and Stevens, flanked by McDougal's brigade, were to enter by the Limekiln road. The militia of Maryland and Jersey, under Generals Smallwood and Furman, were to march by the old York road, and fall upon the rear of their right.

Lord Stirling with Nash's and Maxwell's brigade were to form a corps de reserve. The Americans began their attack about sunrise [Oct. 4] on the fortieth regiment and a battalion of light infantry. These two corps being obliged to retreat, were pursued into the village. On their retreat Lieutenant Colonel Musgrove with six companies took post in Mr. Chew's strong stone house, which lay in front of the Americans. From an adherence to the military maxim of never leaving a fort possessed by an enemy in the rear, it was resolved to attack the party in the house.

In the mean time General Greene got up with his column and attacked the right wing. Colonel Mathews routed a party of the British opposed to him, killed several, and took one hundred and ten prisoners, but from the darkness of the day lost sight of the brigade to which he belonged, and having separated from it, was taken prisoner with his whole regiment, and the prisoners which he had previously taken were released. A number of the troops in Greene's division were stopped by the halt of the party before Chew's house. Near one-half of the American army remained for some time at that place inactive. In the mean time General Grey led on three battalions of the third brigade, and attacked with vigour. A sharp contest followed. Two British regiments attacked at the same time on the opposite side of the town. General Grant moved up the forty-ninth regiment to the aid of those who were engaged with Greene's column.

The morning was extremely foggy.—This, by concealing the true situation of the parties, occasioned mistakes, and made so much caution necessary as to give the British time to recover from the effects of their first surprise. From these causes the early promising appearances on the part of the assailants were speedily reversed. The Americans left the field has-

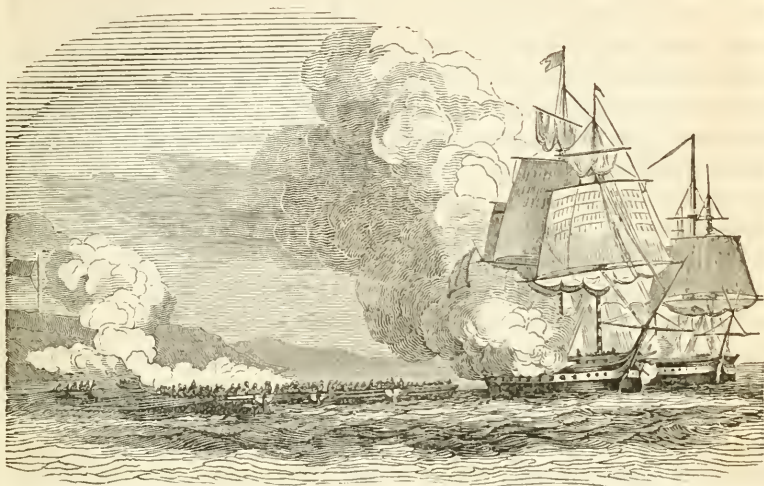


BATTLE OF GERMANTOWN.

tily, and all efforts to rally them were ineffectual. Lord Cornwallis arrived with a party of light-horse, and joined in the pursuit. This was continued for some miles. The loss of the royal army, including the wounded and prisoners, was about five hundred. Among their slain were Brigadier-general Agnew and Lieutenant-colonel Bird. The loss of the Americans, including four hundred prisoners, was about one thousand. Among their slain were General Nash and his aid-de-camp Major Witherspoon.

Soon after this battle, the British left Germantown, and turned their principal attention towards opening a free communication between their army and their shipping.

Much industry and ingenuity had been exerted for the security of Philadelphia on the water side. Thirteen galleys, two floating batteries, two xebecs, one brig, one ship, besides a number of armed boats, fire-ships and rafts, were constructed or employed for this purpose. The Americans had also built a fort on Mud Island, to which they gave the name of Fort Mifflin, and erected thereon a considerable battery. This island is admirably situated for the erection of works to annoy shipping on their way up the Delaware. It lies near the middle of the river, about seven miles below Philadelphia. No vessels of burden can come up but by the main ship channel, which passes close to Mud Island, and is very narrow for more than a mile below. Opposite to Fort Mifflin there is a height, called Red Bank. This overlooks not only the river, but the neighbouring country.



BATTLE OF RED BANK.

On this eminence, a respectable battery was erected. Between these two fortresses, which are half a mile distant from each other, the American naval armament for the defence of the river Delaware, made their harbour of retreat. Two ranges of chevaux-de-frise were also sunk in the channel. These consisted of large pieces of timber, strongly framed together, in the manner usual for making the foundation of wharves in deep water. Several large points of bearded iron projecting down the river were annexed to the upper parts of these chevaux-de-frise, and the whole was sunk with stones, so as to be about four feet under the water at low tide. Their prodigious weight and strength could not fail to effect the destruction of any vessel which came upon them. Thirty of these machines were sunk about three hundred yards below Fort Mifflin, so as to stretch in a diagonal line across the channel. The only open passage left was between two piers lying close to the fort, and that was secured by a strong boom, and could not be approached but in a direct line to the battery. Another fortification was erected on a high bank on the Jersey shore, called Billingsport. And opposite to this, another range of chevaux-de-frise was deposited, leaving only a narrow and shoal channel on the one side. There was also a temporary battery of two heavy cannon, at the mouth of Mantua creek, about half-way from Red Bank to Billingsport. The British were well apprized, that without the command of the Delaware their possession of Philadelphia would be of no advantage. They therefore strained every nerve to

open the navigation of that river. To this end Lord Howe had early taken the most effectual measures for conducting the fleet and transports round from the Chesapeake to the Delaware, and drew them up on the Pennsylvania shore, from Reedy Island to Newcastle. Early in October, a detachment from the British army crossed the Delaware, with a view of dislodging the Americans from Billingsport. On their approach, the place was evacuated. As the season advanced, more vigorous measures for removing the obstructions were concerted between the general and the admiral. Batteries were erected on the Pennsylvania shore to assist in dislodging the Americans from Mud Island. At the same time Count Donop, with two thousand men, having crossed into New Jersey, opposite to Philadelphia, marched down on the eastern side of the Delaware, to attack the redoubt at Red Bank. This was defended by about four hundred men under the command of Colonel Greene. The attack immediately commenced by a smart cannonade, under cover of which the count advanced to the redoubt. This place was intended for a much larger garrison than was then in it. It had therefore become necessary to run a line in the middle thereof, and one part of it was evacuated. That part was easily carried by the assailants on which they indulged in loud huzzas for their supposed victory. The garrison kept up a severe well-directed fire on the assailants, by which they were compelled to retire. They suffered not only in the assault, but in the approach to, and retreat from the fort. Their whole loss in killed and wounded was about four hundred. Count Donop was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. Congress resolved to present Colonel Greene with a sword for his good conduct on this occasion. An attack made about the same time on Fort Mifflin by men of war and frigates was not more successful than the assault on Red Bank. The *Augusta* man-of-war, of sixty-four guns, and the *Merlin*, two of the vessels which were engaged in it, got aground. The former was fired and blew up. The latter was evacuated.

Though the first attempts of the British for opening the navigation of the Delaware were unsuccessful, they carried their point in another way that was unexpected. The *chevaux-de-frise* having been sunk some considerable time, the current of water was diverted by this great bulk into new channels. In consequence thereof, the passage between the islands and the Pennsylvania shore was so deepened as to admit vessels of some considerable draught of water. Through this passage the *Vigilant*, a large ship, cut down so as to draw but little water, mounted with twenty-four pounders, made her way to a position from which she might enfilade the works on Mud Island. This gave the British such an advantage, that the post was no longer tenable. Colonel Smith, who had with great gallantry defended the fort from the latter end of September to the 11th of November, being wounded, was removed to the main. Within five days

after his removal, Major Thayer, who, as a volunteer, had nobly offered to take charge of this dangerous post, was obliged to evacuate it.

This event did not take place till the works were entirely beat down—every piece of cannon dismounted, and one of the British ships so near that she threw grenades into the fort, and killed the men uncovered in the platform. The troops who had so bravely defended fort Mifflin made a safe retreat to Red Bank. Congress voted swords to be given to Lieutenant-colonel Smith and Commodore Hazlewood, for their gallant defence of the Delaware. Within three days after Mud Island was evacuated, the garrison was also withdrawn from Red Bank, on the approach of Lord Cornwallis, at the head of a large force prepared to assault it. Some of the American galleys and armed vessels escaped by keeping close in with the Jersey shore, to places of security above Philadelphia, but seventeen of them were abandoned by their crews and fired. Thus, the British gained a free communication between their army and shipping. This event was, to them, very desirable. They had been previously obliged to draw their provisions from Chester, a distance of sixteen miles, at some risk, and a certain great expense. The long-protracted defence of the Delaware deranged the plans of the British for the remainder of the campaign, and, consequently, saved the adjacent country.

About this time the chair of Congress became vacant by the departure of Mr. Hancock, after he had discharged the duties of that office, to great acceptance, two years and five months. [November 1.] Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, was unanimously elected his successor. He had been in England for some years antecedent to the hostile determinations of parliament against the colonies, but finding the dispute growing serious, he conceived that honour and duty called him to take part with his native country. He had been warmly solicited to stay in England, and offers were made to him not only to secure, but to double his American estate, in case of his continuing to reside there—but these were refused. To a particular friend in London, dissuading him from coming out to America, he replied on the 9th of November, 1774, when at Falmouth, on the point of embarking: "I shall never forget your friendly attention to my interest, but I dare not return. Your ministers are deaf to information, and seem bent on provoking unnecessary contest. I think I have acted the part of a faithful subject. I now go resolved still to labour for peace; at the same time determined in the last event to stand or fall with my country."

Immediately on his arrival in Charleston, he was elected a member, and soon after, the president of the provincial Congress—the president of the council of safety—the vice-president of the state—and a member of Congress.

While Sir William Howe was succeeding in every enterprise in Pennsylvania, intelligence arrived, as shall be related in the next chapter, that

General Burgoyne and his whole army had surrendered prisoners of war to the Americans.

General Washington soon after received a considerable reinforcement from the northern army, which had accomplished this great event. With this increased force he took a position at and near Whitemarsh. The royal army having succeeded in removing the obstructions in the river Delaware, were ready for new enterprises. [December 5.] Sir William Howe marched out of Philadelphia with almost his whole force, expecting to bring on a general engagement. The next morning he appeared on Chestnut Hill, in front of, and about three miles distant from, the right wing of the Americans. On the day following, the British changed their ground, and moved to the right. Two days after, they moved still farther to the right, and made every appearance of an intention to attack the American encampment. Some skirmishes took place, and a general action was hourly expected: but instead thereof, on the morning of the next day, [December 9,] after various marches and countermarches, the British filed off from their right, by two or three different routes, in full march for Philadelphia.

The position of General Washington, in a military point of view, was admirable. He was so sensible of the advantages of it, that the manœuvres of Sir William Howe for some days could not allure him from it. In consequence of the reinforcement lately received, he had not, in any preceding period of the campaign, been in an equal condition for a general engagement. Though he ardently wished to be attacked, yet he would not relinquish a position from which he hoped for reparation for the adversities of the campaign. He could not believe that General Howe, with a victorious army, and that lately reinforced with four thousand men from New York, should come out of Philadelphia only to return thither again. He, therefore, presumed, that to avoid the disgrace of such a movement, the British commander would, from a sense of military honour, be compelled to attack him, though under great disadvantages. When he found him cautious of engaging and inclining to his left, a daring design was formed, which would have been executed, had the British either continued in their position, or moved a little farther to the left of the American army. This was, to have attempted in the night to surprise Philadelphia. The necessary preparations for this purpose were made, but the retreat of the British prevented its execution. Soon after these events, General Smallwood, with a considerable force, was posted at Wilmington, on the banks of the Delaware, and General Washington, with the main army, retired to winter quarters at Valley Forge, sixteen miles distant from Philadelphia. This position was preferred to distant and more comfortable villages, as being calculated to give the most extensive security to the country adjacent to Philadelphia. The American army might have been tracked by

the blood of their feet, in marching without shoes or stockings over the hard-frozen ground, between Whitmarsh and Valley Forge. Some hundreds of them were without blankets. Under these circumstances they had to sit down in a wood, in the latter end of December, and to build huts for their accommodation. This mode of procuring winter quarters, if not entirely novel, has been rarely, if ever, practised in modern war. The cheerfulness with which the general and his army submitted to spend a severe winter, in such circumstances, rather than leave the country exposed, by retiring farther, demonstrated as well their patriotism as their fixed resolution to suffer every inconvenience, in preference to submission. Thus ended the campaign of 1777.

Though Sir William Howe's army had been crowned with the most brilliant success, having gained two considerable victories, and been equally triumphant in smaller actions, yet the whole amount of this tide of good fortune was no more than a good winter lodging for his troops in Philadelphia, whilst the men under his command possessed no more of the adjacent country than what they immediately commanded with their arms. The Congress, it is true, was compelled to leave the first seat of their deliberations, and the greatest city in the United States changed a number of its Whig inhabitants for a numerous royal army; but it is as true that the minds of the Americans were, if possible, more hostile to the claims of Great Britain than ever, and their army had gained as much by discipline and experience, as compensated for its diminution by defeats.

The events of this campaign were adverse to the sanguine hopes which had been entertained of a speedy conquest of the revolted colonies. Repeated proofs had been given, that, though General Washington was very forward to engage when he thought it to his advantage, yet it was impossible for the royal commander to bring him to action against his consent. By this mode of conducting the defence of the new-formed states, two campaigns had been wasted away, and the work which was originally allotted for one was still unfinished.

An account of some miscellaneous transactions will close this chapter. Lieutenant-colonel Barton, of a militia regiment of the state of Rhode Island, [July 9,] accompanied by about forty volunteers, passed by night from Warwick Neck to Rhode Island, and surprised General Prescott in his quarters, and brought him and one of his aids safe off to the continent. Though they had a passage of ten miles by water, they eluded the ships of war and guard boats, which lay all round the island. The enterprise was conducted with so much silence and address, that there was no alarm among the British till the colonel and his party had nearly reached the continent with their prize. Congress soon after resolved, that an elegant

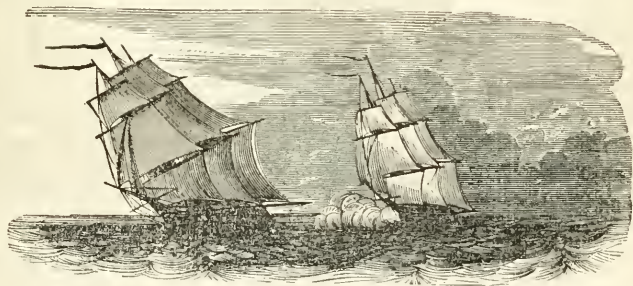
sword should be presented to Lieutenant-colonel Barton, as a testimonial of their sense of his gallant behaviour.

It has already been mentioned, that Congress, in the latter end of November, 1775, authorized the capture of vessels, laden with stores or reinforcements for their enemies. On the 23d of March, 1776, they extended this permission so far as to authorize their inhabitants to fit out armed vessels to cruise on the enemies of the united colonies. The Americans henceforth devoted themselves to privateering, and were very successful. In the course of the year they made many valuable captures, particularly of homeward-bound West Indiamen. The particulars cannot be enumerated, but good judges have calculated, that within nine months after Congress authorized privateering, the British loss in captures, exclusive of transports and government store-ships, exceeded a million sterling. They found no difficulty in selling their prizes. The ports of France were open to them, both in Europe and in the West Indies. In the latter they were sold without any disguise, but in the former a greater regard was paid to appearances. Open sales were not permitted in the harbours of France at particular times, but even then they were made at the entrance or offing.

In the French West India islands the inhabitants not only purchased prizes, brought in by American cruisers, but fitted out privateers under American colours and commissions, and made captures of British vessels. William Bingham, of Philadelphia, was stationed as the agent of Congress, at Martinico, and he took an early and active part in arming privateers in St. Pierre, to annoy and cruise against British property. The favourable disposition of the inhabitants furnished him with an opportunity, which he successfully improved, not only to distress the British commerce, but to sow the seeds of discord between the French and English. The American privateers also found countenance in some of the ports of Spain, but not so readily nor so universally as in those of France. The British took many of the American vessels, but they were often of inferior value. Such of them as were laden with provisions proved a seasonable relief to their West India islands, which otherwise would have suffered from the want of those supplies, which before the war had been usually procured from the neighbouring continent.

The American privateers, in the year 1777, increased in numbers and boldness. They insulted the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland, in a manner that had never before been attempted. Such was their spirit of adventure, that it became necessary to appoint a convoy for the protection of the linen ships from Dublin and Newry. The General Mifflin privateer, after making repeated captures, arrived at Brest, and saluted the French admiral. This was returned in form as to the vessel of an inde-

pendent power. Lord Stormont, the British ambassador at the court of Versailles, irritated at the countenance given to the Americans, threatened to return immediately to London, unless satisfaction was given, and different measures were adopted by France. An order was issued in consequence of his application, requiring all American vessels to leave the ports of his most Christian majesty; but though the order was positive, so many evasions were practised, and the execution of it was so relaxed, that it produced no permanent discouragement of the beneficial intercourse.





GENERAL BURGoyNE.

THE NORTHERN CAMPAIGN OF 1777.

TO effect a free communication between New York and Canada, and to maintain the navigation of the intermediate lakes, was a principal object with the British for the campaign of 1777. The Americans, presuming on this, had been early attentive to their security in that quarter. They had resolved to construct a fort on Mount Independence, which is an eminence adjoining the strait on which Ticonderoga stands, and nearly opposite to that fortress. They had also resolved to obstruct the navigation of the strait by cassoons, to be sunk in the water, and joined

so as to serve at the same time for a bridge between the fortifications on the east and west side of it; and that to prevent the British from drawing their small craft over land into Lake George, the passage of that lake should be obstructed—that Fort Schuyler, the same which had formerly been called Fort Stanwix, should be strengthened, and other fortifications erected near the Mohawk river. Requisitions were made by the commanding officer in the department for thirteen thousand six hundred men, as necessary for the security of this district. The adjacent states were urged to fill up their recruits, and in all respects to be in readiness for an active campaign.

The British ministry were very sanguine in their hopes, from the consequences of forming a line of communication between New York and Canada. They considered the New England people to be the soul of the confederacy, and promised themselves much by severing them from all free communication with the neighbouring states. They hoped, when this was accomplished, to be able to surround them so effectually with fleets and armies, and Indian allies, as to compel their submission. Animated with these expectations, they left nothing undone which bid fair for ensuring the success of the plans they had formed for this purpose.

The regular troops, British and German, allotted to this service, were upwards of seven thousand. As artillery is considered to be particularly useful in an American war, where numerous inhabitants are to be driven out of woods and fastnesses, this part of the service was particularly attended to. The brass train that was sent out was perhaps the finest, and the most excellently supplied, both as to officers and men, that had ever been allotted to second the operations of an equal force. In addition to the regulars, it was supposed that the Canadians and the loyalists in the neighbouring states would add large reinforcements well calculated for the peculiar nature of the service. Arms and accoutrements were accordingly provided to supply them. Several nations of savages had also been induced to take up the hatchet as allies to his Britannic majesty. Not only the humanity, but the policy, of employing them was questioned in Great Britain. The opposers of it contended that Indians were capricious, inconstant and intractable, their rapacity insatiate, and their actions cruel and barbarous. At the same time their services were represented to be uncertain, and that no dependence could be placed on their most solemn engagements. On the other hand, the zeal of British ministers for reducing the revolted colonies was so violent as to make them, in their excessive wrath, forget that their adversaries were men. They contended that, in their circumstances, every appearance of lenity, by inciting to disobedience, and thereby increasing the objects of punishment, was eventual cruelty. In their opinion, partial severity was general mercy; and the only method of speedily crushing the rebellion was to envelope its abettors in such compli

cated distress, as by rendering their situation intolerable would make them willing to accept the proffered blessings of peace and security. The sentiments of those who were for employing Indians against the Americans prevailed. Presents were liberally distributed among them. Induced by these, and also by their innate thirst for war and plunder, they poured forth their warriors in such abundance, that their numbers threatened to be an incumbrance.

The vast force destined for this service was put under the command of Lieutenant-general Burgoyne, an officer whose abilities were well known, and whose spirit of enterprise and thirst for military fame could not be exceeded. He was supported by Major-general Philips, of the artillery, who had established a solid reputation by his good conduct during the late war in Germany, and by Major-general Reidesel and Brigadier-general Speecht, of the German troops, together with the British Generals Frazer, Powell, and Hamilton, all officers of distinguished merit.

The British also had undisputed possession of the navigation of Lake Champlain. The marine force thereon, with which, in the preceding campaign, they had destroyed the American shipping on the lakes, was not only entire, but unopposed.

A considerable force was left in Canada for its internal security, and Sir Guy Carleton's military command was restricted to the limits of that province. Though the British ministry attributed the preservation of Canada to his abilities in 1775 and 1776, yet by their arrangements for the year 1777, he was only called upon to act a secondary part in subserviency to the grand expedition committed to General Burgoyne. His behaviour on this occasion was conformable to the greatness of his mind. Instead of thwarting or retarding a service which was virtually taken out of his hands, he applied himself to support and forward it in all its parts with the same diligence as if the arrangements had been entirely his own, and committed to himself for execution.

The plan of the British for their projected irruption into the northwestern frontier of New York, consisted of two parts. General Burgoyne, with the main body, was to advance by the way of Lake Champlain, with positive orders, as has been said, to force his way to Albany, or at least so far as to effect a junction with the royal army from New York. A detachment was to ascend the river St. Lawrence, as far as Lake Ontario, and from that quarter to penetrate towards Albany, by the way of the Mohawk river. This was put under the command of Lieutenant-colonel St. Leger, and consisted of about two hundred British troops, a regiment of New York loyalists, raised and commanded by Sir John Johnson, and a large body of savages. Lieutenant-general Burgoyne arrived in Quebec on the 6th of May, and exerted all diligence to prosecute in due time the objects of the expedition.



HE proceeded up Lake Champlain, and landed near Crown Point. [June 20, 21.] At this place he met the Indians, gave them a war feast, and made a speech to them. This was well calculated to excite them to take part with the royal army, but at the same time to repress their barbarity. He pointedly forbade them to shed blood when not opposed in arms, and commanded that aged men, women, children, and prisoners,

should be held sacred from the knife and the hatchet, even in the heat of actual conflict. A reward was promised for prisoners, and a severe inquiry threatened for scalps, though permission was granted to take them from those who were previously killed in fair opposition. These restrictions were not sufficient, as will appear in the sequel, to restrain their barbarities. The Indians having decidedly taken part with the British army, General Burgoyne issued a proclamation, calculated to spread terror among the inhabitants. The numbers of his Indian associates were magnified, and their eagerness to be let loose to their prey described in high-sounding words. The force of the British armies and fleets prepared to crush every part of the revolted colonies, was also displayed in pompous language. Encouragement and employment were promised to those who should assist in the re-establishment of legal government, and security held out to the peaceable and industrious, who continued in their habitations. All the calamities of war, arrayed in their most terrific forms, were denounced against those who should persevere in a military opposition to the royal forces.

General Burgoyne advanced with his army in a few days to Crown Point. [June 30.] At this place he issued orders of which the following words are a part: "The army embarks to-morrow to approach the enemy. The services required on this expedition are critical and conspicuous. During our progress occasions may occur, in which, nor difficulty, nor labour, nor life, are to be regarded. This army must not retreat." From Crown Point the royal army proceeded to invest Ticonderoga. On their approach to it, they advanced with equal caution and order on both sides of the lake, while their naval force kept in its centre. Within a few days they had surrounded three-fourths of the American works at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and had also advanced a work on Sugar Hill, which commands both, so far towards completion, that in twenty-four hours it would have been ready to open. In these circumstances General St. Clair, the commanding officer, resolved to evacuate the post at all events; but conceiving it prudent to take the sentiments of the general officers, he called a council of war on the occasion. It was represented to this council, that

their whole numbers were not sufficient to man one-half of the works, and that as the whole must be on constant duty, it would be impossible for them to sustain the necessary fatigue for any length of time, and that as the place would be completely invested on all sides within a day, nothing but an immediate evacuation of the posts could save their troops. The situation of General St. Clair was eminently embarrassing. Such was the confidence of the states in the fancied strength of this post, and of the supposed superiority of force for its defence, that to retreat without risking an action could not fail of drawing on him the execration of the multitude. To stand still, and by suffering himself to be surrounded to risk his whole army for a single post, was contrary to the true interests of the states. In this trying situation, with the unanimous approbation of a council of his general officers, he adopted the heroic resolution of sacrificing personal reputation to save his army.

The assumption of confident appearances by the garrison, had induced their adversaries to proceed with great caution. While from this cause they were awed into respect, the evacuation was completed with so much secrecy and expedition, that a considerable part of the public stores was saved, and the whole would have been embarked, had not a violent gale of wind, which sprung up in the night, prevented the boats from reaching their station.

The works abandoned by the Americans were as follow : The old French lines constructed in the late war between France and England, which looked towards General Burgoyne's encampment, had been repaired the year before, and were in good order. About the centre was a battery of six guns. These occupied about two-thirds of the high ground from the strait to the old fort. The remaining third was open, but some fleches were thrown up for its security. The old fort was in ruins, but some guns were mounted on a ravelin thereof, that looked towards the lake. There was also a battery of four guns in the French lines, which had the same aspect. On the point above the bridge was a battery of four guns, and on Mount Independence another of six or eight. The fort on that side was nearly a mile from the battery, and was formed of piquets. The defence of it might have employed four hundred men, but it could not have resisted a six pounder. There were no barracks within it, nor a drop of water, but at a considerable distance. From the battery at the point, a line of intrenchment ran round the mount, upwards of a mile and a half in length. There had been a strong abatis in front of this line the year before, but it had been consumed by fire, as was also that in front of the French lines. Towards the east of the mount was a blockhouse. Another was on the Ticonderoga side. New works were begun on the mount, but there was neither time nor strength of hands to complete them. A great deal of timber had been felled between the east creek and the foot of the mount,



GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

to retard the approaches of the British. All the redoubts on the low ground were abandoned, for want of men to occupy them. These works, together with ninety-three pieces of ordnance, and a large collection of provisions, fell into the hands of the British.

This evacuation of Ticonderoga was the subject of a severe scrutiny. [July 6.] Congress recalled their general officers in the northern department, and ordered an inquiry into their conduct. They also nominated two gentlemen of eminence in the law to assist the judge-advocate in prosecuting that inquiry, and appointed a committee of their own body to collect evidence in support of the charges, which were on this occasion brought against them. General St. Clair, from the necessity of the case, submitted to this innovation in the mode of conducting courts-martial, but in behalf of the army protested against its being drawn into precedent. Charges of no less magnitude than cowardice, incapacity, and treachery, were brought forward in court against him, and believed by many. The public mind, sore with the loss of Ticonderoga, and apprehensive of general distress, sought to ease itself by throwing blame on the general. When the situation of the army permitted an inquiry into his conduct, he was honourably

acquitted. In the course of his trial it was made to appear, that though thirteen thousand six hundred men had been early called for as necessary to defend the northern posts, yet on the approach of General Burgoyne, the whole force collected to oppose him was only two thousand five hundred and forty-six continentals, and nine hundred militia badly equipped and worse armed. From the insufficiency of their numbers, they could not possess themselves of Sugar Hill, nor of Mount Hope, though the former commanded the works both of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and the latter was of great importance for securing the communication with Lake George, and had been fortified the year before with that view. To the question which had been repeatedly asked, "Why was the evacuation, if really necessary, delayed, till the Americans were so nearly surrounded, as to occasion the loss of such valuable stores?"—it was answered, that "from various circumstances it was impossible for General St. Clair to get early information of the numbers opposed to him. They made no debarkation till they came to Gilliland's creek, which is about forty miles to the northward of Ticonderoga, and from this they speedily reembarked. The savages, which they kept in front, deterred small reconnoitering parties from approaching so near as to make any discoveries of their numbers. Large parties, from the nature of the ground, could not have been supported without risking a general action, and that from the combined operation of these circumstances, the numbers of the approaching royal army were effectually concealed from the garrison, till the van of their force appeared in full view before it." The retreating army embarked as much of their baggage and stores as they had any prospect of saving, on board batteaux, and despatched them under convoy of five armed galleys to Skenesborough. Their main body took its route towards the same place by way of Castleton. The British were no sooner apprized of the retreat of the Americans than they pursued them. General Frazer, at the head of the light troops, advanced on their main body. Major-general Reidesel was also ordered, with the greater part of the Brunswick troops, to march in the same direction. General Burgoyne in person conducted the pursuit by water. The obstructions to the navigation, not having been completed, were soon cut through. The two frigates, the *Royal George* and the *Inflexible*, together with the gun-boats, having effected their passage, pursued with so much rapidity, that in the course of a day the gun-boats came up with and attacked the American galleys near Skenesborough falls. On the approach of the frigates all opposition ceased. Two of the galleys were taken and three blown up. The Americans set fire to their works, mills and batteaux. They were now left in the woods, destitute of provisions. In this forlorn situation they made their escape up Wood creek to Fort Anne. Brigadier Frazer pursued the retreating Americans—came up with, and attacked their rear-guard, at Hubbardton. [July 7.] In the course of the engage-



LOSS OF THE GALLEYS.

ment he was joined by the German troops, commanded by General Reidesel. The Americans, commanded by Colonel Warner, made a gallant resistance, but after sustaining considerable loss were obliged to give way. Lieutenant Colonel Hall, with the ninth British regiment, was detached from Skenesborough by General Burgoyne, to take post near Fort Anne. An engagement ensued between this regiment and a few Americans, but the latter, after a conflict of two hours, fired the fort, and retreated to Fort Edward. The destruction of the galleys and batteaux of the Americans at Skenesborough, and the defeat of their rear, obliged General St. Clair, in order to avoid being between two fires, to change the route of his main body, and to turn off from Castleton to the left. After a fatiguing and distressing march of seven days, he joined General Schuyler at Fort Edward. Their combined forces, inclusive of the militia, not exceeding in the whole four thousand four hundred men, were not long after, on the approach of General Burgoyne, compelled to retire farther into the country, bordering on Albany. Such was the rapid torrent of success which, in this period of the campaign, swept away all opposition from before the royal army. The officers and men were highly elated with their good fortune. They considered their toils to be nearly at an end; Albany to be within their grasp, and the conquest of the adjacent provinces reduced to a certainty. In Great Britain intelligence of the progress of Burgoyne diffused a general joy. As to the Americans, the loss of reputation which they sustained in the opinion of their European admirers, was greater than their loss of posts, artillery and troops. They were stigmatized as want-



GENERAL SCHUYLER.

ing the resolution and abilities of men in defence of their dearest rights. Their unqualified subjugation, or unconditional submission, was considered as being near at hand. An opinion was diffused, that the war in effect was over, or that the farther resistance of the colonists would serve only to make the terms of their submission more humiliating. The terror which the loss of Ticonderoga spread throughout the New England states was great, but nevertheless no disposition to purchase safety by submission appeared in any quarter. They did not sink under the apprehensions of danger, but acted with vigour and firmness. The royal army, after these successes, continued for some days in Skenesborough, waiting for their tents, baggage and provision. In the mean time, General Burgoyne put forth a proclamation, in which he called on the inhabitants of the adjacent towns to send a deputation of ten or more persons from their respective townships, to meet Colonel Skene at Castleton, on the 15th of July. The troops were at the same time busily employed in opening a road, and clearing a creek, to favour their advance, and to open a passage for the conveyance of their stores. A party of the royal army, which had been left behind at Ticonderoga, was equally industrious in carrying gun-boats, pro-

vision vessels, and batteaux, over land, into Lake George. An immensity of labour in every quarter was necessary, but animated as they were with past successes and future hopes, they disregarded toil and danger.

From Skenesborough, General Burgoyne directed his course across the country to Fort Edward, on Hudson river. Though the distance, in a right line, from one to the other, is but a few miles, yet such is the impracticable nature of the country, and such were the artificial difficulties thrown in his way, that nearly as many days were consumed as the distance passed over in a direct line would have measured in miles. The Americans, under the direction of General Schuyler, had cut large trees on both sides of the road, so as to fall across with the branches interwoven. The face of the country was likewise so broken with creeks and marshes, that they had no less than forty bridges to construct, one of which was a log-work over a morass, two miles in extent. This difficult march might have been avoided, had General Burgoyne fallen back from Skenesborough to Ticonderoga, and thence proceeded by Lake George, but he declined this route, from an apprehension that a retrograde motion on his part would abate the panic of the enemy. He had also a suspicion that some delay might be occasioned by the American garrison at Fort George, as, in case of his taking that route, they might safely continue to resist to the last extremity, having open in their rear a place of retreat. On the other hand it was presumed, that as soon as they knew that the royal army was marching in a direction that was likely to cut off their retreat, they would consult their safety by a seasonable evacuation. In addition to these reasons, he had the advice and persuasion of Colonel Skene. That gentleman had been recommended to him as a person proper to be consulted. His land was so situated, that the opening of a road between Fort Edward and Skenesborough would greatly enhance its value. This circumstance might have made him more urgent in his recommendations of that route, especially as, it being the shortest, it bid fair for uniting the royal interest with private convenience. The opinion formed by General Burgoyne of the effect of this direct movement from Skenesborough to Fort Edward on the American garrison, was verified by the event; for, being apprehensive of having their retreat cut off, they abandoned their fort and burnt their vessels. The navigation of Lake George being thereby left free, provisions and ammunition were brought forward from Fort George to the first navigable parts of Hudson river. This is a distance of fifteen miles, and the roads of difficult passage. The intricate combination of land and water carriage, together with the insufficient means of transportation, and excessive rains, caused such delays, that at the end of fifteen days there were not more than four days' provision brought forward, nor above ten batteaux in the river. The difficulties of this conveyance, as well as of the march through the wilderness from Skenesborough to Fort Edward,

were encountered and overcome by the royal army, with a spirit and alacrity which could not be exceeded. [July 30.] At length, after incredible fatigue and labour, General Burgoyne, and the army under his command, reached Fort Edward, on Hudson river. Their exultation on accomplishing, what for a long time had been the object of their hopes, was unusually great.

While the British were retarded in their advance by the combined difficulties of nature and art, events took place which proved the wisdom and propriety of the retreat from Ticonderoga. The army saved by that means, was between the inhabitants and General Burgoyne. This abated the panic of the people, and became a centre of rendezvous for them to repair to. On the other hand, had they stood their ground at Ticonderoga, they must, in the ordinary course of events, in a short time, either have been cut to pieces, or surrendered themselves prisoners of war. In either case, as General St. Clair represented in his elegant defence: "Fear and dismay would have seized on the inhabitants from the false opinion that had been formed of the strength of these posts; wringing grief and moping melancholy would have filled the habitations of those whose dearest connections were in that army, and a lawless host of ruffians, set loose from every social principle, would have roamed at large through the defenceless country, while bands of savages would have carried havoc, devastation and terror before them. Great part of the state of New York must have submitted to the conqueror, and in it he would have found the means to prosecute his success. He would have been able effectually to have co-operated with General Howe, and would probably soon have been in the same country with him—that country where the illustrious Washington, with an inferior force, made so glorious a stand, but who must have been obliged to retire, if both armies had come upon him at once—or he might have been forced to a general and decisive action in unfavourable circumstances, whereby the hopes, the now well-founded hopes of America—of liberty, peace and safety—might have been cut off for ever." Such, it was apprehended, would have been the consequences, if the American northern army had not retreated from their posts at Ticonderoga. From the adoption of that measure very different events took place. In a few days after the evacuation, General Schuyler issued a proclamation, calling to the minds of the inhabitants the late barbarities and desolations of the royal army in Jersey—warning them that they would be dealt with as traitors, if they joined the British, and requiring them with their arms to repair to the American standard. Numerous parties were also employed in bringing off public stores, and in felling trees, and throwing obstructions in the way of the advancing royal army. At first a universal panic intimidated the inhabitants, but they soon recovered. The laws of self-preservation operated in their full force, and diffused a general activity



MURDER OF MISS M'CREAR.

through the adjacent states. The formalities of convening, drafting and off-
 icering the militia, were, in many instances, dispensed with. Hundreds seized
 their firelocks and marched, on the general call, without waiting for the orders
 of their immediate commanders. The inhabitants had no means of security,
 but to abandon their habitations and take up arms. Every individual saw
 the necessity of becoming a temporary soldier. The terror excited by the
 Indians, instead of disposing the inhabitants to court British protection,
 had a contrary effect. The friends of the royal cause, as well as its ene-
 mies, suffered from their indiscriminate barbarities. Among other instances,
 the murder of Miss McCrear excited a universal horror. This young lady,
 in the innocence of youth, and the bloom of beauty, the daughter of a
 steady loyalist, and engaged to be married to a British officer, was, on the
 very day of her intended nuptials, massacred by the savage auxiliaries
 attached to the British army.* Occasion was thereby given to inflame the

* This, though true, was no premeditated barbarity. The circumstances were as fol-
 lows :—Mr. Jones, her lover, from an anxiety for her safety, engaged some Indians to
 remove her from among the Americans, and promised to reward the person who should
 bring her safe to him, with a barrel of rum. Two of the Indians, who had conveyed her

populace, and to blacken the royal cause. The cruelties of the Indians, and the cause in which they were engaged, were associated together, and presented in one view to the alarmed inhabitants. Those whose interest it was to draw forth the militia in support of American independence strongly expressed their execrations of the army, which submitted to accept of Indian aid, and they loudly condemned that government which could call such auxiliaries into a civil contest, as were calculated not to subdue, but to exterminate a people whom they affected to reclaim as subjects. Their cruel mode of warfare, by putting to death as well the smiling infant and the defenceless female, as the resisting armed man, excited a universal spirit of resistance. In conjunction with other circumstances, it impressed on the minds of the inhabitants a general conviction, that a vigorous, determined opposition was the only alternative for the preservation of their property, their children and their wives. Could they have indulged the hope of security and protection while they remained peaceably at their homes, they would have found many excuses for declining to assume the profession of soldiers, but when they contrasted the dangers of a manly resistance with those of a passive inaction, they chose the former, as the least of two unavoidable evils. All the feeble aid which the royal army received from their Indian auxiliaries, was infinitely overbalanced by the odium it brought on their cause, and by that determined spirit of opposition which the dread of their savage cruelties excited. While danger was remote, the pressing calls of Congress and of the general officers, for the inhabitants to be in readiness to oppose a distant foe, were unavailing, or tardily executed, but no sooner had they recovered from the first impression of the general panic, than they turned out with unexampled alacrity. The owners of the soil came forward, with that ardour which the love of dear connections and of property inspires. An army was speedily poured forth from the woods and mountains. When they who had begun the retreat were nearly wasted away, the spirit of the country immediately supplied their place with a much greater and more formidable force. In addition to these incitements, it was early conjectured, that the royal army, by pushing forward, would be so entangled as not to be able to advance or retreat on equal terms. Men of abilities and of eloquence, influenced with this expectation, harangued the inhabitants in their several towns—set forth, in high-colouring, the cruelties of the savage auxiliaries of Great Britain, and the fair prospects of capturing

some distance on the way to her intended husband, disputed which of them should present her to Mr. Jones. Both were anxious for the reward. One of them killed her with his tomahawk, to prevent the other from receiving it. Burgoyne obliged the Indians to deliver up the murderer, and threatened to put him to death. His life was only spared, upon the Indians agreeing to terms, which the general thought would be more efficacious than an execution in preventing similar mischiefs.

the whole force of their enemies. From the combined influences of these causes, the American army soon amounted to upwards of thirteen thousand men.

While General Burgoyne was forcing his way down towards Albany, Lieutenant-colonel St. Leger was co-operating with him in the Mohawk country. He had ascended the river St. Lawrence, crossed Lake Ontario, and commenced the siege of Fort Schuyler. On the approach of this detachment of the royal army, [August 3,] General Herkimer collected about eight hundred of the Whig militia of the parts adjacent, for the relief of the garrison.

St. Leger, aware of the consequences of being attacked in his trenches, detached Sir John Johnson, with some Tories and Indians, to lie in ambush and intercept the advancing militia. The stratagem took effect. The general and his militia were surprised, [August 6,] but several of the Indians were nevertheless killed by their fire. A scene of confusion followed. Some of Herkimer's men run off, but others posted themselves behind logs, and continued to fight with bravery and success. The loss on the side of the Americans was one hundred and sixty killed, besides the wounded. Among the former was their gallant leader, General Herkimer. Several of their killed and wounded were principal inhabitants of that part of the country. Colonel St. Leger availed himself of the terror excited on this occasion, and endeavoured by strong representations of Indian barbarity to intimidate the garrison into an immediate surrender. He sent verbal and written messages, "demanding the surrender of the fort, and stating the impossibility of their obtaining relief, as their friends under General Herkimer were entirely cut off, and as General Burgoyne had forced his way through the country, and was daily receiving the submission of the inhabitants;" he represented "the pains he had taken to soften the Indians, and to obtain engagements from them, that in case of an immediate surrender every man in the garrison should be spared," and particularly enlarged on the circumstance, "that the Indians were determined, in case of their meeting with farther opposition, to massacre not only the garrison, but every man, woman, or child, in the Mohawk country." Colonel Gansevoort, who commanded in the fort, replied, "that being by the United States intrusted with the charge of the garrison, he was determined to defend it to the last extremity, against all enemies whatever, without any concern for the consequences of doing his duty."

It being resolved, maugre the threats of Indian barbarities, to defend the fort—Lieutenant-colonel Willet undertook, in conjunction with Lieutenant Stockwell, to give information to their fellow-citizens of the state of the garrison. These two adventurous officers passed by night through the besiegers' works, and at the hazard of falling into the hands of savages, and suffering from them the severity of torture, made their way for fifty

miles through dangers and difficulties, in order to procure relief for their besieged associates. In the mean time the British carried on their operations with such industry, that in less than three weeks they had advanced within one hundred and fifty yards of the fort.

The brave garrison, in its hour of danger, was not forgotten. General Arnold, with a brigade of continental troops, had been previously detached by General Schuyler for their relief, and was then near at hand. Mr. Tost Schuyler, who had been taken up by the Americans on suspicion of his being a spy, was promised his life and his estate, on consideration that he should go on and alarm the Indians with such representations of the numbers marching against them, as would occasion their retreat. He immediately proceeded to the camp of the Indians, and being able to converse in their own language, informed them that vast numbers of hostile Americans were near at hand. They were thoroughly frightened and determined to go off. St. Leger used every art to retain them, but nothing could change their determination. It is the characteristic of these people on a reverse of fortune to betray irresolution, and a total want of that constancy which is necessary to struggle for a length of time with difficulties. They had found the fort stronger and better defended than was expected. They had lost several head men in their engagement with General Herkimer, and had gotten no plunder. These circumstances, added to the certainty of the approach of a reinforcement to their adversaries, which they believed to be much greater than it really was, made them quite untractable. Part of them instantly decamped, and the remainder threatened to follow, if the British did not immediately retreat. This measure was adopted, and the siege raised. From the disorder occasioned by the precipitancy of the Indians, the tents, and much of the artillery and stores of the besiegers, [August 22,] fell into the hands of the garrison. The discontented savages, exasperated by their ill-fortune, are said, on their retreat, to have robbed their British associates of their baggage and provisions.

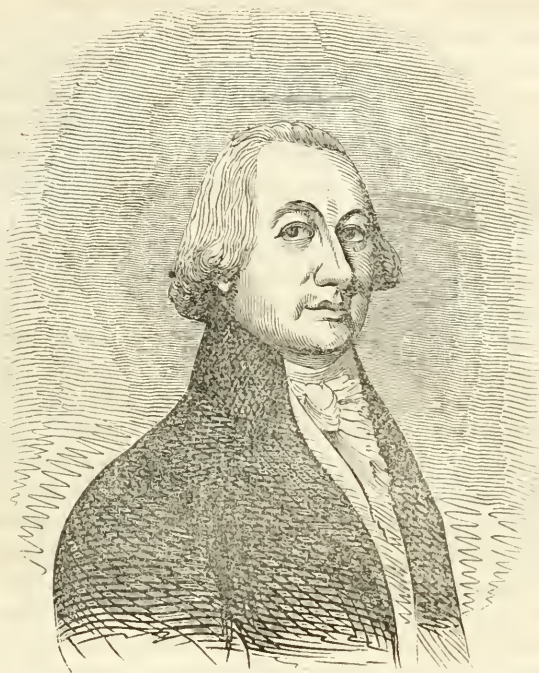
While the fate of Fort Schuyler was in suspense, it occurred to General Burgoyne, on hearing of its being besieged, that a sudden and rapid movement forward would be of the utmost consequence. As the principal force of his adversaries was in front between him and Albany, he hoped by advancing on them, to reduce them to the necessity of fighting, or of retreating out of his way to New England. Had they, to avoid an attack, retreated up the Mohawk river, they would, in case of St. Leger's success, have put themselves between two fires. Had they retreated to Albany, it was supposed their situation would have been worse, as a co-operation from New York was expected. Besides, in case of that movement, an opportunity would have been given for a junction of Burgoyne and St. Leger. To have retired from the scene of action by filing off for New England, seemed to be the only opening left for their escape. With such views,

General Burgoyne promised himself great advantages from advancing rapidly towards Albany. The principal objection against this plausible project, was the difficulty of furnishing provisions to his troops. To keep up a communication with Fort George, so as to obtain from that garrison regular supplies, at a distance daily increasing, was wholly impracticable. The advantages which were expected from the proposed measure were too dazzling to be easily relinquished. Though the impossibility of drawing provisions from the stores in their rear was known and acknowledged, yet a hope was indulged that they might be elsewhere obtained. A plan was therefore formed to open resources from the plentiful farms of Vermont. Every day's account, and particularly the information of Colonel Skene, induced Burgoyne to believe, that one description of the inhabitants in that country were panic-struck, and that another, and by far the most numerous, were friends to the British interest, and only wanted the appearance of a protecting power to show themselves. Relying on this intelligence, he detached only five hundred men, one hundred Indians, and two field-pieces, which he supposed would be fully sufficient for the expedition. The command of this force was given to Lieutenant-colonel Baum, and it was supposed that with it he would be enabled to seize upon a magazine of supplies which the Americans had collected at Bennington, and which was only guarded by militia. It was also intended to try the temper of the inhabitants, and to mount the dragoons. Lieutenant-colonel Baum was instructed to keep the regular force posted, while the light troops felt their way; and to avoid all danger of being surrounded, or of having his retreat cut off. But he proceeded with less caution than his perilous situation required. Confiding in the numbers and promised aid of those who were depended upon as friends, he presumed too much. On his approaching the place of his destination, he found the American militia stronger than had been supposed. He therefore took post in the vicinity, intrenched his party, and despatched an express to General Burgoyne, with an account of his situation. Colonel Breyman was detached to reinforce him. Though every exertion was made to push forward this reinforcement, yet from the impracticable face of the country, and defective means of transportation, thirty-two hours elapsed before they had marched twenty-four miles. General Stark, who commanded the American militia at Bennington, engaged with them before the junction of the two royal detachments could be effected. On this occasion, about eight hundred undisciplined militia, without bayonets, or a single piece of artillery, attacked and routed five hundred regular troops advantageously posted behind intrenchments, furnished with the best arms, and defended with two pieces of artillery. The field-pieces were taken from the party commanded by Colonel Baum, and the greatest part of his detachment was either killed or captured. Colonel Breyman arrived on the same ground



BATTLE OF BENNINGTON.

on the same day, but not till the action was over. Instead of meeting his friends, as he expected, he found himself briskly attacked. This was begun by Colonel Warner, (who, with his continental regiment, which having been sent for from Manchester, came opportunely at this time,) and was well supported by Stark's militia, which had just defeated the party commanded by Colonel Baum. Breyman's troops, though fatigued with their preceding march, behaved with great resolution, but were at length compelled to abandon their artillery and retreat. In these two actions the Americans took four brass field-pieces, twelve brass drums, two hundred and fifty dragoon swords, four ammunition wagons, and about seven hundred prisoners. The loss of the Americans, inclusive of their wounded, was about one hundred men. Congress resolved, "that their thanks be presented to General Stark, of the New Hampshire militia, and the officers and troops under his command, for their brave and successful attack upon and signal victory over the enemy in their lines at Bennington; and also, that Brigadier Stark be appointed a brigadier-general in the army of the



JOHN LANGDON

United States." Never were thanks more deservedly bestowed. The overthrow of these detachments was the first link in a grand chain of causes, which finally drew down ruin on the whole royal army. The confidence with which the Americans were inspired, on finding themselves able to defeat regular troops, produced surprising effects. It animated their exertions, and filled them with expectations of farther successes.

The conduct of John Langdon, a merchant of New Hampshire, who devoted his fortune to the raising of troops and supplies for General Stark, should always be remembered in connection with the battle of Bennington.

That military pride, which is the soul of an army, was nurtured by the captured artillery, and other trophies of victory. In proportion to the elevation of the Americans, was the depression of their adversaries. Accustomed to success, as they had been in the preceding part of the campaign, they felt unusual mortification from this unexpected check. Though it did not diminish their courage, it abated their confidence. It is not easy to enumerate all the disastrous consequences which resulted to the royal

army, from the failure of their expedition to Bennington. These were so extensive, that their loss of men was the least considerable. It deranged every plan for pushing the advantages which had been previously obtained. Among other embarrassments, it reduced General Burgoyne to the alternative of halting till he brought forward supplies from Fort George, or of advancing without them at the risk of being starved. The former being adopted, the royal army was detained from August 16th to September 13th. This unavoidable delay gave time and opportunity for the Americans to collect in great numbers.

The defeat of Lieutenant-colonel Baum was the first event which for a long time had taken place in favour of the American northern army. From December 1775, it had experienced one misfortune treading on the heels of another, and defeat succeeding defeat. Every movement had been either retreating or evacuating. The subsequent transactions present a remarkable contrast. Fortune, which previous to the battle of Bennington had not for a moment quitted the British standard, seemed, after that event, as if she had totally deserted it, and gone over to the opposite party.

After the evacuation of Ticonderoga, the Americans had fallen back from one place to another, till they at last fixed at Vanshaick's Island. Soon after this retreating system was adopted, Congress recalled their general officers, and put General Gates at the head of their northern army. His arrival gave fresh vigour to the exertions of the inhabitants. The militia, flushed with their recent victory at Bennington, collected in great numbers to his standard. They soon began to be animated with a hope of capturing the whole British army. A spirit of adventure burst forth in many different points of direction. While General Burgoyne was urging his preparations for advancing towards Albany, an enterprise was undertaken by General Lincoln to recover Ticonderoga, and the other posts in the rear of the royal army. He detached Colonel Brown with five hundred men to the landing at Lake George. The colonel conducted his operations with so much address, that he surprised all the outposts between the landing at the north end of Lake George, and the body of the fortress at Ticonderoga. He also took Mount Defiance and Mount Hope, the French lines, and a block-house, two hundred batteaux, several gun-boats, and an armed sloop, together with two hundred and ninety prisoners, and at the same time released one hundred Americans. His own loss was trifling. Colonel Brown and Colonel Johnson, the latter of whom had been detached with five hundred men, to attempt Mount Independence, on examination, found that the reduction of either that post or of Ticonderoga, was beyond their ability. When the necessary stores for thirty days' subsistence were brought forward from Lake George, General Burgoyne gave up all communication with the magazines in his rear, and crossed Hudson river, Sept. 13 and 14. This movement was the subject of much discus-



BURGOYNE'S ENCAMPMENT ON THE HUDSON.

sion. Some charged it on the impetuosity of the general, and alleged that it was premature before he was sure of aid from the royal forces posted in New York; but he pleaded the peremptory orders of his superiors. The rapid advance of Burgoyne, and especially his passage of the North River, added much to the impracticability of his future retreat, and, in conjunction with subsequent events, made the total ruin of his army in a great degree unavoidable.

General Burgoyne, after crossing the Hudson, advanced along its side, and in four days encamped on the heights about two miles from General Gates's camp, which was three miles above Stillwater. The Americans, elated with their success at Bennington and Fort Schuyler, thought no more of retreating, but came out to meet the advancing British, and engaged them with firmness and resolution. The attack began a little before mid-day, [Sept. 19,] between the scouting parties of the two armies. The commanders on both sides supported and reinforced their respective parties. The conflict, though severe, was only partial for an hour and a half, but after a short pause it became general, and continued for three hours, without any intermission. A constant blaze of fire was kept up,

and both armies seemed to be determined on death or victory. The Americans and British alternately drove, and were driven, by each other. Men, and particularly officers, dropped every moment and on every side. Several of the Americans placed themselves in high trees, and as often as they could distinguish an officer's uniform, took him off by deliberately aiming at his person. Few actions have been characterized by more obstinacy in attack or defence. The British repeatedly tried their bayonets, but without their usual success in the use of that weapon. At length night put an end to the effusion of blood. The British lost upwards of five hundred men, including their killed, wounded, and prisoners. The Americans, inclusive of the missing, lost three hundred and nineteen. Thirty-six out of forty-eight British matrosses were killed or wounded. The sixty-second British regiment, which was five hundred strong when it left Canada, was reduced to sixty men and four or five officers. This hard-fought battle decided nothing, and little else than honour was gained by either army, but nevertheless it was followed by important consequences. Of these, one was the diminution of the zeal and alacrity of the Indians in the British army. The dangerous service in which they were engaged was by no means suited to their habits of war. They were disappointed of the plunder they expected, and saw nothing before them but hardships and danger. Fidelity and honour were too feeble motives in the minds of savages to retain them in such an unproductive service. By deserting in the season when their aid would have been most useful, they furnished a second instance of the impolicy of depending upon them. Very little more perseverance was exhibited by the Canadians and other British provincials. They also abandoned the British standard when they found that, instead of a flying and dispirited enemy, they had a numerous and resolute force opposed to them. These desertions were not the only disappointments which General Burgoyne experienced. From the commencement of the expedition, he had promised himself a strong reinforcement from that part of the British army which was stationed at New York. He depended on its being able to force its way to Albany, and to join him there, or in the vicinity. This co-operation, though attempted, failed in the execution, while the expectation of it contributed to involve him in some difficulties, to which he would not have otherwise been exposed.

General Burgoyne received intelligence in a cipher, [Sept. 21,] that Sir Henry Clinton, who then commanded in New York, intended to make a diversion in his favour, by attacking the fortresses which the Americans had erected on Hudson river, to obstruct the intercourse between New York and Albany. In answer to this communication, he despatched to Sir Henry Clinton some trusty persons with a full account of his situation, and with instructions to press the immediate execution of the proposed co-operation, and to assure him that he was enabled in point of provisions, and

fixed in his resolution to hold his present position till the 12th of October, in the hopes of favorable events. The reasonable expectation of a diversion from New York, founded on this intelligence, made it disgraceful to retreat, and at the same time improper to urge offensive operations. In this posture of affairs, a delay of two or three weeks, in expectation of the promised co-operation from New York, became necessary. In the mean time the provisions of the royal army were lessening, and the animation and numbers of the American army increasing. The New England people were fully sensible that their all was at stake, and at the same time sanguine, that, by vigorous exertions, Burgoyne would be so entangled that his surrender would be unavoidable. Every moment made the situation of the British army more critical. From the uncertainty of receiving farther supplies, General Burgoyne lessened the soldiers' provisions. [Oct. 1.] The 12th of October, the term till which the royal army had agreed to wait for aid from New York, was fast approaching, and no intelligence of the expected co-operation had arrived. In this alarming situation it was thought proper to make a movement to the left of the Americans. The body of troops employed for this purpose consisted of fifteen hundred chosen men, and was commanded by Generals Burgoyne, Philips, Reidesel, and Frazer. As they advanced, they were checked by a sudden and impetuous attack; but Major Ackland, at the head of the British grenadiers, sustained it with great firmness. The Americans extended their attack along the whole front of the German troops, who were posted on the right of the grenadiers, and they also marched a large body round their flank, in order to cut off their retreat. To oppose this bold enterprise, the British light infantry, with a part of the 24th regiment, were directed to form a second line, and to cover the retreat of the troops into the camp. In the mean time the Americans pushed forward a fresh and strong reinforcement, to renew the action on Burgoyne's left. That part of his army was obliged to give way, but the light infantry and 24th regiment, by a quick movement, came to its succour, and saved it from total ruin. The British lines being exposed to great danger, the troops which were nearest to them returned for their defence. General Arnold, with a brigade of continental troops, pushed for the works possessed by Lord Balcarras, at the head of the British light infantry; but the brigade having an abattis to cross, and many other obstructions to surmount, was compelled to retire. Arnold left this brigade, and came to Jackson's regiment, which he ordered instantly to advance, and attack the lines and redoubt in their front, which were defended by Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, at the head of the German grenadiers. The assailants pushed on with rapidity, and carried the works. Arnold was one of the first who entered them. Lieutenant-colonel Breyman was killed. The troops commanded by him retired firing. They gained their tents about thirty or forty yards from their works, but on finding that the

assault was general, they gave one fire, after which some retreated to the British camp, but others threw down their arms. The night put an end to the action.

This day was fatal to many brave men. The British officers suffered more than their common proportion. Among their slain General Frazer, on account of his distinguished merit, was the subject of particular regret. Sir James Clark, Burgoyne's aid-de-camp, was mortally wounded. The general himself had a narrow escape; a shot passed through his hat, and another through his waistcoat. Majors Williams and Ackland were taken, and the latter was wounded. The loss of the Americans was inconsiderable, but General Arnold, to whose impetuosity they were much indebted for the success of the day, was among their wounded. They took more than two hundred prisoners, besides nine pieces of brass artillery, and the encampment of a German brigade, with all their equipage.

The royal troops were under arms the whole of the next day, in expectation of another action, but nothing more than skirmishes took place. At this time, General Lincoln, when reconnoitering, received a dangerous wound: an event which was greatly regretted, as he possessed much of the esteem and confidence of the American army.

The position of the British army, after the action of the 7th, was so dangerous, that an immediate and total change became necessary. This hazardous measure was executed without loss or disorder. The British camp, with all its appurtenances, was removed in the course of a single night. The American general now saw a fair prospect of overcoming the army opposed to him, without exposing his own to the danger of another battle. His measures were therefore principally calculated to cut off their retreat, and prevent their receiving any further supplies.

While General Burgoyne was pushing on towards Albany, an unsuccessful attempt to relieve him was made by the British commander in New York. For this purpose, Sir Henry Clinton conducted an expedition up Hudson river. This consisted of about three thousand men, and was accompanied by a suitable naval force. After making many feints, he landed at Stoney Point, and marched over the mountains to Fort Montgomery, and attacked the different redoubts. The garrison, commanded by Governor Clinton, a brave and intelligent officer, made a gallant resistance. But as the post had been designed principally to prevent the passing of ships, the works on the land side were incomplete and untenable. When it began to grow dark, the British entered the fort with fixed bayonets. The loss on neither side was great. Governor Clinton, General James Clinton, and most of the officers and men, effected their escape under cover of the thick smoke and darkness that suddenly prevailed.

The reduction of this post furnished the British with an opportunity for opening a passage up the North River, but instead of pushing forward to



BURGOYNE'S RETREAT ON THE HUDSON.

Burgoyne's encampment, or even to Albany, they spent several days in laying waste the adjacent country. The Americans destroyed Fort Constitution, and also set fire to two new frigates, and some other vessels. General Tryon at the same time destroyed a settlement called Continental village, which contained barracks for fifteen hundred men, besides many stores. Sir James Wallace with a flying squadron of light frigates, and General Vaughan with a detachment of land forces, continued on and near the river for several days, desolating the country near its margin. General Vaughan so completely burned *Æsopus*, a fine flourishing village, that a single house was not left standing, though on his approach the Americans had left the town without making any resistance. [Oct. 13.] Charity would lead us to suppose that these devastations were designed to answer military purposes. Their authors might have hoped to divert the attention of General Gates, and thus indirectly relieve General Burgoyne, but if this was intended the artifice did not take effect. The preservation of property was with the Americans only a secondary object. The capturing of Burgoyne promised such important consequences, that they would not suffer any other consideration to interfere with it. General Gates did not make a single movement that lessened the probability of effecting his grand purpose. He

wrote an expostulatory letter to Vaughan, part of which was in the following terms: "Is it thus your king's generals think to make converts to the royal cause? It is no less surprising than true, that the measures they adopt to serve their master have a quite contrary effect. Their cruelty establishes the glorious act of independence upon the broad basis of the resentment of the people." Whether policy or revenge led to this devastation of property is uncertain, but it cannot admit of a doubt that it was far from being the most effectual method of relieving Burgoyne.

The passage of the North River was made so practicable by the advantages gained on the 6th of October, that Sir Henry Clinton, with his whole force, amounting to three thousand men, might not only have reached Albany, but General Gates's encampment, before the 12th, the day till which Burgoyne had agreed to wait for aid from New York. While the British were doing mischief to individuals without serving the cause of their royal master, it seems as though they might, by pushing forward about one hundred and thirty-six miles in six days, have brought Gates's army between two fires, at least twenty-four hours before Burgoyne's necessity compelled his submission to articles of capitulation. Why they neglected this opportunity of relieving their suffering brethren, about thirty-six miles to the northward of Albany, when they were only about one hundred miles below it, has never yet been satisfactorily explained.

Gates posted fourteen hundred men on the heights opposite the fords of Saratoga, and two thousand more in the rear, to prevent a retreat to Fort Edward, and fifteen hundred at a ford higher up. Burgoyne receiving intelligence of these movements, concluded from them, especially from the last, that Gates meant to turn his right. This, if effected, would have entirely enclosed him. To avoid being hemmed in, he resolved on an immediate retreat to Saratoga. His hospital, with the sick and wounded, were necessarily left behind, but they were recommended to the humanity of General Gates, and received from him every indulgence their situation required. When General Burgoyne arrived at Saratoga, he found that the Americans had posted a considerable force on the opposite heights, to impede his passage at that ford. In order to prepare the way for a retreat to Lake George, General Burgoyne ordered a detachment of artificers, with a strong escort of British and provincials, to repair the bridges and open the road leading thither. Part of the escort was withdrawn on other duty, and the remainder, on a slight attack of an inconsiderable party of Americans, ran away. The workmen, thus left without support, were unable to effect the business on which they had been sent. The only practicable route of retreat, which now remained, was by a night march to Fort Edward. Before this attempt could be made, scouts returned with intelligence that the Americans were intrenched to those fords on the Hudson river over which it was proposed to pass, and that they were also in force on the

high ground between Fort Edward and Fort George. They had at the same time parties down the whole shore and posts, so near as to observe every motion of the royal army. Their position extended nearly round the British, and was by the nature of the ground in a great measure secured from attacks. The royal army could not stand its ground where it was, from the want of the means necessary for their subsistence; nor could it advance towards Albany, without attacking a force greatly superior in number; nor could it retreat without making good its way over a river in face of a strong party advantageously posted on the opposite side. In case of either attempt, the Americans were so near as to discover every movement, and by means of their bridge could bring their whole force to operate.

Truly distressing was the condition of the royal army. Abandoned in the most critical moment by their Indian allies—unsupported by their brethren in New York—weakened by the timidity and desertion of the Canadians—worn down by a series of incessant efforts, and greatly reduced in their numbers by repeated battles, they were invested by an army nearly three times their number, without a possibility of retreat, or of replenishing their exhausted stock of provisions. A continual cannonade pervaded their camp, and rifle and grape-shot fell in many parts of their lines. They nevertheless retained a great share of fortitude.

In the mean time the American army was hourly increasing. Volunteers came in from all quarters, eager to share in the glory of destroying or capturing those whom they considered as their most dangerous enemies. The 13th of October at length arrived. The day was spent in anxious expectation of its producing something of consequence. But as no prospect of assistance appeared, and their provisions were nearly expended, the hope of receiving any in due time for their relief could not reasonably be further indulged. General Burgoyne thought proper, in the evening, to take an account of the provisions left. It was found, on inquiry, that they would amount to no more than a scanty subsistence for three days. In this state of distress, a council of war was called, and it was made so general, as to comprehend both the field-officers and the captains. Their unanimous opinion was, that their present situation justified a capitulation on honourable terms. A messenger was therefore despatched to begin this business. General Gates in the first instance demanded, that the royal army should surrender prisoners of war. He also proposed that the British should ground their arms. But General Burgoyne replied, "This article is inadmissible in every extremity;—sooner than this army will consent to ground their arms in their encampment, they will rush on the enemy, determined to take no quarter." After various messages, a convention was settled, by which it was substantially stipulated as follows: The troops under General Burgoyne, to march out of their camp with the honours of war, and the



SURRENDER OF BURGOYNE.

artillery of the intrenchments to the verge of the river, where the arms and artillery are to be left. The arms to be piled by word of command from their own officers. A free passage to be granted to the army under Lieutenant-general Burgoyne to Great Britain, upon condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest, and the port of Boston to be assigned for the entry of the transports to receive the troops whenever General Howe shall so order. The army under Lieutenant-general Burgoyne to march to Massachusetts Bay, by the easiest route, and to be quartered in, near, or as convenient as possible, to Boston. The troops to be provided with provision by General Gates's orders, at the same rate of rations as the troops of his own army. All officers to retain their carriages, bat-horses, and no baggage to be molested or searched. The officers are not, as far as circumstances will admit, to be separated from their men. The officers to be quartered according to their rank. All corps whatever of Lieutenant-general Burgoyne's army to be included in the above articles. All Canadians, and persons belonging to the Canadian establishment, and other followers of the army, to be permitted to return to Canada—to be conducted to the first British post on Lake George, and to be supplied with provisions as the other troops, and to be bound by the same condition of not serving during the present contest. Passports to be granted to three officers, to carry despatches to Sir William Howe, Sir Guy

Carleton, and to Great Britain. The officers to be admitted on their parole, and to be permitted to wear their side arms. Such were the embarrassments of the royal army, incapable of subsisting where it was, or of making its way to a better situation, that these terms were rather more favourable than they had a right to expect. On the other hand, it would not have been prudent for the American general at the head of his army, which, though numerous, consisted mostly of militia or new levies, to have provoked the despair of even an inferior number of brave, disciplined, regular troops. General Gates rightly judged that the best way to secure his advantages was to use them with moderation. Soon after the convention was signed, the Americans marched into their lines, and were kept there till the royal army had deposited their arms at the place appointed. The delicacy with which this business was conducted, reflected the highest honour on the American general. Nor did the politeness of Gates end here. Every circumstance was withheld, that could constitute a triumph in the American army. The captive general was received by his conqueror with respect and kindness. A number of the principal officers of both armies met at General Gates's quarters, and for a while seemed to forget in social and convivial pleasures that they had been enemies. The conduct of General Burgoyne in this interview with General Gates was truly dignified, and the historian is at a loss whether to admire most the magnanimity of the victorious, or the fortitude of the vanquished general.

The British troops partook liberally of the plenty that reigned in the American army. It was the more acceptable to them, as they were destitute of bread and flour, and had only as much meat left as was sufficient for a day's subsistence.

By the convention which has been mentioned, five thousand seven hundred and ninety men were surrendered prisoners. The sick and wounded left in camp, when the British retreated to Saratoga, together with the numbers of the British, German, and Canadian troops, who were killed, wounded, or taken, and who had deserted in the preceding part of the expedition, were reckoned to be four thousand six hundred and eighty-nine. The whole royal force, exclusive of Indians, was probably about ten thousand. The stores which the Americans acquired were considerable. The captured artillery consisted of thirty-five brass field-pieces. There were also four thousand six hundred and forty-seven muskets, and a variety of other useful and much-wanted articles, which fell into their hands. The continentals in General Gates's army were nine thousand and ninety-three, the militia four thousand one hundred and twenty-nine; but of the former two thousand one hundred and three were sick or on furlough, and five hundred and sixty-two of the latter were in the same situation. The number of the militia was constantly fluctuating.

The general exultation of the Americans, on receiving the agreeable in-

telligence of the convention of Saratoga, disarmed them of much of their resentment. The burnings and devastations which had taken place were sufficient to have inflamed their minds, but private feelings were in a great measure absorbed by a consideration of the many advantages which the capture of so large an army proposed to the new-formed states.

In a short time after the convention was signed, General Gates moved forward to stop the devastations of the British on the North River; but on hearing of the fate of Burgoyne, Vaughan and Wallace retired to New York.

About the same time the British, which had been left in the rear of the royal army, destroyed their cannon, and abandoning Ticonderoga, retreated to Canada. The whole country, after experiencing for several months the confusions of war, was in a moment restored to perfect tranquillity.

Great was the grief and dejection in Britain, on receiving the intelligence of the fate of Burgoyne. The expedition committed to him had been undertaken with the most confident hopes of success. The quality of the troops he commanded was such, that from their bravery, directed by his zeal, talents and courage, it was presumed that all the northern parts of the United States would be subdued before the end of the campaign. The good fortune which for some time followed him justified these expectations, but the catastrophe proved the folly of planning distant expeditions, and of projecting remote conquests.

The consequences of these great events vibrated round the world. The capture of Burgoyne was the hinge on which the Revolution turned. While it encouraged the perseverance of the Americans by well-grounded hopes of final success, it increased the embarrassments of that ministry which had so ineffectually laboured to compel their submission. Opposition to their measures gathered new strength, and formed a stumbling-block in the road to conquest. This prevented Great Britain from acting with that collected force which an union of sentiments and councils would have enabled her to do. Hitherto the best informed Americans had doubts of success in establishing their independence, but henceforward their language was, "That whatever might be the event of their present struggle, they were for ever lost to Great Britain." Nor were they deceived. The eclat of capturing a large army of British and German regular troops soon procured them powerful friends in Europe.

Immediately after the surrender of the troops commanded by Lieutenant-general Burgoyne, they were marched to the vicinity of Boston. On their arrival they were quartered in the barracks on Winter and Prospect hills. The General Court of Massachusetts passed proper resolutions for procuring suitable accommodations for the prisoners; but from the general unwillingness of the people to oblige them, and from the feebleness of that authority which the republican rulers had at that time over the property

of their fellow-citizens, it was impossible to provide immediately for so large a number of officers and soldiers, in such a manner as their convenience required, or as from the articles of convention they might reasonably expect. The officers remonstrated to General Burgoyne, that six or seven of them were crowded together in one room, without any regard to their respective ranks, in violation of the 7th article of the convention. General Burgoyne, on the 14th of November, forwarded this account to General Gates, and added, "the public faith is broken." This letter, being laid before Congress, gave an alarm. It corroborated an apprehension, previously entertained, that the captured troops on their embarkation would make a junction with the British garrisons in America. The declaration of the general, that "the public faith was broken" while in the power of Congress, was considered by them as destroying the security which they before had in his personal honour, for in every event he might adduce his previous notice to justify his future conduct. They therefore resolved, "That the embarkation of Lieutenant-general Burgoyne, and the troops under his command, be postponed till a distinct and explicit ratification of the convention of Saratoga be properly notified by the court of Great Britain to Congress." General Burgoyne explained the intention and construction of the passage objected to in his letter, and pledged himself, that his officers would join with him in signing any instrument that might be thought necessary for confirming the convention, but Congress would not recede from their resolution. They alleged, that it had been often asserted by their adversaries, that "faith was not to be kept with rebels," and that therefore they would be deficient in attention to the interests of their constituents, if they did not require an authentic ratification of the convention by national authority, before they parted with the captured troops. They urged farther, that by the law of nations, a compact broken in one article, was no longer binding in any other. They made a distinction between the suspension and abrogation of the convention, and alleged that ground to suspect an intention to violate it was a justifying reason for suspending its execution on their part, till it was properly ratified. The desired ratification, if Great Britain was seriously disposed to that measure, might have been obtained in a few months, and Congress uniformly declared themselves willing to carry it into full effect, as soon as they were secured of its observance by proper authority on the other side.

About eight months after, certain royal commissioners, whose official functions shall be hereafter explained, made a requisition respecting these troops—offered to ratify the convention, and required permission for their embarkation. On inquiry it was found, that they had no authority to do any thing in the matter which would be obligatory on Great Britain. Congress therefore resolved, "that no ratification of the convention, which may be tendered in consequence of powers which only reach that case by



STEBUEN TEACHING THE AMERICANS THE PRUSSIAN DISC PLINE.

construction and implication, or which may subject whatever is transacted relative to it, to the future approbation or disapprobation of the parliament of Great Britain, can be accepted by Congress."

Till the capture of Burgoyne the powers of Europe were only spectators of the war between Great Britain and her late colonies, but soon after that event they were drawn in to be parties. In every period of the controversy, the claims of the Americans were patronised by sundry respectable foreigners. The letters, addresses, and other public acts of Congress, were admired by many who had no personal interest in the contest. Liberty is so evidently the undoubted right of mankind, that even they who never possessed it feel the propriety of contending for it, and whenever a people take up arms either to defend or to recover it, they are sure of meeting with encouragement or good wishes from the friends of humanity in every part of the world.

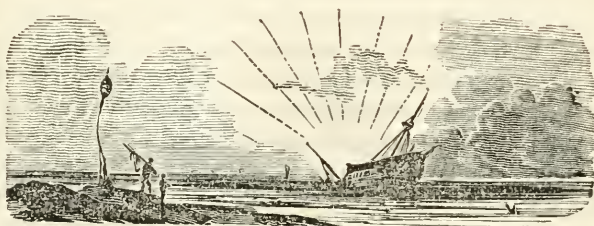
Among the officers who distinguished themselves in this and the subsequent campaigns, was Baron Frederick William Steuben, a Prussian officer, who served many years in the armies of the great Frederick, was one of his aids, and held the rank of lieutenant-general. He arrived in New Hampshire from Marseilles in November, 1777, with strong recommendations to Congress. He claimed no rank, and only requested permission to render as a volunteer what services he could to the American army. He was soon appointed to the office of inspector-general, and he

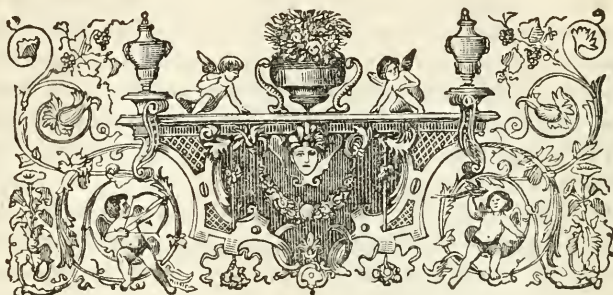
established a uniform system of manœuvres ; and by his skill and persevering industry, effected, during the continuance of the troops at Valley Forge, a most important improvement in all ranks of the army. He was a volunteer in the action of Monmouth, and commanded in the trenches of Yorktown on the day which concluded the struggle with Great Britain.

During his command, Lord Cornwallis made his overture for capitulation. The proposals were immediately despatched to the commander-in-chief, and the negotiation progressed.

The Marquis de Lafayette, whose turn it was next to mount guard in the trenches, marched to relieve the baron, who, to his astonishment, refused to be relieved. He informed General de Lafayette that the custom of the European war was in his favour ; and that it was a point of honour which he could neither give up for himself nor deprive his troops of ; that the offer to capitulate had been made during his guard, and that in the trenches he would remain until the capitulation was signed or hostilities commenced. The marquis immediately galloped to head-quarters : General Washington decided in favour of the baron, to the joy of the one, and to the mortification of the other of those brave and valuable men. The baron remained till the business was finished. After the peace, the baron retired to a farm in the vicinity of New York. The state of New Jersey had given him a small improved farm ; and the state of New York gave him a tract of sixteen thousand acres of land in the county of Oneida.

The baron died at Steubenville, New York, November 28, 1794, aged sixty-one years. He was an accomplished gentleman, and a virtuous citizen ; of extensive knowledge and sound judgment.

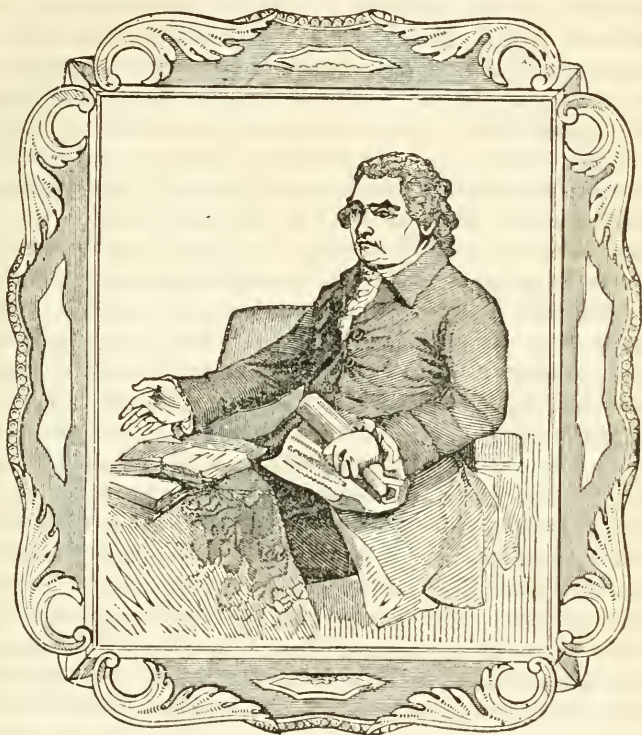




EFFECT OF BURGOYNE'S SURRENDER IN ENGLAND.



ON the 3d of December the news arrived in London of Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga, and was whispered about town, though without any particulars. This, it was concluded, must drive ministers from their posts, and make room for those who had been so long and so loudly struggling for them. Accordingly, in the afternoon, Colonel Barré rose in the House of Commons, with a severe and solemn countenance, but hardly, as we believe, with sadness of heart, and asked Lord George Germaine what news he had received by his last expresses from Quebec; and called upon him to tell him, upon his word of honour, what had become of General Burgoyne and his brave army. The haughty secretary was constrained to confess that he had received the unhappy intelligence; adding, however, that it was not official, and had not yet been authenticated. It had been brought, he said, by express from Quebec, where it had been received from Ticonderoga, to which place it had been carried by the reports of deserters. It was, he observed, a most unfortunate affair, but he expressed a hope that the House would suspend their judgment; declaring, in a cold, self-satisfied tone, that, if he had been in fault in planning the expedition, he was there to answer for it. Barré, who well knew the part that the hero of Minden had taken in framing the scheme, said that the man who planned so rash and incoherent an expedition was alone to blame. Charles Fox, Burke, and others continued the attack, and revelled in descriptions of the loss and disgrace we had sustained. The solicitor-general, Wedderburn, came to the rescue of his official superiors: he represented that the greatness of the national character particularly showed itself in rising above a temporary misfortune; that victory had often followed defeat; that this was not the first time a



COLONEL BARRÉ.

British army had been reduced to such hard extremities ; that, during the war of the succession, General Stanhope had been compelled to surrender himself and his whole army prisoners of war in Spain ; and that the disgrace only served to raise an enthusiastic ardour which soon effaced the stigma and achieved glorious successes. Lord North brought back the attention of the House to the business of the day, which was, to vote supplies ; observing that these were indispensable, whether we were to look to peace or to the prolongation of war. On the next day—the 4th of December—the Marquis of Rockingham, the Dukes of Richmond and Manchester, and Lord Shelburne, met and agreed that a motion should be made in the Upper House for the production of Burgoyne's instructions ; and they hoped that Chatham's health would enable him to come to London on the morrow to make it. The Duke of Grafton and several other opposition lords were out of town before the sad news arrived. On the 5th, Chatham was in his place to make the motion. He began a long and

powerful harangue by criticising the king's speech at the opening of the session, which, he said, contained an unfaithful, delusive picture of the state of public affairs. Not one noble lord in administration would dare arise and contradict him. That royal speech had a specious outside—was full of hopes; yet every thing within and without, foreign and domestic, was full of danger, and calculated to inspire the most melancholy forebodings. It was customary, he said, to offer an address of condolence to his majesty upon any public misfortune, as well as one of congratulation on any public success. There never was a time when condolence was more seasonable or necessary than at present. If what had been acknowledged in the other House were true, he was astonished that some public notice had not been taken of the sad, the melancholy disaster! He then lamented the fate of Burgoyne in pathetic terms; and said that that gentleman's character, the glory of British arms, and the dearest interests of this undone, disgraced country, had been all sacrificed to the ignorance, temerity, and incapacity of ministers. He said that Burgoyne might or might not be an able officer; but, by every thing he could learn, his fate was not proportionate to his merit: he might have received orders it was not in his power to execute. He had denounced ministers already; but, now, he said that he would not condemn them without evidence:—they might possibly have instructed Burgoyne wisely; Burgoyne might have executed his instructions faithfully and judiciously, and yet he might have miscarried. There were many events which no human foresight could provide against; and it was on that ground he meant to frame his motion. The fact was acknowledged—the general had miscarried: it might not have been his fault—it might not have been the fault of his employers or instructors. To know where the fault lay, he was desirous of having the orders given to General Burgoyne laid before the House. He added, that enough of the plan had, however, transpired to justify him in affirming that the measures for that campaign were founded in weakness, barbarity, and inhumanity. Savages had been employed to carry ruin and devastation among our subjects in America: the tomahawk and scalping-knife had been put into the hands of the most brutal and ferocious of the human species! He then turned from the field of war to the court, and laid *there* the blame of all the evils that had happened. “Within the last fifteen years,” said he, “the system has been introduced at St. James's of breaking all connection, of extinguishing all principle. A few men have got an ascendancy where no man should have a personal ascendancy; by the executive powers of the state being at their command, they have been furnished with the means of creating divisions. This has brought pliable men, not capable men, into the highest situations; and to such men is the government of this once glorious empire now intrusted. The spirit of delusion has gone forth; the ministers have imposed on the people; parliament has been induced to

sanctify the imposition ; false lights have been held out to the country gentlemen—they have been seduced into the support of a most destructive war, under the impression that the land-tax would be diminished by means of an American revenue. The visionary phantom, thus conjured up for the basest of all purposes—that of deception—is now about to vanish.” The oration was rather rambling. Returning to Burgoyne, he paid that general some very high compliments—saying his abilities were confessed, his personal bravery not surpassed, his zeal in the service unquestionable. He had experienced no pestilence, he had suffered none of the accidents which sometimes supersede the most wise and spirited exertions. What, then, was the great cause of his misfortune ? And, forgetting his preceding declaration, that he would not condemn ministers without evidence, he answered his own question by affirming that the great cause of the calamities was want of wisdom in our councils, want of abilities in our ministers ! He laid the whole blame upon ministers, and told them that they ought to submit to all the obloquy till the general had an opportunity to justify himself in person. Notwithstanding the correction he had so recently received as to his own employment of the Indians, he again dwelt upon the horror of the scalping-knife and tomahawk, saying that, if he had been serving in the army, he believed he would rather have mutinied than consent to act with such barbarians—that such a mode of warfare was a pollution of our national character, which all the waters of the rivers Delaware and Hudson would never wash away ! He was almost as severe upon German bayonets as upon Indian scalping-knives. The only thing to be done to preserve America in our dependence was to disband the Indians, (they had been disbanded long before this,) recall the Germans, and withdraw our own troops entirely. He again declared himself an avowed enemy to American independence, saying that he was a Whig, and that, while he abhorred the system of government attempted to be established in America, he as earnestly and zealously contended for a Whig government, and a Whig connection between the two countries, founded on a constitutional dependence and subordination of America upon England. These colonies, he said, had made our riches, had raised the value of estates, given employment to our manufacturers and wealth to our merchants. With the independence of America all these advantages must vanish and pass to our enemies. He told the country gentlemen—always so sensitive on those points—that they would, in that event, find their land-taxes doubled and their rents decreased by one-half. In the course of this speech, he severely animadverted on the high Tory doctrines maintained in print and in that House by a most reverend prelate—Dr. Markham, archbishop of York,—and hoped that he should yet see the day when such pernicious doctrines—the doctrines of Atterbury and Sacheverel—would be deemed libels, and treated as such. As a

Whig he could never endure them : and he doubted not that such authors would some day suffer that degree of censure and punishment which they so justly deserved. In concluding, he moved for the production of copies of all orders and instructions sent to Lieutenant-general Burgoyne. The motion was negatived by a majority of forty to nineteen.

It had been previously agreed to make demand after demand, motion after motion ; and Chatham himself next moved for copies of all instructions relative to the employment of Indians in conjunction with the British troops. In opposing the motion, Lord Gower asserted that the noble lord himself employed savages in the operations of the last war. Chatham accused Lord Gower of quibbling ; and told him that, at the time he alluded to, he was too inexperienced, thoughtless, and dissipated to know any thing of public affairs—was immersed in pleasures and indulgences to which young noblemen were too much inclined ! Gower, after replying to these personalities with equal heat and bitterness, produced from the journals of the House the recognition of a treaty with the Indians, who were engaged to make war upon and destroy the French in Canada. Chatham poured out a fresh volume of words. Ministers then offered to produce, from the depository of papers in the secretary's office, documents written by himself to prove the charge. The dispute grew still hotter ; and at length Lord Amherst, Chatham's general, who had commanded our troops in that Canadian war, was so loudly appealed to on all sides, that he found himself compelled to acknowledge that he had followed the example of the French in employing savages, which he would not have done without express orders from government at home. He even offered to produce the orders, if his majesty would permit him. Lord Shelburne argued that the orders to employ the savages might have proceeded from the Board of Trade ; but Lord Denbigh, who, rather happily, called Chatham "the great oracle with the short memory," said that this was impossible ; that Chatham, when in office under George II., had guided and directed every thing relating to the war, had monopolized functions which did not belong to him, and had been excessively jealous of any interference by others, whether boards or ministers. The lords in opposition now seemed inclined to lay the question by, as far as it concerned Chatham's veracity or correctness of memory, and only insisted upon the difference between the two wars,—the one having been against our old enemies the French, the other being against our fellow-subjects. They also contended that, since the French had certainly begun the practice so justly abhorred, we were, in Chatham's time, in a manner, under the necessity of retaliating, and employing the red-men in the same way. But ministers might have urged—and they probably did urge—that, in the present instance, the Americans had set the deplorable example. Arnold took with him into

Canada the very savages whose services we had refused. One of the first cares of Congress was to secure the alliance of the Six Nations; and it was understood by all, that the treaty was not to stop at neutrality, but to engage these Indians as auxiliaries in the war. Want of money and means, united with certain inveterate animosities existing between the Indian tribes and their American neighbours of the back settlements, as also with a kind of traditional reverence for the name of King George, had prevented the success of Congress; and English muskets, blankets, gewgaws, rum, and money, being supplied in far greater abundance than the Americans could afford, secured the services of the savages on our side—services which would otherwise have been bought by the general Congress or by the separate provincial conventions. Lord Dunmore, the expelled governor of Virginia, declared that no doubt existed as to the attempts of the revolutionary leaders in that colony to forestall us in the market, and engage the savages in their pay,—that conferences had taken place between their agents and some Indian chiefs, one of whom had declared that he would never fight against the great king over the water, who, in the last war, had sent such large armies and so much money to America,—and that the Virginians, disappointed in their hopes, had dressed up some of their own people as Indian warriors to terrify the royalists. His lordship added, that the cruelty of the Christian colonists themselves equalled, if it did not surpass, that of the heathen Indians. Dunmore had suffered too many insults and too many grievous injuries to be a cool or impartial judge of the conduct of Americans; but he adduced many circumstantial proofs in support of his assertion; and there is an accumulation of evidence to the same effect from other quarters innumerable. The army of independence included a large proportion of men who, in becoming pioneers of civilization,—as the backwoodsmen are called,—had lost half of their own European civilization, and had contracted half of the barbarism and ferocity of the savage tribes that lay beyond them, and with whom they were almost constantly in a state of war at one point or another. The practice of employing savages remains, with its sad consequences; but, as the Americans had tried to avail themselves of it, and had been the first actually to adopt it, it required a great strength of countenance to recur to the high principles of morals and religion, and to denounce the British government, as they did, as heinously guilty of a breach of those principles. When Lord Bute, in his close retirement, heard what passed in the House of Lords, and how Chatham had denied his having employed the red-men, he exclaimed with astonishment, “Did Pitt really deny it? Why, I have letters of his still by me, singing *Io Pæans* over the advantages we gained through our Indian allies!” Chatham’s present motion was negatived by a majority of forty to eighteen. His party still continued to think, or to affect to think, that

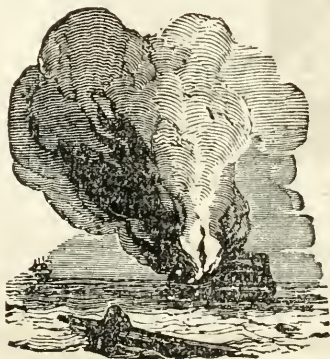


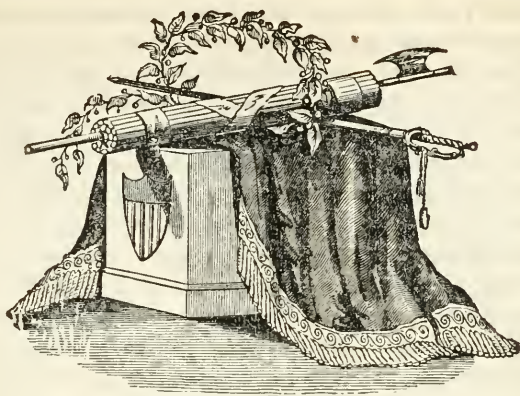
EDMUND BURKE.

there was a vast difference between American Christians and French Christians, and that this difference justified whatever he had done in the former war.

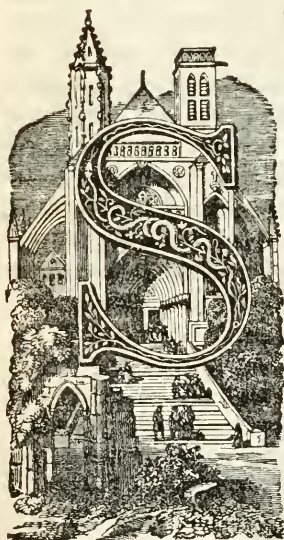
The number of seamen for the ensuing year was fixed at sixty thousand, and that of the troops to be employed in America alone at fifty-five thousand. After these and other estimates had been passed—which did not happen without many and vehement debates—the government thought the time was come for an adjournment, for which they were the more anxious, as the opposition never relaxed their fire of motions. On the 10th of December, rather earlier than usual, Lord Beauchamp moved in the Commons an adjournment till the 20th of January. Burke proposed, as an amendment, to adjourn for one week, instead of six; but ministers said

they had already gone through their usual business; that nothing new was likely to occur during the recess; and their motion was carried by a hundred and fifty-five against sixty-eight. In the House of Lords, Chatham opposed the adjournment in a long speech, it having been previously settled by Lord Rockingham and others of the opposition, that nothing should be omitted which tended to fix blame and censure on those who directed both king and parliament. They were astonished at the adhesiveness of Lord North to his seat. "Shall we," said Chatham, "trust, during an adjournment of six weeks, to these men, who have brought such calamities upon us, when, perhaps, our utter overthrow is plotting, nay, ripe for execution? Ten thousand brave men have fallen victims to ignorance and rashness. The only army you have in America may, by this time, be no more. This very nation remains safe no longer than its enemies think proper to permit. Events of the most critical nature may take place before our next meeting. Will your lordships, then, in such a state of things, trust to the guidance of men who, in every single step of this cruel, this wicked war, have proved themselves weak, ignorant, and mistaken? A remonstrance, my lords, should be carried to the throne. The king is deluded by his ministers." He then contradicted Lord Sandwich's statements as to the good condition of our navy; spoke of our land forces at home as contemptible, and described the country as being in a most helpless condition, inviting invasion from France, and incapable of resisting it. He next turned to the American war, and ended his speech with some excessive exaggerations about the invincible valour, the gentleness, moderation, and magnanimity of the Americans, and the profligacy, cruelty, and barbarity of the royal troops, or rather of the ministers, who prescribed the rules for their conduct. The adjournment was, nevertheless, carried by forty-seven against seventeen.





THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES.



SOON after intelligence of the capture of Burgoyne's army reached Europe, the court of France concluded, at Paris, treaties of alliance and commerce with the United States. The circumstances which led to this great event, deserve to be particularly unfolded. The colonists having taken up arms, uninfluenced by the enemies of Great Britain, conducted their opposition for several months after they had raised troops and emitted money, without any reference to foreign powers. They knew it to be the interest of Europe to promote a separation between Great Britain and her colonies, but as they began the contest with no other view than to obtain a redress of grievances, they neither wished in the first period of their opposition to involve Great Britain in a war, nor to procure aid to themselves by paying court to her enemies. The policy of Great Britain in attempting to deprive the Americans of arms was the first event which made it necessary for them to seek foreign connections. At the time she was urging military preparations to compel their submission, she forbade the exportation of arms, and solicited the commercial powers of Europe to co-operate with her by adopting a similar prohibition. To frustrate the views of Great Britain, Congress, besides recommending the domestic manufacture of the

materials for military stores, appointed a secret committee with powers to procure on their account arms and ammunition, and also employed agents in foreign countries for the same purpose. The evident advantage which France might derive from the continuance of the dispute and the countenance which individuals of that country daily gave to the Americans, encouraged Congress to send a political and commercial agent to that kingdom, with instructions to solicit its friendship, and to procure military stores. Silas Deane, being chosen for this purpose, sailed for France early in 1776, and was soon after his arrival at Paris instructed to sound Count de Vergennes, the French minister for foreign affairs, on the subject of the American controversy. As the public mind, for reasons which have been mentioned, closed against Great Britain, it opened towards other nations.

On the 11th of June, 1775, Congress appointed a committee to prepare a plan of a treaty to be proposed to foreign powers. The discussion of this novel subject engaged their attention till the latter end of September. While Congress was deliberating thereon, Mr. Deane was soliciting a supply of arms, ammunition, and soldiers' clothing, for their service. A sufficiency for lading three vessels was soon procured. What agency the government of France had in furnishing these supplies, or whether they were sold or given as presents, are questions which have been often asked, but not satisfactorily answered; for the business was so conducted that the transaction might be made to assume a variety of complexions, as circumstances might render expedient.

It was most evidently the interest of France to encourage the Americans in their opposition to Great Britain, and it was true policy to do this by degrees and in a private manner, lest Great Britain might take the alarm. Individuals are sometimes influenced by considerations of friendship and generosity, but interest is the pole star by which nations are universally governed. It is certain that Great Britain was amused with declarations of the most pacific dispositions on the part of France, at the time the Americans were liberally supplied with the means of defence, and it is equally certain, that this was the true line of policy for promoting that dismemberment of the British empire which France had an interest in accomplishing.

Congress knew, that a diminution of the overgrown power of Britain could not be but desirable to France. Sore with the loss of her possessions on the continent of North America by the peace of Paris in the year 1763, and also by the capture of many thousands of her sailors in 1755, antecedent to a declaration of war, she must have been something more than human, not to have rejoiced at an opportunity of depressing an ancient and formidable rival. Besides the increasing naval superiority of Great Britain, her vast resources, not only in her ancient dominions, but in colonies growing daily in numbers and wealth, added to the haughtiness of her



SILAS DEANE.

flag, made her the object both of terror and envy. It was the interest of Congress to apply to the court of France, and it was the interest of France to listen to their application.

Congress having agreed on the plan of the treaty which they intended to propose to his most Christian majesty, proceeded to elect commissioners to solicit its acceptance. Dr. Franklin, Silas Deane, and Thomas Jefferson, were chosen. The latter declining to serve, Arthur Lee, who was then in London, and had been very serviceable to his country in a variety of ways, was elected in his room. It was resolved, that no member should be at liberty to divulge any thing more of these transactions than "that Congress had taken such steps as they judged necessary for obtaining foreign alli-

ances." The secret committee were directed to make an effectual lodgment in France of ten thousand pounds sterling, subject to the order of these commissioners. Dr. Franklin, who was employed as agent in the business, and afterwards as minister plenipotentiary at the court of France, was in possession of a greater proportion of foreign fame than any other native of America. By the dint of superior abilities, and with but few advantages in early life, he had attained the highest eminence among men of learning, and in many instances extended the empire of science. His genius was vast and comprehensive, and with equal ease investigated the mysteries of philosophy and the labyrinths of politics. His fame as a philosopher had reached as far as human nature is polished or refined. His philanthropy knew no bounds. The prosperity and happiness of the human race were objects which at all times had attracted his attention. Disgusted with Great Britain, and glowing with the most ardent love for the liberties of his oppressed native country, he left London, where he had resided



FRANKLIN'S EXPERIMENT.

some years in the character of agent for several of the colonies, and early in 1775 returned to Philadelphia, and immediately afterwards was elected by the legislature of Pennsylvania, to share in the opposition to Great Britain as a member of Congress. [Oct. 27.] Shortly after his appointment to solicit the interests of Congress in France, he sailed for that country. [Dec. 13.] He was no sooner landed than universally caressed. His experiments in electricity, drawing the lightning from the sky, had a peculiar charm for the French. His fame had smoothed the way for his reception in a public character. Doctor Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, having rendezvoused at Paris, soon after opened their business in a private audience with the Count de Vergennes. [Dec. 28.] The Congress could not have applied to the court of France under more favourable circumstances. The throne was filled by a prince in the flower of his age, and animated with the desire of rendering his reign illustrious. Count de Vergennes was not less remarkable for extensive political knowledge, than for true greatness of mind. He had grown old in the habits of government, and was convinced that conquests are neither the surest nor the shortest way to substantial fame. He knew full well that no success in war, however brilliant, could so effectually promote the security of France, as the emancipation of the colonies of her ancient rival. He had the superior wisdom to discern, that

there were no present advantages to be obtained by unequal terms, that would compensate for those lasting benefits which were likely to flow from a kind and generous beginning. Instead of grasping at too much, or taking any advantages of the humble situation of the invaded colonies, he aimed at nothing more than by kind and generous terms to a distressed country, to perpetuate the separation which had already taken place between the component parts of an empire, from the union of which his sovereign had much to fear.

Truly difficult was the line of conduct which the real interest of the nation required of the ministers of his most Christian majesty. A haughty reserve would have discouraged the Americans. An open reception, or even a legal countenance of their deputies, might have alarmed the rulers of Great Britain, and disposed them to a compromise with their colonies, or have brought on an immediate rupture between France and England. A middle line, as preferable to either, was therefore pursued. Whilst the French government prohibited, threatened, and even punished the Americans; private persons encouraged, supplied, and supported them. Prudence, as well as policy, required that France should not be overhasty in openly espousing their cause. She was by no means fit for war. From the state of her navy, and the condition of her foreign trade, she was vulnerable on every side. Her trading people dreaded the thoughts of a war with Great Britain, as they would thereby be exposed to great losses. These considerations were strengthened from another quarter. The peace of Europe was supposed to be unstable, from a prevailing belief that the speedy death of the elector of Bavaria was an event extremely probable. But the principal reason which induced a delay, was an opinion, that the dispute between the mother country and the colonies would be compromised. Within the thirteen years immediately preceding, twice had the contested claims of the two countries brought matters to the verge of extremity. Twice had the guardian genius of both interposed, and reunited them in the bonds of love and affection. It was feared by the sagacious ministry of France, that the present rupture would terminate in the same manner. These wise observers of human nature apprehended, that their too early interference would favour a reconciliation, and that the reconciled parties would direct their united force against the French, as the disturbers of their domestic tranquillity. It had not yet entered into the hearts of the French nation, that it was possible for the British American colonists to join with their ancient enemies against their late friends.

At this period Congress did not so much expect any direct aid from France, as the indirect relief of a war between that country and Great Britain. To subserve this design, they resolved, that "their commissioners at the court of France should be furnished with warrants and commissions, and authorized to arm and fit for war in the French ports any number of

vessels (not exceeding six) at the expense of the United States, to war upon British property, provided they were satisfied this measure would not be disagreeable to the court of France." This resolution was carried into effect, and in the year 1777 marine officers, with American commissions, both sailed out of French ports, and carried prizes of British property into them. They could not procure their condemnation in the courts of France, nor sell them publicly, but they nevertheless found ways and means to turn them into money. The commanders of these vessels were sometimes punished by authority, to please the English, but they were oftener caressed from another quarter to please the Americans.

While private agents on the part of the United States were endeavouring to embroil the two nations, the American commissioners were urging the ministers of his most Christian majesty to accept the treaty proposed by Congress. They received assurances of the good wishes of the court of France, but were from time to time informed, that the important transaction required further consideration, and were enjoined to observe the most profound secrecy. Matters remained in this fluctuating state from December 1776, till December 1777. Private encouragement and public discountenance were alternated, but both varied according to the complexion of news from America. The defeat on Long Island, the reduction of New York, and the train of disastrous events in 1776, which have already been mentioned, sunk the credit of the Americans very low, and abated much of the national ardour for their support. Their subsequent successes at Trenton and Princeton effaced these impressions, and rekindled active zeal in their behalf. The capture of Burgoyne fixed these wavering politics. The success of the Americans in the campaign of 1777, placed them on high ground. Their enmity had proved itself formidable to Britain, and their friendship became desirable to France. Having helped themselves, they found it less difficult to obtain help from others. The same interest, which hitherto had directed the court of France to a temporizing policy, now required decisive conduct. Previous delay had favoured the dismemberment of the empire, but farther procrastination bid fair to promote at least such a federal alliance of the disjointed parts of the British empire as would be no less hostile to the interests of France than a reunion of its several parts. The news of the capitulation of Saratoga reached France very early in December, 1777. The American deputies took that opportunity to press for an acceptance of the treaty, which had been under consideration for the preceding twelve months. The capture of Burgoyne's army convinced the French that the opposition of the Americans to Great Britain was not the work of a few men, who had got power in their hands, but of the great body of the people, and was like to be finally successful. It was therefore determined to take them by the hand, and publicly to espouse their cause. The commissioners of Congress were informed by Mr. Gerard, one of the

secretaries of the king's council of state, "that it was decided to acknowledge the independence of the United States and to make a treaty with them." [Dec. 16, 1777.] "That in the treaty no advantage would be taken of their situation to obtain terms which, otherwise, it would not be convenient for them to agree to. That his most Christian majesty desired the treaty once made should be durable, and their amity to subsist for ever, which could not be expected, if each nation did not find an interest in its continuance, as well as in its commencement. It was therefore intended that the terms of the treaty should be such as the new-formed states would be willing to agree to, if they had been long since established, and in the fulness of strength and power; and such as they should approve of when that time should come. That his most Christian majesty was fixed in his determination not only to acknowledge, but to support their independence. That in doing this he might probably soon be engaged in a war, yet he should not expect any compensation from the United States on that account, nor was it pretended that he acted wholly for their sakes, since besides his real good will to them, it was manifestly the interest of France that the power of England should be diminished by the separation of the colonies from its government. The only condition he should require and rely on would be, that the United States in no peace to be made should give up their independence and return to the obedience of the British government." At any time previously to the 16th of December, 1777, when Mr. Gerard made the foregoing declaration, it was in the power of the British ministry to have ended the American war and to have established an alliance with the United States that would have been of great service to both; but from the same haughtiness which for some time had predominated in their councils, and blinded them to their interests, they neglected to improve the favourable opportunity.

Conformably to the preliminaries proposed by Mr. Gerard, his most Christian majesty, Louis the 16th, on the 6th of February, 1778, entered into treaties of amity and commerce, and of alliance with the United States, on the footing of the most perfect equality and reciprocity. By the latter of these, that illustrious monarch became the guarantee of their sovereignty, independence and commerce.

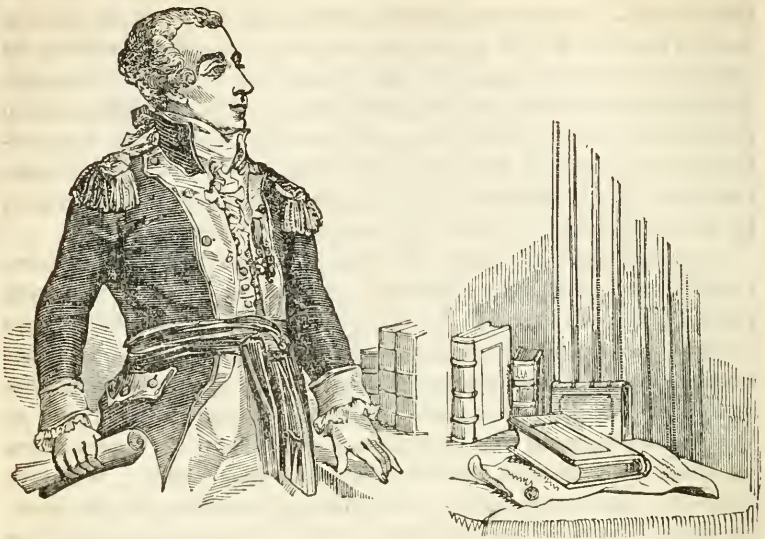
On a review of the conduct of the French ministry to the Americans, the former appear to have acted uniformly from a wise regard to national interest. Any line of conduct, different from that which they adopted, might have upset the measures which they wished to establish. Had they pretended to act from disinterested principles of generosity to the distressed, the known selfishness of human nature would have contradicted the extravagant pretension. By avowing the real motive of their conduct, they furnished such a proof of candour as begat confidence.

The terms of reciprocity on which they contracted with the United

States were no less recommended by wise policy than dictated by true magnanimity. As there was nothing exclusive in the treaty, an opening was left for Great Britain to close the war when she pleased, with all the advantages for future commerce that France had stipulated for herself. This judicious measure made the establishment of American independence the common cause of all the commercial powers of Europe; for the question then was, whether the trade of the United States should by the subversion of their independence be again monopolized by Great Britain, or, by the establishment of it, laid open on equal terms to all the world.

In national events the public attention is generally fixed on the movements of armies and fleets. Mankind never fail to do homage to the able general and expert admiral. To this they are justly entitled, but as great a tribute is due to the statesman who, from a more elevated station, determines on measures in which the general safety and welfare of empires are involved. This glory in a particular manner belongs to the Count de Vergennes, who, as his most Christian majesty's minister for foreign affairs, conducted the conferences which terminated in these treaties. While the ministers of his Britannic majesty were pleasing themselves with the flattering idea of permanent peace in Europe, they were not less surprised than provoked by hearing of the alliance which had taken place between his most Christian majesty and the United States. This event, though often foretold, was disbelieved. The zeal of the British ministry to reduce the colonies to submission, blinded them to danger from every other quarter. Forgetting that interest governs public bodies perhaps more than private persons, they supposed that feebler motives would outweigh its all-commanding influence. Intent on carrying into execution the object of their wishes, they fancied that because France and Spain had colonies of their own, they would refrain from aiding or abetting the revolted British colonists, from the fear of establishing a precedent, which at a future day might operate against themselves. Transported with indignation against their late fellow subjects, they were so infatuated with the American war, as to suppose that trifling evils, both distant and uncertain, would induce the court of France to neglect an opportunity of securing great and immediate advantages.

How far this interference of the court of France can be justified by the laws of nations, it is not the province of history to decide. Measures of this kind are not determined by abstract reasoning. The present feelings of a nation, and the probable consequences of loss or gain, influence more than the decisions of speculative men. Suffice it to mention, that the French exculpated themselves from the heavy charges brought against them, by this summary mode of reasoning: "We have found," said they, "the late colonies of Great Britain in actual possession of independence, and in the exercise of the prerogatives of sovereignty. It is not our busi-



LAFAYETTE.

ness to inquire, whether they had, or had not, sufficient reason to withdraw themselves from the government of Great Britain, and to erect an independent one of their own. We are to conduct towards nations agreeably to the political state in which we find them, without investigating how they acquired it. Observing them to be independent in fact, we were bound to suppose they were so of right, and had the same liberty to make treaties with them as with any other sovereign power." They also alleged, that Great Britain could not complain of their interference, since she had set them the example, only a few years before, in supporting the Corsicans in opposition to the court of France. They had, besides, many well-founded complaints against the British, whose armed vessels had for months past harassed their commerce, on the idea of preventing an illicit trade with the revolted colonies.

The Marquis de Lafayette, whose letters to France had a considerable share in reconciling the nation to patronise the United States, was among the first in the American army who received the welcome tidings of the treaty. In a transport of joy, mingled with an effusion of tears, he embraced General Washington, exclaiming, "The king my master has acknowledged your independence, and entered into an alliance with you for its establishment." The heart-felt joy, which spread from breast to breast, exceeded description. The several brigades assembled by order of the commander-in-chief. Their chaplains offered up public thanks to

Almighty God, and delivered discourses suitable to the occasion. A feu de joie was fired, and on a proper signal being given, the air resounded with "Long live the King of France," poured forth from the breast of every private in the army. The Americans, having in their own strength for three years weathered the storms of war, fancied the port of peace to be in full view. Replete with the sanguine hopes of vigorous youth, they presumed that Britain, whose northern army had been reduced by their sole exertions, would not continue the unequal contest with the combined force of France and America. Overvaluing their own importance, and undervaluing the resources of their adversaries, they were tempted to indulge a dangerous confidence. That they might not be lulled into carelessness, Congress made an animated address to them, in which, after reviewing the leading features of the war, they informed them, "They must yet expect a severe conflict; that though foreign alliances secured their independence, they could not secure their country from devastation."

The alliance between France and America had not been concluded three days before it was known to the British ministry; and in less than five weeks more it was officially communicated to the court of London, [March 13,] in a rescript, delivered by the French ambassador to Lord Weymouth. In this new situation of affairs, there were some in Great Britain who advocated the measure of peace with America, on the footing of independence. But the point of honour, which had before precipitated the nation into the war, predominated over the voice of prudence and interest. The king and parliament of Great Britain resolved to punish the French nation for treating with their subjects, which they termed "An unprovoked aggression on the honour of the crown and essential interests of the kingdom." And at the same time a vain hope was indulged, that the alliance between France and the United States, which was supposed to have originated in passion, might be dissolved. The national prejudices against the French had been so instilled into the minds of Englishmen, and of their American descendants, that it was supposed practicable, by negotiations and concessions, to detach the United States from their new alliance and re-unite them to the parent state. Eleven days after the treaty [Feb. 17] between France and America had been concluded, the British minister introduced into the House of Commons a project for conciliation, founded on the idea of obtaining a re-union of the new states with Great Britain. This consisted of two bills, with the following titles: "A bill for declaring the intention of Great Britain concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes within his majesty's colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America," and a bill to "enable his majesty to appoint commissioners with sufficient powers to treat, consult and agree, upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations and provinces of North America." These bills were hurried through

both houses of parliament, and, before they passed into acts, were copied and sent across the Atlantic, to Lord and General Howe. On their arrival in America, they were sent by a flag to Congress at Yorktown. When they were received, [April 21,] Congress was uninformed of the treaty which their commissioners had lately concluded at Paris. For upwards of a year they had not received one line of information from them on any subject whatever. One packet had in that time been received, but all the letters therein were taken out before it was put on board the vessel which brought it from France, and blank paper put in their stead. A committee of Congress was appointed to examine these bills and report on them. Their report was brought in the day following, and was unanimously adopted. By this they rejected the proposals of Great Britain. The vigorous and firm language in which Congress expressed their rejection of these offers, considered in connection with the circumstances of their being wholly ignorant of the late treaty with France, exhibits the glowing serenity of fortitude. While the royal commissioners were industriously circulating these bills in a partial and secret manner, as if they suspected an intention of concealing them from the common people, Congress, trusting to the good sense of their constituents, ordered them to be forthwith printed for the public information. Having directed the affairs of their country with an honest reference to its welfare, they had nothing to fear from the people knowing and judging for themselves. They submitted the whole to the public. Their act, after some general remarks on the bill, concluded as follows :

“From all which it appears evident to your committee, that the said bills are intended to operate upon the hopes and fears of the good people of these states, so as to create divisions among them, and a defection from the common cause, now, by the blessing of divine Providence, drawing near to a favourable issue. That they are the sequel of that insidious plan, which, from the days of the stamp act, down to the present time, hath involved this country in contention and bloodshed. And that, as in other cases so in this, although circumstances may force them at times to recede from their unjustifiable claims, there can be no doubt but they will, as heretofore, upon the first favourable occasion, again display that lust of domination which hath rent in twain the mighty empire of Britain.

“Upon the whole matter, the committee beg leave to report it as their opinion, that as the Americans united in this arduous contest upon principles of common interest, for the defence of common rights and privileges, which union hath been cemented by common calamities and by mutual good offices and affection, so the great cause for which they contend, and in which all mankind are interested, must derive its success from the continuance of that union. Wherefore any man or body of men, who should presume to make any separate or partial convention or agreement with

commissioners under the crown of Great Britain, or any of them, ought to be considered and treated as open and avowed enemies of these United States.

“And further, your committee beg leave to report it as their opinion, that these United States cannot, with propriety, hold any conference with any commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they shall, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or else, in positive and express terms, acknowledge the independence of the said states.

“And inasmuch as it appears to be the design of the enemies of these states to lull them into a fatal security—to the end that they may act with a becoming weight and importance, it is the opinion of your committee, that the several states be called upon to use the most strenuous exertions to have their respective quotas of continental troops in the field as soon as possible, and that all the militia of the said states be held in readiness, to act as occasion may require.”

The conciliatory bills were speedily followed by royal commissioners, deputed to solicit their reception. Governor Johnstone, Lord Carlisle and Mr. Eden, appointed on this business, attempted to open a negotiation on the subject. [June 9.] They requested General Washington to furnish a passport for their secretary, Dr. Ferguson, with a letter from them to Congress, but this was refused, and the refusal was unanimously approved by Congress. They then forwarded, in the usual channel of communication, a letter addressed “To his excellency Henry Laurens, the president, and others the members of Congress,” in which they communicated a copy of their commission and of the acts of Parliament on which it was founded, and offered to concur in every satisfactory and just arrangement towards the following among other purposes :

To consent to a cessation of hostilities, both by sea and land.

To restore free intercourse, to revive mutual affection, and renew the common benefits of naturalization, through the several parts of this empire.

To extend every freedom to trade that our respective interests can require.

To agree that no military forces shall be kept up in the different states of North America, without the consent of the general Congress or particular assemblies.

To concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and to raise the credit and value of the paper circulation.

To perpetuate our union by a reciprocal deputation of an agent or agents from the different states, who shall have the privilege of a seat and voice in the parliament of Great Britain ; or, if sent from Britain, in that case to have a seat and voice in the Assemblies of the different states to which they may be deputed respectively, in order to attend the several interests of those by whom they are deputed.

In short, to establish the power of the respective Legislatures in each particular state, to settle its revenue, in civil and military establishment, and to exercise a perfect freedom of legislation and internal government, so that the British states throughout North America, acting with us in peace and war under one common sovereign, may have the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege that is short of a total separation of interests, or consistent with that union of force, on which the safety of our common religion and liberty depends.

A decided negative having been already given, previous to the arrival of the British commissioners, to the overtures contained in the conciliatory bills, and intelligence of the treaty with France having in the mean time arrived, there was no ground left for farther deliberation. President Laurens therefore, by order of Congress, returned the following answer. [June 17.]

"I have received the letters from your excellencies of the 9th instant, with the enclosures, and laid them before Congress. Nothing but an earnest desire to spare the farther effusion of human blood could have induced them to read a paper, containing expressions so disrespectful to his most Christian majesty, the good and great ally of these states; or to consider propositions so derogatory to the honour of an independent nation.

"The acts of the British parliament, the commission from your sovereign, and your letter, suppose the people of these states to be subjects of the crown of Great Britain, and are founded on the idea of dependence, which is utterly inadmissible.

"I am further directed to inform your excellencies, that Congress are inclined to peace, notwithstanding the unjust claims from which this war originated, and the savage manner in which it hath been conducted. They will, therefore, be ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the king of Great Britain shall demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose. The only solid proof of this disposition will be, an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of these states, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies."

Though Congress could not, consistently with national honour, enter on a discussion of the terms proposed by the British commissioners, yet some individuals of their body ably proved the propriety of rejecting them. Among these, Gouverneur Morris, and W. H. Drayton, with great force of argument and poignancy of wit, justified the decisive measures adopted by their countrymen.

As the British plan for conciliation was wholly founded on the idea of the states returning to their allegiance, it was no sooner known than rejected. In addition to the sacred ties of plighted faith and national engagements, the leaders in Congress and the legislative Assemblies of America

had tasted the sweets of power and were in full possession of its blessings, with a fair prospect of retaining them without any foreign control. The war having originated on the part of Great Britain from a lust of power, had in its progress compelled the Americans in self-defence to assume and exercise its highest prerogatives. The passions of human nature, which induced the former to claim power, operated no less forcibly with the latter, against the relinquishment of it. After the colonies had declared themselves independent states, had repeatedly pledged their honour to abide by that declaration, had, under the smiles of Heaven, maintained it for three campaigns without foreign aid, after the greatest monarch in Europe had entered into a treaty with them, and guarantied their independence: after all this, to expect popular leaders in the enjoyment of power voluntarily to retire from the helm of government to the languid indifference of private life, and while they violated national faith, at the same time to depress their country from the rank of sovereign states to that of dependent provinces, was not more repugnant to universal experience, than to the governing principles of the human heart. The high-spirited ardour of citizens, in the youthful vigour of honour and dignity, did not so much as inquire whether greater political happiness might be expected from closing with the proposals of Great Britain, or by adhering to their new allies. Honour forbade any balancing on the subject, nor were its dictates disobeyed. Though peace was desirable, and the offers of Great Britain so liberal that, if proposed in due time, they would have been acceptable, yet for the Americans, after they had declared themselves independent, and at their own solicitation obtained the aid of France, to desert their new allies, and leave them exposed to British resentment incurred on their account, would have argued a total want of honour and gratitude. The folly of Great Britain in expecting such conduct from virtuous freemen, could only be exceeded by the baseness of America, had her citizens realized that expectation.

These offers of conciliation in a great measure originated in an opinion that the Congress was supported by a faction, and that the great body of the people was hostile to independence, and well-disposed to re-unite with Great Britain. The latter of these assertions was true, till a certain period of the contest, but that period was elapsed. With their new situation, new opinions and attachments had taken place. The political revolution of the government was less extraordinary than that of the style and manner of thinking in the United States. The independent American citizens saw with other eyes, and heard with other ears, than when they were in the condition of British subjects. That narrowness of sentiment, which prevailed in England towards France, no longer existed among the Americans. The British commissioners, unapprized of this real change in the public mind, expected to keep a hold on the citizens of the United States,

by that illiberality which they inherited from their forefathers. Presuming that the love of peace, and the ancient national antipathy to France, would counterbalance all other ties, they flattered themselves, that by perseverance an impression favourable to Great Britain might yet be made on the mind of America. They therefore renewed their efforts to open a negotiation with Congress, in a letter of the 11th of July. As they had been informed in answer to their preceding letter of the 10th of June, that an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, or a withdrawing of their fleets and armies, must precede an entrance on the consideration of a treaty of peace, and as neither branch of this alternative had been complied with, it was resolved by Congress that no answer should be given to their reiterated application.

In addition to his public exertions as a commissioner, Governor Johnstone endeavoured to obtain the objects on which he had been sent by opening a private correspondence with some of the members of Congress, and other Americans of influence. He, in particular, addressed himself by letter to Henry Laurens, Joseph Reed, and Robert Morris. His letter to Henry Laurens was in these words :

DEAR SIR :—I beg to transfer to my friend, Dr. Ferguson, the private civilities which my friends Mr. Manning and Mr. Oswald request in my behalf. He is a man of the utmost probity, and of the highest esteem in the republic of letters.

If you should follow the example of Britain, in the hour of her insolence, and send us back without a hearing, I shall hope from private friendship that I may be permitted to see the country, and the worthy characters she has exhibited to the world, upon making the request in any way you may point out.

The following answer was immediately written :

Yorktown, June 14th, 1778.

DEAR SIR :—Yesterday I was honoured with your favour of the 10th, and thank you for the transmission of those from my dear and worthy friends, Mr. Oswald and Mr. Manning. Had Dr. Ferguson been the bearer of these papers, I should have shown that gentleman every degree of respect and attention that times and circumstances admit of.

It is, sir, for Great Britain to determine whether her commissioners shall return unheard by the representatives of the United States, or revive a friendship with the citizens at large, and remain among us as long as they please.

You are undoubtedly acquainted with the only terms upon which Congress can treat for accomplishing this good end, terms from which, although writing in a private character, I may venture to assert with great assurance, they never will recede, even admitting the continuance of hostile

attempts, and that from the rage of war, the good people of these states shall be driven to commence a treaty westward of yonder mountains. And permit me to add, sir, as my humble opinion, the true interest of Great Britain, in the present advance of our contest, will be found in confirming our independence.

Congress in no hour have been haughty, but to suppose that their minds are less firm in the present than they were, when, destitute of all foreign aid, even without expectation of an alliance—when, upon a day of general public fasting and humiliation in their house of worship, and in presence of God, they resolved, “to hold no conference or treaty with any commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they shall, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or in positive and express terms acknowledge the independence of these states,” would be irrational.

At a proper time, sir, I shall think myself highly honoured by a personal attention, and by contributing to render every part of these states agreeable to you; but until the basis of mutual confidence shall be established, I believe, sir, neither former private friendship, nor any other consideration, can influence Congress to consent that even Governor Johnstone, a gentleman who has been so deservedly esteemed in America, shall see the country. I have but one voice, and that shall be against it. But let me entreat you, my dear sir, do not hence conclude that I am deficient in affection to my old friends, through whose kindness I have obtained the honour of the present correspondence, or that I am not with very great personal respect and esteem,

Sir, your most obedient

and most humble servant,

(Signed)

HENRY LAURENS.

Philadelphia.

The Honourable Geo. Johnstone, Esq.

In a letter to Joseph Reed, of April the 11th, Governor Johnstone said: “The man who can be instrumental in bringing us all to act once more in harmony, and to unite together the various powers which this contest has drawn forth, will deserve more from the king and people, from patriotism, humanity, and all the tender ties that are affected by the quarrel and reconciliation, than ever was yet bestowed on human kind.” On the 16th of June he wrote to Robert Morris: “I believe the men who have conducted the affairs of America incapable of being influenced by improper motives; but in all such transactions there is risk, and I think that whoever ventures should be secured, at the same time, that honour and emolument should naturally follow the fortune of those who have steered the vessel in the storm, and brought her safely to port. I think Washington and the President have a right to every favour that grateful nations can



JOSEPH REED.

bestow, if they could once more unite our interest, and spare the miseries and devastations of war."

To Joseph Reed, private information was communicated, that it had been intended by Governor Johnstone to offer him, that in case of his exerting his abilities to promote a re-union of the two countries, if consistent with his principles and judgment, ten thousand pounds sterling, and any office in the colonies in his majesty's gift. To which Mr. Reed replied, "I am not worth purchasing, but such as I am, the king of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it." Congress ordered [July 9] all letters received by members of Congress from any of the British commissioners, or their agents, or from any subject of the king of Great Britain, of a public nature, to be laid before them. The above letters and information being communicated, Congress resolved, "That the same cannot but be considered as direct attempts to corrupt their integrity, and that it is incompatible with the honour of Congress to hold any manner of correspondence or intercourse with the said George Johnstone, Esquire, especially to negotiate with him upon affairs in which the cause of liberty is interested." Their determination, with the reasons thereof, were expressed in the form of a declaration, a copy of which was signed by the President, and sent by a flag to the commissioners at New York. This was answered by Governor Johnstone by an angry publication, in which he denied or

explained away what had been alleged against him. Lord Carlisle, Sir Henry Clinton, and Mr. Eden, denied their having any knowledge of the matter charged on Governor Johnstone.

The commissioners, failing in their attempts to negotiate with Congress, had no resource left, but to persuade the inhabitants to adopt a line of conduct counter to that of their representatives. To this purpose they published a manifesto and proclamation, addressed to Congress, the assemblies, and all others the free inhabitants of the colonies, in which they observed : "The policy as well as the benevolence of Great Britain have thus far checked the extremes of war, when they tended to distress a people still considered as our fellow-subjects, and to desolate a country shortly to become a source of mutual advantage : but when that country professes the unnatural design not only of estranging herself from us, but of mortgaging herself and her resources to our enemies, the whole contest is changed ; and the question is, how far Great Britain may, by every means in her power, destroy or render useless a connection contrived for her ruin, and for the aggrandizement of France. Under such circumstances the laws of self-preservation must direct the conduct of Great Britain ; and, if the British colonies are to become an accession to France, will direct her to render that accession of as little avail as possible to her enemy."

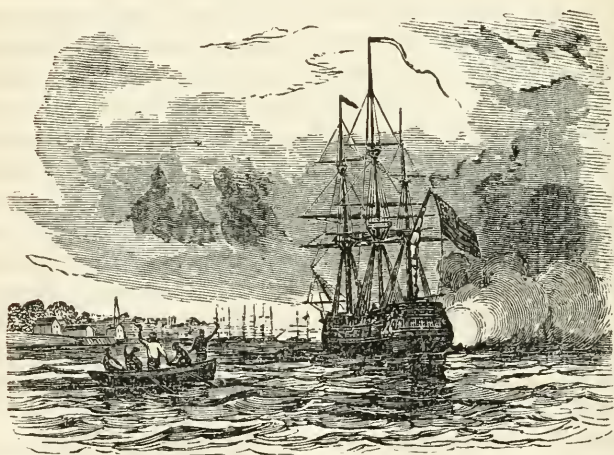
Congress, upon being informed of the design of the commissioners to circulate these papers, declared that the agents employed to distribute the manifestoes and proclamation of the commissioners, were not entitled to protection from a flag. They also recommended to the several states to secure and keep them in close custody ; but that they might not appear to hoodwink their constituents, they ordered the manifestoes and proclamation to be printed in the newspapers. The proposals of the commissioners were not more favourably received by the people than they had been by Congress. In some places the flags containing them were not received, but ordered instantly to depart ; in others they were received and forwarded to Congress, as the only proper tribunal to take cognisance of them. In no one place, not immediately commanded by the British army, was there any attempt to accept, or even to deliberate, on the propriety of closing with the offers of Britain.

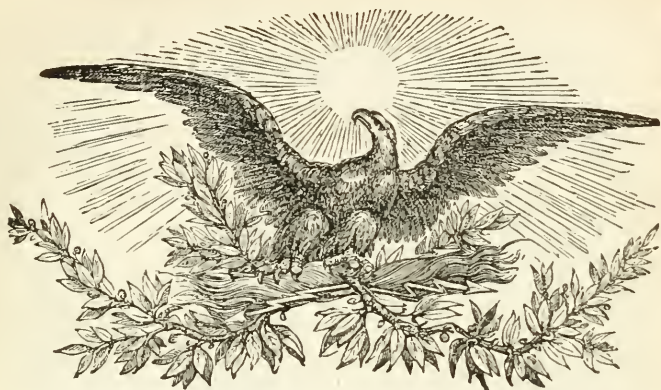
To deter the British from executing their threats of laying waste the country, Congress published [Oct. 30] to the world a resolution and manifesto, in which they concluded with these words :

"We, therefore, the Congress of the United States of America, do solemnly declare and proclaim, that if our enemies presume to execute their threats, or persist in their present career of barbarity, we will take such exemplary vengeance as shall deter others from a like conduct. We appeal to that God who searcheth the hearts of men for the rectitude of our intentions ; and in his holy presence we declare, that as we are not moved

by any light and hasty suggestions of anger and revenge, so through every possible change of fortune we will adhere to this our determination."

This was the last effort of Great Britain, in the way of negotiation, to regain her colonies. It originated in folly, and ignorance of the real state of affairs in America. She had begun with *wrong* measures, and had now got into *wrong* time. Her concessions on this occasion were an implied justification of the resistance of the colonists. By offering to concede all that they at first asked for, she virtually acknowledged herself to have been the aggressor in an unjust war. Nothing could be more favourable to the cementing of the friendship of the new allies than this unsuccessful negotiation. The states had an opportunity of evincing the sincerity of their engagements, and France abundant reason to believe that by preventing their being conquered, her favourite scheme of lessening the power of Great Britain would be secured beyond the reach of accident.





THE CAMPAIGN OF 1778.



AFTER the termination of the campaign of 1777, the British army retired to winter-quarters in Philadelphia, and the American army to Valley Forge. The former enjoyed all the conveniencies which an opulent city afforded; while the latter, not half-clothed, and more than once on the point of starving, were enduring the severity of a cold winter in a hutted camp. It was well for them that the British made no attempt to disturb them while in this destitute condition.

The winter and spring passed away without any more remarkable events in either army, than a few successful excursions of parties from Philadelphia to the neighbouring country, for the purpose of bringing in supplies, or destroying property. In one of these, a party of the British proceeded to Bordentown, and there burned four store-houses full of useful commodities. Before they returned to Philadelphia, they burned two frigates, nine ships, six privateer sloops, twenty-three brigs, with a number of sloops and schooners.

Soon after, an excursion from Newport was made by five hundred British and Hessians under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Campbell. These having landed in the night, marched next morning in two bodies, the one for Warren, the other for the head of Kickemuet river. [May 25.] They destroyed about seventy flat-bottomed boats, and burned a quantity of pitch, tar, and plank. They also set fire to the meeting-house at Warren, and seven dwelling-houses. At Bristol, they burned the church and twenty-

two houses. Several other houses were plundered, and women were stripped of their shoe-buckles, gold rings, and handkerchiefs.

A French squadron, consisting of twelve ships of the line and four frigates, commanded by Count D'Estaing, sailed from Toulon for America, [April 13.] in about two months after the treaty had been agreed upon between the United States and the king of France. After a passage of eighty-seven days, the count arrived at the entrance of the Delaware. [July 9.] From an apprehension of something of this kind, and from the prospect of greater security, it was resolved in Great Britain, forthwith to evacuate Philadelphia, and to concentrate the royal force in the city and harbour of New York. The commissioners brought out the orders for this movement, but knew nothing of the matter. It had an unfriendly influence on their proposed negotiations, but was indispensably necessary; for if the French fleet had blocked up the Delaware, and the Americans besieged Philadelphia, the escape of the British from either would have been scarcely possible.

[June 18.] The royal army passed over the Delaware into New Jersey. General Washington having penetrated into their design of evacuating Philadelphia, had previously detached General Maxwell's brigade, to co-operate with the Jersey militia in obstructing their progress, till time would be given for his army to overtake them. The British were encumbered with an enormous baggage, which, together with the impediments thrown in their way, greatly retarded their march. The American army having, in pursuit of the British, crossed the Delaware, six hundred men were immediately detached under Colonel Morgan, to reinforce General Maxwell. Washington halted his troops, when they had marched to the vicinity of Princeton. The general officers in the American army, being asked by the commander-in-chief, "Will it be advisable to hazard a general action?" answered in the negative, but recommended a detachment of fifteen hundred men to be immediately sent, to act as occasion might serve, on the enemy's left flank and rear. This was immediately forwarded under General Scott. When Sir Henry Clinton had advanced to Allentown, he determined, instead of keeping the direct course towards Staten Island, to draw towards the seacoast and to push on towards Sandy Hook. General Washington, on receiving intelligence that Sir Henry was proceeding in that direction towards Monmouth court-house, despatched a thousand men under General Wayne, and sent the Marquis de Lafayette to take command of the whole advanced corps, with orders to seize the first fair opportunity of attacking the enemy's rear. General Lee, who, having been lately exchanged, had joined the army, was offered this command, but he declined it, as he was, in principle, against hazarding an attack. The whole army followed at a proper distance for supporting the advanced corps, and reached Cranberry the next morning. Sir



BATTLE OF MONMOUTH.

Henry Clinton, sensible of the approach of the Americans, placed his grenadiers, light-infantry, and chasseurs in his rear, and his baggage in his front. General Washington increased his advanced corps with two brigades, and sent General Lee, who now wished for the command, to take charge of the whole, and followed with the main army to give it support. On the next morning, orders were sent to Lee, to move on and attack, unless there should be powerful reasons to the contrary. When Washington had marched about five miles to support the advanced corps, he found the whole of it retreating by Lee's orders, and without having made any opposition of consequence. Washington rode up to Lee, and proposed certain questions to him which implied censure. Lee answered with warmth and unsuitable language. The commander-in-chief ordered Colonel Stewart's and Lieutenant-colonel Ramsay's battalions to form on a piece of ground which he judged suitable for giving a check to the advancing enemy. Lee was then asked if he would command on that ground, to which he consented, and was ordered to take proper measures for checking the enemy, to which he replied, "Your orders shall be obeyed, and I will not be the first to leave the field." Washington then rode to the main army, which was formed with the utmost expedition. A warm cannonade immediately commenced between the British and American artillery, and a heavy firing between the advanced troops of the British army, and the two battalions which General Washington had halted.

These stood their ground, till they were intermixed with a part of the British army. Lieutenant-colonel Ramsay, the commander of one of them, was wounded and taken prisoner. General Lee continued till the last on the field of battle, and brought off the rear of the retreating troops.

The check the British received gave time to make a disposition of the left wing, and second line of the American army in the wood and on the eminence to which Lee was retreating. On this, some cannon were placed by Lord Stirling, who commanded the left wing, which, with the co-operation of some parties of infantry, effectually stopped the advance of the British in that quarter. General Greene took a very advantageous position, on the right of Lord Stirling. The British attempted to turn the left flank of the Americans, but were repulsed. They also made a movement to the right with as little success, for Greene, with the artillery, disappointed their design. Wayne advanced with a body of troops, and kept up so severe and well-directed a fire, that the British were soon compelled to give way. They retired and took the position which Lee had before occupied. Washington resolved to attack them, and ordered General Poor to move round upon their right, and General Woodford to their left; but they could not get within reach before it was dark. These remained on the ground which they had been directed to occupy during the night, with an intention of attacking early next morning, and the main body lay on their arms in the field to be ready for supporting them. General Washington reposed himself in his cloak, under a tree, in hopes of renewing the action the next day. But these hopes were frustrated. The British troops marched away in the night, in such silence that General Poor, though he lay very near them, knew nothing of their departure. They left behind them four officers and about forty privates, all so badly wounded that they could not be removed. Their other wounded were carried off. [June 30.] The British pursued their march without further interruption, and soon reached the neighbourhood of Sandy Hook without the loss of either their covering party or baggage. The American general declined all further pursuit of the royal army, and soon after drew off his troops to the borders of the North River. The loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, was about two hundred and fifty. The loss of the royal army, inclusive of prisoners, was about three hundred and fifty. Lieutenant-colonel Monckton, one of the British slain, on account of his singular merit, was universally lamented. Colonel Bonner of Pennsylvania, and Major Dickerson of Virginia, officers highly esteemed by their country, fell in this engagement. The uncommon heat of the day was such, that some of the Americans, and fifty-nine of the British, were found dead on the field of battle, without any marks of violence upon their bodies.

It is probable, that Washington intended to take no farther notice of Lee's conduct in the day of action, but the latter could not brook the expressions used by the former at their first meeting, and wrote him two passionate letters. This occasioned his being arrested, and brought to trial. The charges exhibited against him were—

1st, For disobedience of orders, in not attacking the enemy on the 28th of June, agreeable to repeated instructions.

2dly. For misbehaviour before the enemy, on the same day, by making an unnecessary, disorderly, and shameful retreat.

3dly. For disrespect to the commander-in-chief in two letters.

After a tedious hearing before a court-martial, of which Lord Stirling was president, Lee was found guilty and sentenced to be suspended from any command in the armies of the United States, for the term of one year, but the second charge was softened by the court-martial, who in their award only found him guilty of misbehaviour before the enemy, by making an unnecessary and in some few instances a disorderly retreat. Many were displeased with this sentence. They argued "that by the tenor of Lee's orders, it was submitted to his discretion whether to attack or not, and also, that the time and manner were to be determined by his own judgment. That at one time he intended to attack, but altered his opinion on apparently good grounds. That the propriety of an attack, considering the superiority of the British cavalry, and the openness of the ground, was very questionable. That though it might have distressed the enemy's rear in the first instance, it would probably have brought on a general action, before the advanced corps could have been supported by the main body, which was some miles in the rear." "If," said they, "Lee's judgment was against attacking the enemy, he could not be guilty of disobeying an order for that purpose, which was suspended on the condition of his own approbation of the measure." They also agreed that a suspension from command was not a sufficient punishment for his crimes, if really guilty. They therefore inferred a presumption of his innocence from the lenient sentence of his judges. Though there was a diversity of opinion relative to the first and second charges, all were agreed in pronouncing him guilty of disrespect to the commander-in-chief. The Americans had formerly idolized General Lee, but some of them now went to the opposite extreme, and pronounced him treacherous or deficient in courage, though there was no foundation for either of these suspicions. His temper was violent, and his impatience of subordination had led him often to quarrel with those whom he was bound to respect and obey; but his courage and fidelity could not be questioned.

Soon after the battle of Monmouth, the American army took post at the White Plains, a few miles beyond Kingsbridge, and the British, though only a few miles distant, did not molest them. They remained in this

position from an early day in July, till a late one in the autumn, and then the Americans retired to Middle Brook in Jersey, where they built themselves huts in the same manner as they had done at Valley Forge.

Immediately on the departure of the British from Philadelphia, Congress, after an absence of nine months, returned to the former seat of their deliberations. Soon after their return, they were called upon to give a public audience to a minister plenipotentiary from the court of France. [Aug. 6.] The person appointed to this office, was M. Gerard, the same who had been employed in the negotiations antecedent to the treaty. The arrival and reception of a minister from France made a strong impression on the minds of the Americans. They felt the weight and importance to which they were risen among nations. That the same spot, which in less than a century had been the residence of savages, should become the theatre on which the representatives of a new, free, and civilized nation gave a public audience to a minister plenipotentiary from one of the oldest and most powerful kingdoms of Europe, afforded ample materials for philosophic contemplation. That in less than three years from the day on which an answer was refused by Great Britain to the united supplications of the colonists, praying for peace, liberty, and safety, they should, as an independent people, be honoured with the residence of a minister from the court of France, exceeded the expectation of the most sanguine Americans. The patriots of the New World revolved in their minds these transactions, with heart-felt satisfaction, while the devout were led to admire that Providence, which had in so short a space stationed the United States among the powers of the earth, and clothed them in robes of sovereignty.

The British had but barely completed the removal of their fleet and army from the Delaware and Philadelphia to the harbour and city of New York, when they received intelligence that a French fleet was on the coast of America. This was commanded by Count D'Estaing, and consisted of twelve ships of the line and three frigates. Among the former, one carried ninety guns, another eighty, and six seventy-four guns each. Their first object was the surprise of Lord Howe's fleet in the Delaware, but they arrived too late. In naval history, there are few more narrow escapes than that of the British fleet on this occasion. It consisted only of six sixty-four gun ships, three of fifty, and two of forty, with some frigates and sloops. Most of these had been long on service, and were in a bad condition. Their force, when compared with that of the French fleet, was so greatly inferior, that had the latter reached the mouth of the Delaware in seventy-five days from its leaving Toulon, their capture, in the ordinary course of events, would have been inevitable. This stroke was providentially prevented, by the various hindrances which retarded D'Estaing in his voyage to the term of eighty-seven days, in the last eleven of which, Lord Howe's fleet not only quitted the Delaware, but reached the

harbour of New York. D'Estaing, disappointed in his first scheme, pursued and appeared off Sandy Hook. American pilots of the first abilities, provided for the purpose, went on board his fleet. [July 11.] Among them were persons, whose circumstances placed them above the ordinary rank of pilots.

The sight of the French fleet raised all the active passions of their adversaries. Transported with indignation against the French, for interfering in what they called a domestic quarrel, the British displayed a spirit of zeal and bravery which could not be exceeded. A thousand volunteers were despatched from their transports to man their fleet. The masters and mates of the merchantmen and traders at New York took their stations at the guns with the common sailors. Others put to sea in light vessels, to watch the motions of their enemies. The officers and privates of the British army contended with so much eagerness to serve on board the men of war as marines, that it became necessary to decide the point of honour by lot.

The French fleet came to anchor, and continued without the Hook for eleven days. During this time the British had the mortification of seeing the blockade of their fleet, and the capture of about twenty vessels under English colours. On the 22d, the French fleet appeared under weigh. It was an anxious moment to the British. They supposed that Count D'Estaing would force his way into the harbour, and that an engagement would be the consequence. Every thing with them was at stake. Nothing less than destruction or victory would have ended the contest. If the first had been their lot, the vast fleet of transports and victuallers and the army must have fallen. The pilots on board the French fleet declared it to be impossible to carry the large ships thereof over the bar, on account of their draught of water. D'Estaing, on that account and by the advice of General Washington, left the Hook and sailed for Newport. By his departure the British had a second escape, for had he remained at the Hook but a few days longer, the fleet of Admiral Byron must have fallen into his hands. That officer had been sent out to relieve Lord Howe, who had solicited to be recalled, and the fleet under his command had been sent to reinforce that which had been previously on the coast of America. Admiral Byron's squadron had met with bad weather, and was separated in different storms. It now arrived, scattered, broken, sickly, dismasted, or otherwise damaged. Within eight days after the departure of the French fleet, the *Renown*, the *Raisonable*, the *Centurion*, and the *Cornwall*, arrived singly at Sandy Hook.

The next attempt of Count D'Estaing was against Rhode Island, of which the British had been in possession since December, 1776. A combined attack against it was projected, and it was agreed that General Sullivan should command the American land forces. Such was the eagerness

of the people to co-operate with their new allies, and so confident were they of success, that some thousands of volunteers engaged in the service. The militia of Massachusetts was under the command of General Hancock. The royal troops on the island, having been lately reinforced, were about six thousand. Sullivan's force was about ten thousand. Lord Howe followed the Count D'Estaing, and came within sight of Rhode Island, the day after the French fleet entered the harbour of Newport. The British fleet exceeded the French in point of number, but was inferior with respect to effective force and weight of metal. On the appearance of Lord Howe, the French admiral put out to sea with his whole fleet to engage him. While the two commanders were exerting their naval skill to gain respectively the advantages of position, a strong gale of wind came on, which afterwards increased to a tempest, and greatly damaged the ships on both sides. In this conflict of the elements, two capital French ships were dismasted. The Languedoc of ninety guns, D'Estaing's own ship, after losing all her masts and her rudder, was attacked by the Renown of fifty guns, commanded by Captain Dawson. The same evening the Preston, of fifty guns, fell in with the Tonnant of eighty guns, with only her mainmast standing, and attacked her with spirit, but night put an end to the engagement. Six sail of the French squadron came up in the night, which saved the disabled ships from any further attack. There was no ship or vessel lost on either side. The British suffered less in the storm than their adversaries, yet enough to make it necessary for them to return to New York, for the purpose of refitting. The French fleet came to anchor, on the 20th, near to Rhode Island, but sailed on the 22d, to Boston. Before they sailed, General Greene and the Marquis de Lafayette went on board the Languedoc, to consult on measures proper to be pursued. They urged D'Estaing to return with his fleet into the harbour, but his principal officers were opposed to the measure, and protested against it. He had been instructed to go to Boston, if his fleet met with any misfortune. His officers insisted on his ceasing to prosecute the expedition against Rhode Island, that he might conform to the orders of their common superiors. Upon the return of Greene and Lafayette, and their reporting the determination of Count D'Estaing, a protest was drawn up and sent to him, which was signed by John Sullivan, Nathaniel Greene, John Hancock, I. Glover, Ezekiel Cornel, William Whipple, John Tyler, Solomon Lovell, Jon. Fitconnell. In this they protested against the count's taking the fleet to Boston, as derogatory to the honour of France, contrary to the intention of his most Christian majesty, and the interest of his nation, and destructive in the highest degree to the welfare of the United States, and highly injurious to the alliance formed between the two nations. Had D'Estaing prosecuted his original plan within the harbour, either before or immediately after the pursuit of Lord Howe, the reduction of the British post on Rhode Island would

have been probable, but his departure in the first instance to engage the British fleet. and in the second from Rhode Island to Boston, frustrated the whole plan. Perhaps Count D'Estaing hoped by something brilliant to efface the impressions made by his late failure at New York. Or he might have thought it imprudent to stake his whole fleet, within a harbour possessed by his enemies.

After his ships had suffered both from battle and the storm, the letter of his instructions—the importunity of his officers, and his anxiety to have his ships speedily refitted, might have weighed with him to sail directly for Boston. Whatever were the reasons which induced his adoption of that measure, the Americans were greatly dissatisfied. They complained that they had incurred great expense and danger, under the prospect of the most effective co-operation—that depending thereon, they had risked their lives on an island, where, without naval protection, they were exposed to particular danger—that in this situation, they were first deserted, and afterwards totally abandoned, at a time, when, by persevering in the original plan, they had well-grounded hopes of speedy success. Under these apprehensions, the discontented militia went home in such crowds that the regular army which remained was in danger of being cut off from a retreat. [August.] In these embarrassing circumstances, General Sullivan extricated himself with judgment and ability. He began to send off his heavy artillery and baggage on the 26th, and retreated from his lines on the night of the 28th. It had been that day resolved in a council of war, to remove to the north end of the island—fortify their camp, secure a communication with the main, and hold the ground till it could be known whether the French fleet would return to their assistance. The Marquis de Lafayette, by desire of his associates, set off for Boston, to request the speedy return of the French fleet. To this Count D'Estaing would not consent, but he made a spirited offer to lead the troops under his command, and co-operate with the American land-forces against Rhode Island.

Sullivan retreated with great order, but he had not been five hours at the north end of the island, when his troops were fired upon by the British, who had pursued them on discovering their retreat. The pursuit was made by two parties and on two roads; to one was opposed Colonel Henry B. Livingston, to the other John Laurens, aid-de-camp to General Washington, and each of them had a command of light troops. In the first instance, these light troops were compelled by superior numbers to give way, but they kept up a retreating fire. On being reinforced, they gave their pursuers a check, and at length repulsed them. By degrees the action became in some respects general, and near one thousand two hundred Americans were engaged. The loss on the side of the Americans was two hundred and eleven: that of the British two hundred and sixty.

Lord Howe's fleet, with Sir Henry Clinton and about four thousand



SIR HENRY CLINTON.

troops on board, being seen off the coast, General Sullivan concluded immediately to evacuate Rhode Island. As the sentries of both armies were within four hundred yards of each other, the greatest caution was necessary. To cover the design of retreating, the show of resistance and continuance on the island was kept up. The retreat was made in the night, [August 30,] and mostly completed by twelve o'clock. Towards the last of it, the Marquis de Lafayette returned to Boston. He had rode thither from Rhode Island, a distance of near seventy miles, in seven hours, and returned in six and a half. Anxious to partake in the engagement, his mortification was not little at being out of the way on the day before. He was in time to bring off the pickets, and other parties that covered the retreat of the American army. This he did in excellent order. Not a man was left behind, nor was the smallest article lost.

The bravery and good conduct which John Laurens displayed on thi

occasion were excelled by his republican magnanimity, in declining a military commission which was conferred on him by the representatives of his country. Congress resolved, that he should be presented with a continental commission of lieutenant-colonel, in testimony of the sense which they entertained of his patriotic and spirited services, and of his brave conduct in several actions, particularly in that of Rhode Island on the 29th of August.

On the next day he wrote to Congress a letter, expressing "his gratitude for the unexpected honour which they were pleased to confer on him, and of the satisfaction it would have afforded him, could he have accepted it without injuring the rights of the officers in the line of the army, and doing an evident injustice to his colleagues, in the family of the commander-in-chief. That having been a spectator of the convulsions occasioned in the army by disputes of rank, he held the tranquillity of it too dear to be instrumental in disturbing it, and therefore entreated Congress to suppress their resolve, ordering him the commission of lieutenant-colonel, and to accept his sincere thanks for the intended honour."

With the abortive expedition to Rhode Island, there was an end to the plans, which were in the first campaign projected by the allies of Congress, for a co-operation. The Americans had been intoxicated with hopes of the most decisive advantages, but in every instance they were disappointed. Lord Howe, with an inferiority of force, not only preserved his own fleet, but counteracted and defeated all the views and attempts of Count D'Estaing. The French fleet gained no direct advantages for the Americans, yet their arrival was of great service to their cause. Besides deranging the plans of the British, it carried conviction to their minds that his most Christian majesty was seriously disposed to support them. The good will of their new allies was manifested to the Americans, and though it had failed in producing the effects expected from it, the failure was charged to winds, weather, and unavoidable incidents. Some censured Count D'Estaing; but while they attempted to console themselves, by throwing blame on him, they felt and acknowledged their obligation to the French nation, and were encouraged to persevere in the war, from the hope that better fortune would attend their future co-operation.

Sir Henry Clinton, finding that the Americans had left Rhode Island, returned to New York, but directed General Grey to proceed to Bedford and the neighbourhood, where several American privateers resorted. On reaching the place of their destination, the general's party landed, [September 5,] and in a few hours destroyed about seventy sail of shipping, besides a number of small craft. They also burnt magazines, wharves, stores, warehouses, vessels on the stocks, and a considerable number of dwelling-houses. The buildings burned in Bedford were estimated to be worth twenty thousand pounds sterling. The other articles destroyed were

worth much more. The royal troops proceeded to Martha's Vineyard. There they destroyed a few vessels, and made a requisition of the militia arms, the public money, three hundred oxen, and two thousand sheep which was complied with.

A similar expedition, under the command of Captain Ferguson, was about the same time undertaken against Little Egg Harbour, at which place the Americans had a number of privateers and prizes, and also some salt-works. Several of the vessels got off, but all that were found were destroyed. [October 5.] Previous to the embarkation of the British from Egg-Harbour for New York, Captain Ferguson, with two hundred and fifty men, surprised and put to death about fifty of a party of the Americans, who were posted in the vicinity. The attack being made in the night, little or no quarter was given.

The loss sustained by the British in these several excursions was trifling, but the advantage was considerable, from the supplies they procured, and the check which was given to the American privateers.

One of the most disastrous events which occurred at this period of the campaign, was the surprise and massacre of an American regiment of light dragoons, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Baylor. While employed in a detached situation, to intercept and watch a British foraging party, they took up their lodging in a barn near Taapan. The officer who commanded the party which surprised them, was Major-general Grey. He acquired the name of the "No flint general" from his common practice of ordering the men under his command to take the flints out of their muskets, that they might be confined to the use of their bayonets. A party of militia, which had been stationed on the road by which the British advanced, quitted their post, without giving any notice to Colonel Baylor. This disorderly conduct was the occasion of the disaster which followed. Grey's men proceeded with such silence and address that they cut off a serjeant's patrol without noise, and surrounded old Taapan without being discovered. They then rushed in upon Baylor's regiment, while they were in a profound sleep. Incapable of defence or resistance, cut off from every prospect of selling their lives dear, the surprised dragoons sued for quarters. Unmoved by their supplications, their adversaries applied the bayonet, and continued its repeated thrusts while objects could be found in which any signs of life appeared. A few escaped, and others, after having received from five to eleven bayonet-wounds in the trunk of the body, were restored, in a course of time, to perfect health. Baylor himself was wounded, but not dangerously: he lost, in killed, wounded, and taken, sixty-seven privates out of one hundred and four. About forty were made prisoners. These were indebted, for their lives, to the humanity of one of Grey's captains, who gave quarters to the whole fourth troop, though contrary to the orders of his superior officers.

In the summer of this year, an expedition was undertaken against East Florida. This was resolved upon with the double view of protecting the state of Georgia from depredation, and of causing a diversion. General Robert Howe, who conducted it, had under his command about two thousand men, a few hundreds of which were continental troops, and the remainder militia of the states of South Carolina and Georgia. They proceeded as far as St. Mary's river, and without any opposition of consequence. At this place, the British had erected a fort, which, in compliment to Tonym, governor of the province, was called by his name. On the approach of General Howe, they destroyed this fort, and after some slight skirmishing, retreated towards St. Augustine. The season was more fatal to the Americans than any opposition they experienced from their enemies. Sickness and death raged to such a degree that an immediate retreat became necessary; but before this was effected, they lost nearly one-fourth of their whole number.

The royal commissioners having failed in their attempts to induce the Americans to resume the character of British subjects, and the successive plans of co-operation between the new allies having also failed, a solemn pause ensued. It would seem as if the commissioners indulged a hope that the citizens of the United States, on finding a disappointment of their expectation from the French, would re-consider and accept the offers of Great Britain. Full time was given both for the circulation of their manifesto, and for observing its effects on the public mind, but no overtures were made to them from any quarter. The year was drawing near to a close before any interesting expedition was undertaken. With this new era a new system was introduced. Hitherto the conquest of the states had been attempted by proceeding from north to south: but that order was henceforth inverted, and the southern states became the principal theatre on which the British conducted their offensive operations. Georgia being one of the weakest states in the union, and at the same time abounding in provisions, was marked out as the first object of renewed warfare. Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, an officer of known courage and ability, embarked [Nov. 27, 1778] from New York, for Savannah, with a force of about two thousand men, under convoy of some ships of war commanded by Commodore Hyde Parker. To make more sure of success in the enterprise, Major-general Prevost, who commanded the royal forces in East Florida, was directed to advance with them into the southern extremity of Georgia. The fleet that sailed from New York, in about three weeks effected a landing near the mouth of the river Savannah. From the landing-place a narrow causeway of six hundred yards in length, with a ditch on each side, led through a swamp. A body of the British light infantry moved forward along this causeway. On their advance they received a heavy fire from a small party under Captain Smith, posted for the purpose

of impeding their passage. Captain Cameron was killed, but the British made their way good, and compelled Captain Smith to retreat. General Howe, the American officer to whom the defence of Georgia was committed, took his station on the main road, and posted his little army, consisting of about six hundred continentals and a few hundred militia, between the landing-place and the town of Savannah, with the river on his left and a morass in front. This disposition announced great difficulties to be overcome before the Americans could be dislodged. While Colonel Campbell was making the necessary arrangements for this purpose, he received intelligence from a negro, of a private path through the swamp, on the right of the Americans, which lay in such a situation that the British troops might march through it unobserved. Sir James Baird, with the light infantry, was directed to avail himself of this path in order to turn the right wing of the Americans and attack the rear. As soon as it was supposed that Baird had cleared his passage, the British in front of the Americans were directed to advance and engage. Howe, finding himself attacked in the rear as well as in front, ordered an immediate retreat. The British pursued with great execution: their victory was complete. Upwards of one hundred of the Americans were killed. Thirty-eight officers, four hundred and fifteen privates, forty-eight pieces of cannon, twenty-three mortars, the fort, with its ammunition and stores, the shipping in the river, a large quantity of provisions, with the capital of Georgia, were all, in the space of a few hours, in the possession of the conquerors. The broken remains of the American army retreated up the river Savannah for several miles, and then took shelter by crossing into South Carolina. Agreeably to instructions, General Prevost had marched from East Florida about the same time that the embarkation took place from New York. After encountering many difficulties, the king's troops from St. Augustine reached the inhabited parts of Georgia, and there heard the welcome tidings of the arrival and success of Colonel Campbell. Savannah having fallen, the fort at Sunbury surrendered. General Prevost marched to Savannah, and took the command of the combined forces from New York and St. Augustine. Previous to his arrival a proclamation had been issued, to encourage the inhabitants to come in and submit to the conquerors, with promises of protection, on condition that with their arms they would support royal government.

Lieutenant-colonel Campbell acted with great policy in securing the submission of the inhabitants. He did more in a short time, and with comparatively a few men, towards the re-establishment of the British interest, than all the general officers who had preceded him. He not only extirpated military opposition, but subverted for some time every trace of republican government, and paved the way for the re-establishment of a royal legislature. Georgia, soon after the reduction of its capital, exhibited



FREDERICK THE GREAT.

a singular spectacle. It was the only state of the union in which, after the declaration of independence, a legislative body was convened under the authority of the crown of Great Britain. The moderation and prudence of Lieutenant-colonel Campbell were more successful in reconciling the minds of the citizens to their former constitution, than the severe measures which had been generally adopted by other British commanders.

The errors of the first years of the war forced on Congress some useful reforms, in the year 1778. The insufficiency of the provision made for the support of the officers of their army had induced the resignation of between two and three hundred of them, to the great injury of the service. From a conviction of the justice and policy of making commissions valuable, and from respect to the warm, but disinterested recommendations of General Washington, Congress resolved "That half-pay should be allowed to their officers, for the term of seven years, after the expiration of their service." This was afterwards extended to the end of their lives. And finally, that was commuted for full pay for five years. Resignations were afterwards rare, and the states reaped the benefit of experienced officers continuing in service till the war was ended.

A system of more regular discipline was introduced into the American army, by the industry, abilities, and judicious regulations of Baron de Steuben, a most excellent disciplinarian, who had served under Frederick the Great, the king of Prussia. A very important reform took place in the medical department, by appointing different officers to discharge the direct-

ing and purveying business of the military hospitals, which had been before united in the same hands. Dr. Rush was principally instrumental in effecting this beneficial alteration. Some regulations which had been adopted for limiting the prices of commodities, being found not only impracticable but injurious, were abolished.

A few detached events, which could not be introduced without interrupting the narrative of the great events of the campaign, shall close this article.

In February, Captain James Willing, in the service of the United States, arrived with a few men from Fort Pitt, at the Natches, a British settlement in West Florida. He sent out parties, who, without any resistance, made the inhabitants prisoners. Articles of agreement were entered into between them and Captain Willing, by which they promised to observe a neutrality in the present contest, and in return it was engaged that their property should be unmolested.

In July, 1778, a storm of Indian and Tory vengeance burst with particular violence on Wyoming, a new and flourishing settlement on the eastern branch of the Susquehannah. Unfortunately for the security of the inhabitants, the soil was claimed by both Connecticut and Pennsylvania. From the collision of contradictory claims, founded on royal charters, the laws of neither were steadily enforced. In this remote settlement, where government was feeble, the Tories were under less control, and could easily assemble undiscovered. Nevertheless, at one time, twenty-seven of them were taken, and sent to Hartford, in Connecticut, but they were afterwards released. These and others of the same description, instigated by revenge against the Americans, from whom some of them had suffered banishment and the loss of property, made a common cause with the Indians, and attacked the Wyoming settlement with their combined forces, estimated at one thousand one hundred men, nine hundred of which were Indians. The whole was commanded by Colonel John Butler, a Connecticut Tory. One of the forts, which had been constructed for the security of the inhabitants, being very weak, surrendered to this party; but some of the garrison had previously retired to the principal fort at Kingston, called Forty-Fort. [July 2.] Colonel John Butler next demanded the surrender of that. Colonel Zebulon Butler, a continental officer who commanded there, sent a message to him, proposing a conference at a bridge without the fort. [July 3.] This being agreed to, Colonel Zebulon Butler, Dennison, and some other officers, repaired to the place appointed, and they were followed by the whole garrison, a few invalids excepted. None of the enemy appeared. The Wyoming people advanced, and supposed that the enemy were retiring. They continued to march on, till they were about three miles from the fort. They then saw a few of the enemy, with whom they exchanged some shot, but they presently found themselves ambuscaded and attacked by the whole body of Indians and Tories. They fought gallantly, till they found

that their retreat to the fort was cut off. Universal confusion then ensued. Of four hundred and seventeen who had marched out of the fort, about three hundred and sixty were instantly slain. No quarters were given. Colonel John Butler again demanded the surrender of Forty-Fort. This was agreed to under articles of capitulation, by which the effects of the people therein were to be secured to them. The garrison consisted of thirty men and two hundred women. These were permitted to cross the Susquehannah, and retreat through the woods to Northampton county. The most of the other scattered settlers had previously retired, some through the woods to Northampton county, others down the river to Northumberland county. In this retreat, some women were delivered of children in the woods, and many suffered from want of provisions. Several of the settlers at Wyoming had erected good houses and barns, and made very considerable improvements. These and all the other houses in the vicinity, except about half a dozen, were destroyed. Their horses, cattle, sheep and hogs, were for the most part killed or driven away by the enemy.

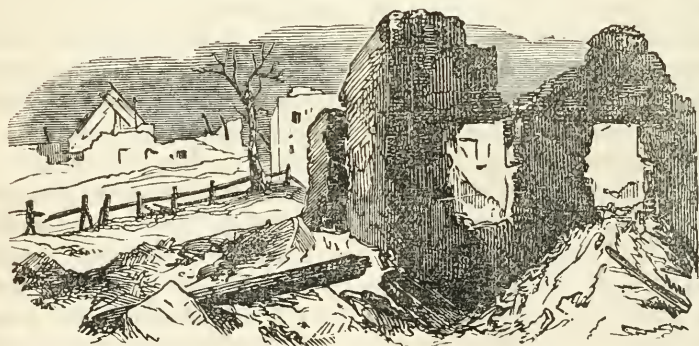
The distresses of this settlement were uncommonly great. A large proportion of the male inhabitants were, in one day, slaughtered. In a single engagement, near two hundred women were made widows, and a much greater number of children were left fatherless.

Soon after the destruction of the Wyoming settlement, an expedition was carried on against the Indians by Colonel Butler of the Pennsylvania troops. [Oct. 1.] He and his party, having gained the head of the Delaware, marched down the river for two days, and then struck across the country to the Susquehannah. They totally burnt or destroyed the Indian villages, both in that quarter and the other settlements, but the inhabitants escaped. The destruction was extended for several miles on both sides of the Susquehannah. The difficulties which Colonel Butler's men encountered in this expedition, could not be undergone but by men who possessed a large share of hardiness, both of body and mind. They were obliged to carry their provisions on their backs, and thus loaded, frequently to wade through creeks and rivers. After the toil of a hard march, they were obliged to endure chilly nights and heavy rains, without even the means of keeping their arms dry. They completed their business in sixteen days. About four weeks after Colonel Butler's return, some hundreds of Indians and Tories and about fifty regulars entered Cherry Valley, in the state of New York, and after being repelled from Fort Alden, killed and scalped thirty-two of the inhabitants, mostly women and children, and also Colonel Alden and ten soldiers.

[March 7.] The Randolph, an American frigate of thirty-six guns and three hundred and five men, commanded by Captain Biddle, having sailed on a cruise from Charleston, fell in with the Yarmouth of sixty-four guns.

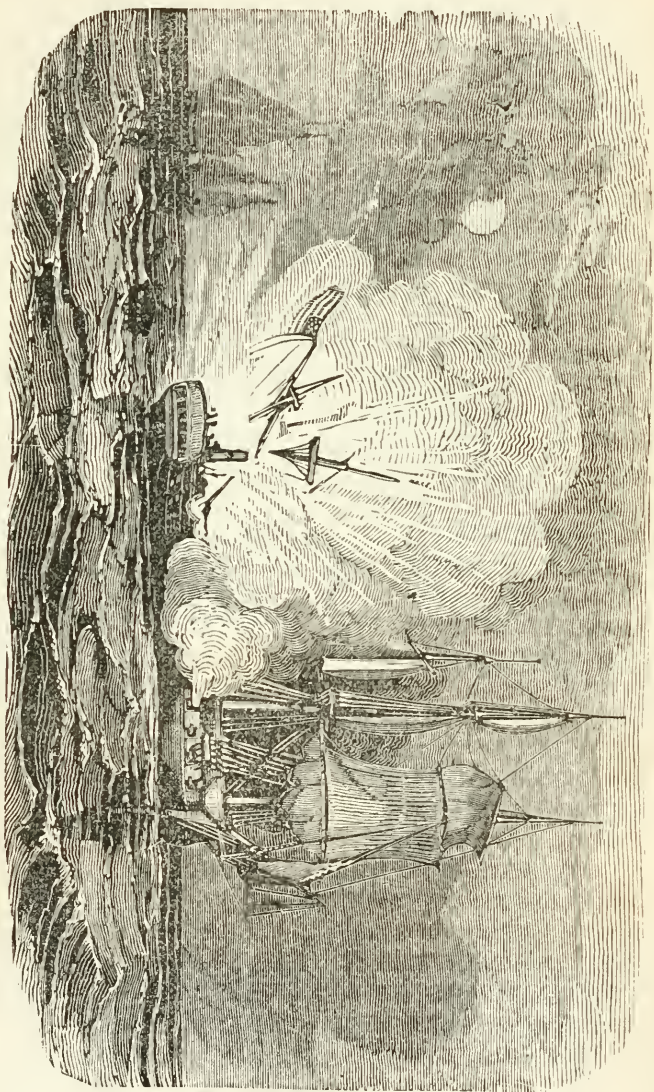
and engaged in the night. In about a quarter of an hour, the Randolph blew up. Four men only were saved, upon a piece of her wreck. These had subsisted for four days on nothing but rain-water, which they sucked from a piece of blanket. On the fifth day, Captain Vincent of the Yarmouth, though in chase of a ship, on discovering them, suspended the chase and took them on board. Captain Biddle, who perished on board the Randolph, was universally lamented. He was in the prime of life, and had excited high expectations of future usefulness to his country, as a bold and skilful naval officer.

[Oct. 29.] Major Talbot took the British schooner Pigot, of eight twelve-pounders, as she lay on the eastern side of Rhode Island. The major, with a number of troops on board a small vessel, made directly for the Pigot in the night, and sustaining the fire of her marines, reserved his own till he had run his jib-boom through her fore-shrouds. He then fired some cannon, and threw in a volley of musketry, loaded with bullets and buck-shot, and immediately boarded her. The captain made a gallant resistance, but he was not seconded by his crew. Major Talbot soon gained undisturbed possession, and carried off his prize in safety. Congress, as a reward of his merit, presented him with the commission of lieutenant colonel.



RUINS OF WYOMING.

RANDOLPH AND YARMOUTH.





GENERAL LINCOLN.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1779.



URING the year 1779, the British seem to have aimed at little more, in the states to the northward of Carolina, than distress and depredation. Having publicly announced their resolution of making "the colonies of as little avail as possible to their new connections," they planned sundry expeditions on this principle.

One of these, consisting of both a naval and land force, was committed to Sir George Collier and General Mathews, who made a descent on Virginia. [May 10.] They sailed for Portsmouth, and on

their arrival took possession of that town. Norfolk, on the opposite side of the river, fell, of course, into their hands. The Americans burned some of their own vessels, but others were made prizes by the invaders. The British guards marched eighteen miles in the night, and arriving at Suffolk by morning, proceeded to the destruction of vessels, naval stores, and of a large magazine of provisions, which had been deposited in that place. A similar destruction was carried on at Kemp's Landing, Shepherd's Gosport, Tanner's creek, and other places in the vicinity. The frigates and armed vessels were employed on the same business along the margin of the rivers. Three thousand hogsheads of tobacco were taken at Portsmouth. Every house in Suffolk was burned, except the church and one dwelling-house. The houses of several private gentlemen in the country shared the same fate. About a hundred and thirty vessels were either destroyed or taken. All that were upon the stocks were burned, and every thing relative to the building or fitting of ships was either carried off or destroyed. The fleet and army, after demolishing Fort Nelson, and setting fire to the store-houses and other public buildings in the dockyard at Gosport, embarked from Virginia, and returned with their prizes and booty safe to New York, in the same month in which they had left it. This expedition into Virginia distressed a number of its inhabitants, and enriched the British forces, but was of no real service to the royal cause. It was presumed that by involving the citizens in losses and distress, they would be brought to reflect on the advantages of submitting to a power, against which they had not the means of defending themselves: but the temper of the times was unfavourable to these views. Such was the high-toned state of the American mind, that property had comparatively lost its value. It was fashionable to suffer in the cause of independence. Some hearty Whigs gloried in their losses, with as much pride as others gloried in their possessions.

In about five weeks after the termination of the expedition to Virginia, a similar one was projected against the exposed margin of Connecticut. Governor Tryon was appointed to the command of about two thousand six hundred land forces employed on this business, and he was supported by General Garth. The transports which conveyed these troops, were covered by a suitable number of armed vessels, commanded by Sir George Collier. [July 5.] They proceeded from New York, by the way of Hell Gate, and landed at East Haven.

One of the many addresses, issued by the British commanders, was sent by a flag to Colonel Whiting of the militia, near Fairfield. The colonel was allowed an hour for his answer, but he had scarcely time to read it before the town was in flames. He, nevertheless, returned the following answer: "Connecticut having nobly dared to take up arms against the cruel despotism of Great Britain, and the flames having preceded the

answer to your flag, they will persist to oppose, to the utmost, the power exerted against injured innocence." The British marched from their landing to New Haven. The town, on their entering it, was delivered up to promiscuous plunder, a few instances of protection excepted. The inhabitants were stripped of their household furniture and other movable property. The harbour and water side was covered with feathers, which were discharged from opened beds. An aged citizen who laboured under a natural inability of speech, had his tongue cut out by one of the royal army. After perpetrating every species of enormity, but that of burning houses, the invaders suddenly re-embarked, and proceeded by water to Fairfield. The militia of that place and the vicinity posted themselves at the court-house green, and gave considerable annoyance to them, as they were advancing, but soon retreated to the height back of the town. On the approach of the British, the town was evacuated by most of its inhabitants. A few women remained, with the view of saving their property. They imagined that their sex would protect them. They also reposed confidence in an enemy who they knew had been formerly famed for humanity and politeness, but they bitterly repented their presumption. Parties of the royal army entered the deserted houses of the inhabitants, broke open desks, trunks, closets, and chests, and took every thing of value that came in their way. They robbed the women of their buckles, rings bonnets, aprons, and handkerchiefs. They abused them with the foulest language, threatened their lives, and presented the bayonets to their breasts. A sucking infant was plundered of part of its clothing, while the bayonet was presented to the breast of its mother. Towards evening, they began to burn the houses which they had previously plundered. The women begged General Tryon to spare the town. Mr. Sayre, the Episcopal minister, who had suffered for his attachment to the royal cause, joined the women in their requests, but their joint supplications were disregarded. They then begged that a few houses might be spared for a general shelter. This was at first denied, but at length Tryon consented to save the buildings of Mr. Burr and of Mr. Elliot, and also said, that the houses for public worship should be spared. After his departure on the next morning with the main body, the rear guard, consisting of German jaegers, set fire to every thing which Tryon had spared, but on their departure, the inhabitants extinguished the flames, and saved some of the houses. The militia were joined by numbers from the country, which successively came in to their aid, but they were too few to make effectual opposition.

The British in this excursion, also burned East Haven, the greatest part of Green's Farms, and the flourishing town of Norwalk. A considerable number of ships, either finished or on the stocks, with whaleboats, and a large amount of stores and merchandise, were destroyed. Particular ac-

counts of these devastations were, in a short time, transmitted by authority to Congress. By these it appeared that there were burnt at Norwalk, two houses of public worship, eighty dwelling-houses, eighty-seven barns, twenty-two stores, seventeen shops, four mills, and five vessels; and at Fairfield, two houses of public worship, fifteen dwelling-houses, eleven barns, and several stores. There were at the same time a number of certificates transmitted to General Washington, in which sundry persons of veracity bore witness on oath to various acts of brutality, rapine, and cruelty, committed on aged persons, women, and prisoners. [July 19.] Congress, on receiving satisfactory attestation of the ravages of the British in this and other similar expeditions, resolved "To direct their marine committee to take the most effectual measures to carry into execution their manifesto of October 30th, 1778, by burning or destroying the towns belonging to the enemy, in Great Britain or the West Indies," but their resolve was never carried into effect.

The fires and destruction which accompanied this expedition were severely censured by the Americans, and apologized for by the British in a very unsatisfactory manner. The latter, in their vindication, alleged that the houses which they had burned gave shelter to the Americans, while they fired from them, and on other occasions concealed their retreat.

While the British were proceeding in these desolating operations, General Washington was called upon for continental troops, but he could spare very few. He durst not detach largely, as he apprehended that one design of the British in these movements was to draw off a proportion of his army from West Point, to favour an intended attack on that important post. General Parsons, though closely connected with Connecticut, and though from his small force he was unable to make successful opposition to the invaders, yet instead of pressing General Washington for a large detachment of continental troops, wrote to him as follows: "The British may probably distress the country exceedingly, by the ravages they will commit; but I would rather see all the towns on the coast of my country in flames, than that the enemy should possess West Point."

The inhabitants feared much more than they suffered. They expected that the whole margin of their country, one hundred and twenty miles in extent, would suffer the fate of Fairfield and Norwalk. The season of the year added much to their difficulties, as the close attention of the farmers to their harvesting could not be omitted, without hazarding their subsistence. These fears were not of long duration. In about ten days after the landing of the British troops, an order was issued for their immediate return to New York. This they effected, in a short time, and with a loss so inconsiderable, that in the whole expedition, it did not exceed one hundred and fifty men.

While the British were successfully making these desultory operations,

the American army was incapable of covering the country. The former, having by means of their superior marine force, the command of the numerous rivers, bays, and harbours of the United States, had it in their power to make descents where they pleased, with an expedition that could not be equalled by the American land forces. [August.] Had General Washington divided his army, conformably to the wishes of the invaded citizens, he would have subjected his whole force to be cut up in detail. It was therefore his uniform practice, to risk no more by way of covering the country than was consistent with the general safety.

His army was posted at some distance from British head-quarters in New York, and on both sides of the North River. The van thereof, consisting of three hundred infantry and one hundred and fifty cavalry, under the command of Colonel Anthony Walton White, patrolled constantly, for several months, in front of the British lines, and kept a constant watch on the Sound and on the North River. This corps had sundry skirmishes with parties of the British, and was particularly useful in checking their excursions, and in procuring and communicating intelligence of their movements.

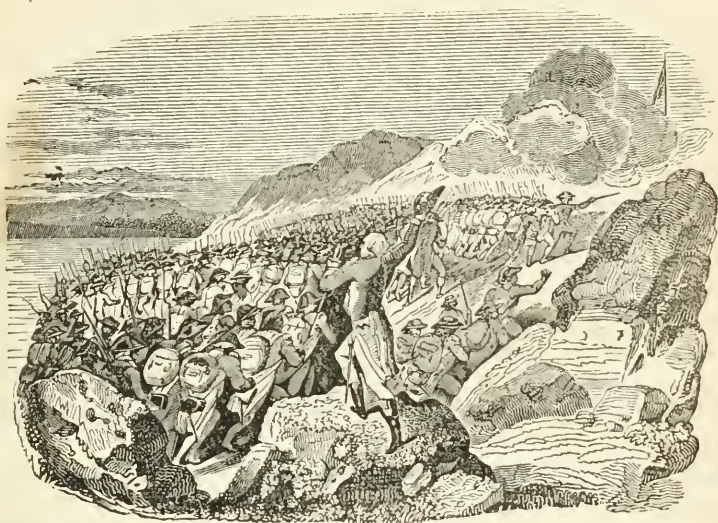
About this time, General Putnam, who had been stationed with a respectable command at Reading, in Connecticut, when on a visit to his outpost at Horseneck, was attacked by Governor Tryon, with about fifteen hundred men. General Putnam had only a picket of one hundred and fifty men, and two iron field-pieces without horses or drag-ropes. He however planted his cannon on the high ground, near the meeting-house, and by several fires retarded the advancing enemy, and continued to make opposition till he perceived the enemy's horse, supported by the infantry, were about to charge. General Putnam, after ordering the picket to provide for their safety by retiring to a swamp inaccessible to horse, plunged down the precipice at the church. This is so steep as to have artificial stairs, composed of nearly one hundred stone steps, for the accommodation of foot passengers. The dragoons stopped short, without venturing down the abrupt declivity, and before they got round the brow of the hill, Putnam was far enough beyond their reach. Of the many balls that were fired at him, all missed except one, which went through his hat. He proceeded to Stamford, and having strengthened his picket with some militia, faced about and pursued Governor Tryon on his return.

The campaign of 1779, though barren of important events, was distinguished by one of the most gallant enterprises which took place in the course of the war. This was the capture of Stoney Point, on the North river. General Wayne, who had the honour of conducting this enterprise, set out [July 15] at the head of a strong detachment of the most active infantry of the American army at noon, and completed a march of about fourteen miles, over bad roads, by eight o'clock in the evening. The



GENERAL PUTNAM AT HORSENECK.

detachment, being then within a mile and a half of its object, was halted and formed into columns. The general, with a few of his officers, advanced and reconnoitred the works. At half-past eleven the whole moved forward to the attack. The van of the right, consisting of one hundred and fifty volunteers under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Fleury, advanced with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. These were preceded by twenty picked men, who were particularly instructed to remove the abattis and other obstructions. The van of the left was led by Major Stewart, and advanced with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. It was also preceded by a similar forlorn hope. The general placed himself at the head of the right column, and gave the most pointed orders not to fire, but to depend solely on the bayonet. The two columns directed their attacks to opposite points of the works, while a detachment engaged the attention of the garrison by a feint in their front. The approaches were more difficult than had been apprehended. The works were defended by a deep morass, which was also, at that time, overflowed by the tide. Neither the morass, the double row of abattis, nor the strength of the works damped the ardour of the assailants. In the face of a most tremendous fire of musketry, and of cannon loaded with grape-shot, they forced their way, at the point of the bayonet, through every obstacle, until both columns met in the centre of the works, at nearly the same instant. General Wayne, as he



GENERAL WAYNE AT STONEY POINT.

passed the last abatis, was wounded in the head by a musket ball, but nevertheless insisted on being carried forward, adding, as a reason for it, that "if he died he wished it might be in the fort." Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox, who led the forlorn hope, escaped unhurt, although the first lost seventeen men out of twenty, and the last nearly as many. The killed and wounded of the Americans amounted to ninety-eight. The killed of the garrison were sixty-three, and the number of their prisoners five hundred and forty-three. Two flags, two standards, fifteen pieces of ordnance, and a considerable quantity of military stores, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The vigour and spirit with which this enterprise was conducted was matter of triumph to the Americans. Congress gave their thanks to General Washington, "For the vigilance, wisdom, and magnanimity with which he had conducted the military operations of the States, and which were, among many other signal instances, manifested in his orders for the above enterprise." They also gave thanks to General Wayne, and ordered a medal, emblematical of the action, to be struck, and one of gold to be presented to him. They directed a silver one to be presented to Lieutenant-colonel Fleury, and also to Major Stewart. At the same time they passed general resolutions in honour of the officers and men, but particularly designating Lieutenant-colonel Fleury, Major Stewart, Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox. To the two latter, and also to Mr. Archer, the general's

volunteer aid-de-camp, they gave the rank of captain. The clemency shown to the vanquished was universally applauded. The customs of war, and the recent barbarities at Fairfield and Norwalk, would have been an apology for the conquerors, had they put the whole garrison to the sword; but the assailants, no less generous than brave, ceased to destroy as soon as their adversaries ceased to resist. Upon the capture of Stony Point, the victors turned its artillery against Verplank's Point, and fired upon it with such effect that the shipping in its vicinity cut their cables and fell down the river. As soon as the news of these events reached New York, preparations were instantly made to relieve the latter post and to recover the former. It by no means accorded with the cautious prudence of General Washington to risk an engagement for either or for both of them. He therefore removed the cannon and stores, destroyed the works, and evacuated the captured post. Sir Henry Clinton regained possession of Stony Point on the third day after its capture, and placed in it a strong garrison.

While the expedition against Georgia in 1778 was preparing at New York, Congress was meditating the conquest of East Florida. Having received notice from General Washington of an intended attack on the southern states, the delegates of Georgia were desirous that an officer of more experience than Howe should have the command in that quarter; and requested that General Lincoln, who had been second in rank at Saratoga, should be appointed to the command of the southern army. Accordingly, so far back as the month of September, Howe had been ordered to repair to the head-quarters of General Washington, and Lincoln was nominated commander in the south. At the same time Congress passed a resolution, requesting the executive councils of Virginia and North Carolina to give all the assistance in their power to South Carolina and Georgia.

In obedience to orders, General Lincoln repaired to Charleston, the capital of South Carolina, where he found the military affairs of the country in much disorder. From ignorance, inadvertency, or want of means, Congress had established no continental military chest in the southern department. That defect rendered the troops dependent on the several state governments for supplies to enable the army to move on any emergency; and, in a great degree, subjected even the continental troops to the control of the civil authority in the several states. The militia, also, who had been taken into continental pay, considered themselves subject only to the military code of the province to which they belonged. Such a state of things was extremely unfavourable to the promptitude and vigour of military operations.

While General Lincoln was employed in rectifying disorders, and making preparations for the ensuing campaign, he received information of the appearance of the British armament off the coast of Georgia. So promptly had the

state of North Carolina complied with the recommendation of Congress to assist their southern neighbours, that two thousand men, raised for that purpose, arrived at Charleston, under the command of Generals Ashe and Rutherford. But although the state of North Carolina had raised the men, it had not provided them with arms; and Congress had no magazines in that part of the Union. The troops, therefore, were dependent on South Carolina for every military equipment; but that state, though better provided than North Carolina, had no superabundance of arms; and, under the apprehension that its own territory was to be invaded, declined supplying the troops of North Carolina with arms till it was too late to save the capital of Georgia.

When it was ascertained that the British fleet had entered the Savannah, the arms were furnished, every exertion was made to put the troops at Charleston in motion, and General Lincoln at their head proceeded rapidly towards the enemy; but on his march he received the mortifying information of Howe's defeat, and soon afterwards met the feeble remnant of the beaten army at Purysburg, a small town on the north bank of the Savannah, about thirty miles from the coast. At Purysburg General Lincoln established his head-quarters on the 3d of January. The force under his command amounted to between three thousand to four thousand men, many of them new levies and militia, who were strangers to the discipline and subordination of a camp. The army of General Prevost was somewhat more numerous, and greatly superior in the quality of the troops.

But with all his advantages it was not easy for General Prevost to advance into South Carolina; for the river Savannah flowed between the two armies. Its channel, indeed, is not wide; but for one hundred miles from its mouth it flows through a marshy country, which it often inundates to the breadth of from two to four miles. At no one place is there solid ground on both sides of the brink of the river. A few narrow causeways running through the marsh are the only places where it can be passed, and on many occasions these cannot be crossed by an army. This circumstance made it difficult for General Prevost to enter South Carolina, and inexpedient for General Lincoln to make any attempt on the British posts, although they extended from Savannah to Augusta.

The coast of Georgia and South Carolina is broken and irregular, abounding in islands, and intersected by arms of the sea. General Prevost detached Major Gardener, with two hundred men, to take possession of the island of Port Royal; but that officer was soon attacked by General Moultrie, who compelled him to retreat with loss. Deterred by that check, General Prevost, for some time, made no farther attempts on South Carolina.

From the beginning of the war, a considerable number of the settlers on the western frontier of the three southern provinces had been well affected



COLONEL PICKENS.

to the royal cause. They were satisfied with their condition, and wished no change. Information of the first successes of the British arms in Georgia soon reached these settlers; and emissaries were despatched to invite them to join the king's standard at Augusta, which had been erected there partly with a view to favour such movements, and to encourage the loyal settlers to co-operate with the troops in establishing the royal authority. Such of them as, on account of the notoriety of their principles and of their active hostility to independence, had been obliged to seek shelter among the Indians, were flattered with the hope of returning in triumph to the enjoyment of their possessions.

About seven hundred of these loyalists embodied themselves under Colonel Boyd, and began their march from the back parts of South Carolina to Augusta. Destitute of provisions, and dependent on plunder for subsistence, they resembled a disorderly banditti rather than a military force; and, by their irregularities, they armed all the peaceable inhabitants against them. The militia assembled under Colonel Pickens; pursued and attacked them near Kittle Creek; and defeated them with considerable slaughter, Boyd, their leader, being among the killed. Many prisoners were taken, seventy of whom were tried and condemned as traitors, and five of the most obnoxious were executed. About three hun-

dred of them escaped, reached the British outposts, and joined the royal army. This defeat depressed the rising spirits of the loyalists, and, for a while, preserved the tranquillity of the western frontier.

The British post at Augusta was too distant from the main body of the army to be easily maintained; and therefore, about the middle of February, Colonel Campbell was ordered to abandon it. By slow marches he moved down the river, till he reached Hudson's Ferry, about twenty-four miles from Ebenezer, where the British head-quarters were then established. There he left his detachment under the care of Lieutenant-colonel Prevost, brother of the general, and returned to Savannah.

The American army was gradually reinforced by the arrival of militia from the Carolinas; and General Lincoln began to meditate offensive operations. He extended his posts up the river; and detached General Ashe, with thirteen hundred militia, one hundred continental soldiers, and some cavalry, to take post opposite Augusta. His intention was to straiten the quarters of the British troops, and to cut off the communication with the Indians and the settlers on the western frontier. On arriving at his station, Ashe found Augusta already evacuated; and, agreeably to his instructions, he crossed the river, marched down the south side, and took post near the point where Brier Creek falls into the Savannah, forming an acute angle with it. His position was good, and appeared secure. The Savannah with its marshes was on his left; and his front was covered by Brier Creek, which is about six yards wide and unfordable at that place, as well as for several miles above it.

General Prevost resolved to dislodge the American detachment. For the purpose of amusing General Lincoln, he made a show of an intention to pass the river; and, in order to occupy the attention of Ashe, he ordered a party to appear on the opposite side of Brier Creek in his front. Meanwhile Colonel Prevost, with nine hundred chosen men, made an extensive circuit, passed Brier Creek fifteen miles above the American station, gained their rear unperceived, and was almost in their camp before they discovered his approach. The continental troops, under General Elbert, were drawn out to meet them, and began the engagement with spirit. But most of the militia threw down their arms without firing a shot, fled in confusion into the marsh, and swam across the river, in which numbers of them were drowned. General Elbert and his small band of continentals, supported by only one regiment of North Carolina militia, were not long able to maintain the unequal conflict; but, being overpowered by numbers, were compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war. The Americans lost between three and four hundred men, who were killed or taken prisoners, with seven pieces of artillery. Among the prisoners were General Elbert and Colonel McIntosh, officers of the continental army. The militia were dispersed; most of them who escaped

returned home; and of the whole of Ashe's division not more than four hundred and fifty men again joined General Lincoln. This decisive victory cost the British only five privates killed, and one officer and ten privates wounded.

The defeat and dispersion of Ashe's division deprived Lincoln of one-fourth of his numerical force, restored to the British the entire possession of Georgia, and opened again their communications with the Indians and loyalists in the back settlements of the southern provinces. The success was complete; and General Prevost seems to have flattered himself that its effects would be permanent; for next day he issued a proclamation establishing civil government in the province, appointing executive and judicial officers for its administration, and declaring the laws, as they existed at the end of the year 1775, to be in force, and to continue till they should be altered by a legislature afterwards to be assembled.

The disaster which had befallen Ashe, instead of terrifying the people of South Carolina into submission, roused them to more vigorous exertions, and to a more determined resolution to maintain their independence. They elected as their governor, John Rutledge, a man of talents and influence; and delegated to him and his council, powers almost dictatorial. Rutledge, who was zealous in the cause of independence, exerted much energy, and soon sent one thousand militia to camp. Strengthened by such a large reinforcement, General Lincoln resumed his original plan of gaining possession of the upper parts of Georgia; and on the 23d of April he marched up the Savannah with the main body of his army. One design of that movement was to afford protection to the state legislature of Georgia, which was to assemble at Augusta on the 1st of May.

At that time the river was in full flood, and overflowed the marshes on its margin. The rivulets were swollen, and the swamps inundated; and therefore it was believed that a small military force would be able to defend the country against an invading enemy. Accordingly, for the protection of the lower districts, General Lincoln left only two hundred continentals, under Colonel McIntosh, who had been exchanged, and eight hundred militia; the whole commanded by General Moultrie, who had distinguished himself by his brave defence of Sullivan's Island in the year 1776. It was expected that if an invasion of the lower parts of South Carolina should be attempted in Lincoln's absence, the militia would promptly take the field in defence of the country.

Instead of marching up the river, and encountering General Lincoln in the interior, General Prevost considered an irruption into South Carolina the best means for recalling that officer from the enterprise in which he was engaged. Accordingly, on the 29th of April, when Lincoln was far advanced on his way to Augusta, General Prevost, with two thousand five hundred troops, and a considerable number of Indian allies, suddenly passed

the river near Purysburg. Colonel McIntosh, who was stationed there with a small detachment, retreated to General Moultrie at Black Swamp. General Prevost advanced rapidly into the country; and Moultrie was obliged to retire hastily before him, destroying the bridges in his rear. The militia who were in the field showed no courage, and could not be prevailed on to defend the passes with any degree of bravery. The militia of the state did not appear in arms as had been expected; and Moultrie experienced an alarming diminution of his strength, by the desertion of many of those under his command.

Immediately after the passage of the river by the British, an express was sent to Lincoln, then nearly opposite Augusta, informing him of the event. He considered Prevost's movement as a feint to recall him from the upper parts of the river, and determined to prosecute his plan, and compel the British general to return for the defence of the capital of Georgia. Meanwhile he despatched three hundred light troops, under Colonel Harris, to Moultrie's assistance; and crossing the river at Augusta, he marched down on the south side towards the town of Savannah.

General Prevost's original plan was merely to make a temporary incursion into South Carolina, chiefly for the purpose of inducing Lincoln to retrace his steps, and return to the lower parts of the river. But meeting with a feebleness of resistance than he had anticipated, and encouraged by the flattering representations received from the loyalists of the good-will of the people in general to the royal cause, and of the defenceless state of Charleston, his views began to enlarge, and at length he came to the resolution of making an attempt on the capital of South Carolina. If this had formed part of his original plan, and if he had advanced with the same celerity as he entered the province, he would probably have gained possession of Charleston, which at that time, on the land side, was wholly unfortified. But he was, in some degree, disconcerted by his own success; and halted two or three days to consider the measures to be adopted in the unexpected circumstances in which he found himself. At last, having resolved to advance to Charleston, he resumed his march. The plundering and devastation of his troops, and of his Indian allies, spread terror and desolation around him. Moultrie, with his handful of continentals, and his unwarlike militia, retreated before the enemy, giving them little interruption, farther than breaking down the bridges on the road.

Express on express was now despatched to General Lincoln to inform him of the alarming posture of affairs in South Carolina. That officer had crossed the Savannah at Augusta, and, notwithstanding the progress of the British army, resolved to proceed down the south side of the river, because that road was almost as near to Charleston as any other, and because, by showing his army in Georgia, he hoped to rouse the courage of the intimidated inhabitants. Meanwhile all was activity and alarm in Charleston.

That town, as already mentioned, is situated on a point of land between the rivers Ashley and Cooper, where they terminate in a bay of the ocean. Towards the sea the place had been fortified, and works erected on the islands in the bay to defend the entrance. An attack by land had not been anticipated; and on that side the town was entirely open. But in the present alarming crisis the inhabitants began to fortify the city on the land side, and prosecuted the work with vigour and unremitting assiduity. All hands were employed on the work; the slave and his master laboured together. Lines of defence were drawn from the Ashley to the Cooper; artillery was planted on them; and they were flanked by armed galleys stationed in the rivers. General Moultrie, with his feeble force, entered the town; the three hundred men detached by Lincoln arrived; Governor Rutledge, who had taken post with the militia at Orangeburgh high up the north branch of the Edisto, as a central station whence he could most easily afford assistance to any place that might be threatened, hastened to the point of danger; and Pulaski's legion came in. All these troops entered the city nearly at the same time; and, together with the fortifications recently constructed, put it in a condition very different from that in which it had been only a few days before.

On the evening of the 10th of May, about the time when the several American detachments entered Charleston, General Prevost with his army arrived at Ashley Ferry. Next morning he passed the river, marched down the neck between the Ashley and Cooper, and took a position just without the reach of the guns on the fortifications. The remainder of the day was spent in slight skirmishes. On the 12th, General Prevost summoned the town to surrender; and Governor Rutledge, deeming it of much importance to gain time, the day was occupied in negotiation. On the part of the town a proposal was made for the neutrality of South Carolina during the war, leaving its ultimate fate to be determined by the treaty of peace; but after several messages and explanations, this proposal, which could with no propriety be agreed to, was entirely rejected by General Prevost, who told the garrison that, being in arms, they must surrender themselves prisoners of war. This closed the negotiation, and both parties seemed to prepare for an appeal to arms. But next morning the garrison was agreeably surprised to find that the British army had retreated during the night, and recrossed Ashley Ferry. On surveying the American works, General Prevost perceived that, although they were unfinished, yet it was too hazardous in his circumstances to assault them; for the garrison was more numerous than his army. There was no time for delay, as he knew Lincoln was rapidly advancing against him; therefore he came to the prudent resolution of immediately retiring.

In civil commotions the representations of interested parties can be little relied on; for they are expressions of their wishes rather than a true ac-

count of the real state of affairs. The loyalists had assured General Prevost that the inhabitants of South Carolina were generally well affected to the royal cause, and would flock to his standard as soon as he appeared among them. Misled by this illusory information, General Prevost had engaged in the enterprise against Charleston without an adequate force. From want of troops he had found it expedient to evacuate Augusta, and to contract his posts on the Savannah; yet, without any increase of his numbers, he had made an irruption into South Carolina, and advanced to Charleston, leaving Lincoln with a considerable army in his rear. If he had continued his march with the same rapidity as he began it, he would have reached the city before it was in a condition to make any resistance. If he had gained possession of it, the Americans would have been much injured, but the British would have acquired no real advantage; for General Prevost had not a force capable of keeping possession both of Georgia and South Carolina in the face of the army that opposed him. His advance was inconsiderate, but his retreat was prudent. He re-crossed the river Ashley without interruption; as, during the night, the garrison of Charleston was every moment in expectation of being assaulted.

General Prevost did not return to Savannah by the direct road, as he had advanced; for in Charleston there was a numerous garrison in his rear, and Lincoln was near at hand with his army. Therefore, after passing Ashley Ferry, he turned to the left and proceeded to the coast, which, abounding with islands, and being intersected by arms of the sea all the way to the mouth of the Savannah, afforded him, in consequence of the naval superiority of Britain, the easiest and safest method of returning with all his baggage to Georgia. He first passed into the island of St. James, and then into that of St. John, where he took post till the arrival of a supply of provisions, which he had for some time expected from New York.

By hasty marches General Lincoln had arrived at Dorchester, not far from Charleston, before General Prevost left Ashley Ferry; and when the British troops proceeded to the coast, Lincoln followed and encamped near them, both armies being about thirty miles from Charleston.

John's Island, of which General Prevost took possession, is separated from the main land by a narrow inlet called Stono river; and the communication between the continent and the island is kept up by a ferry. On the continent, at this ferry, the British general established a post; partly for the security of the island, and partly for the protection of his foragers. For the defence of the post three redoubts were constructed, and joined together by lines of communication. For some time one thousand five hundred men were stationed at the post under Colonel Prevost; and the communication with the island was maintained by a bridge, formed by the numerous schooners, sloops, and smaller vessels which attended the army.

So long as the whole of General Prevost's force lay on John's Island, ready to support his detachment at Stono Ferry, General Lincoln made no attempt against that post. But the British general set out on his return to Georgia, transporting a large part of his troops, by means of the shipping, from island to island along the coast. Colonel Prevost, also, with part of the garrison of Stono Ferry, was ordered to Savannah; and he left the remainder, amounting to about seven hundred men, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Maitland. A number of troops still remained on John's Island, but almost all the boats were removed, and consequently the communication between the island and the main land was not nearly so open as before.

General Lincoln plainly perceived that it was the intention of the British general to evacuate that part of the country without delay; and he resolved not to allow the troops to depart unmolested. He determined to attack the post at Stono Ferry; and in order to prevent it from being reinforced by the troops on the island, General Moultrie, who commanded in Charleston, was to pass over to James's Island, with a number of militia, and engage the attention of the force on John's Island, while a real attack was made on the post at the ferry.

On the 20th of June, before seven in the morning, General Lincoln with about one thousand two hundred men advanced to the attack. His right wing was composed of the militia of South and North Carolina, and his continental soldiers formed the left, to encounter the Scottish Highlanders, reckoned the best troops in the British service. Colonel Maitland's advanced guards were stationed a good way in front of his works, and a smart firing between them and the Americans gave him the first warning of the approach of the enemy. He instantly put his garrison under arms, and sent out two companies of Highlanders from his right, under Captain Campbell, to ascertain the force of the assailants. The Highlanders had proceeded only a quarter of a mile when they met the continental troops of the American army. A fierce conflict ensued: instead of retreating before superior numbers, the Highlanders, with their characteristic impetuosity and obstinate valour, persisted in the unequal combat till all their officers were either killed or wounded. Of the two companies, eleven men only returned to the garrison. The whole American line now advanced within three hundred yards of the works, and a general engagement with cannon and musketry began, and was maintained with much courage and steadiness on both sides. At length a regiment of Hessians on the British left gave way, and the Americans were on the point of entering the works; but, by a rapid and judicious movement of the remainder of the seventy-first regiment, their progress was checked: and as General Moultrie, from want of boats, had been unable to execute in due time his part of the enterprise, General Lincoln, apprehensive of the arrival of reinforcements to

the British from the island, drew off his men, and retired in good order, carrying his wounded along with him. The battle lasted upwards of an hour. The British had three officers and twenty-three privates killed, and ten officers and ninety-three privates wounded. The Americans lost five officers who died of their wounds, and thirty-five privates who were killed on the field of battle, besides nineteen officers and one hundred and twenty privates wounded. Thus the loss of the British, who during part of the engagement were covered by their works, was less than that of the Americans.

Three days after the battle the British troops evacuated the post at Stono Ferry, and also the island of St. John, passing along the coast from island to island, till they reached Beaufort in the island of Port Royal, where General Prevost left a garrison under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Maitland.

The heat, which in the southern provinces as effectually puts a stop to military operations during summer as the cold of the north in winter, was now become too intense for active service. The care of the officers, in both armies, was employed in preserving their men from the fevers of the season, and keeping them in a condition for service next campaign, which was expected to open in October. The American militia dispersed, leaving General Lincoln with about eight hundred men, whom he marched to Shelden, not far from Beaufort.

The alarm for the safety of the southern states was so great, that General Washington, weak as his army was, weakened it still farther by sending a detachment, consisting of Bland's regiment of cavalry, and the remnant of that lately under Baylor, but now commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Washington, with some new levies, to reinforce General Lincoln.

The irruption of General Prevost into South Carolina did no credit to the British army, nor did it in any degree serve the royal cause, although it occasioned great loss to the inhabitants of the province. According to the American historians, Gordon and Ramsay, the British army marked its course by plunder and devastation. It spread over the country to a considerable extent: small parties entered every house; seized the plate, money, jewels, and personal ornaments of the people; and often destroyed what they could not carry away. The slaves, who are numerous in South Carolina, allured by the hope of freedom, repaired to the royal army; and in order to ingratiate themselves with their new friends, disclosed where their masters had concealed their most valuable effects. Many of those slaves were afterwards shipped off and sold in the West Indies. Some hundreds of them died of the camp fever; and numbers of them, overtaken by disease, and afraid to return to their masters, perished miserably in the woods. It has been calculated that South Carolina lost four thousand slaves. The rapine and devastation were great; and many of the

inhabitants, in order to save themselves from those ravages, made professions of attachment to the royal cause; while the means which induced them to make a show of loyalty alienated all their affections from their former rulers.

The western frontier of the United States was near the dwellings of a number of Indian tribes; and these six nations, the Mohawks, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, Oneidas, Onondagos, and Senecas, distinguished by their confederacy, policy, and bravery, possessed the extensive and fertile country lying between the vicinity of Albany and Lake Erie. From their long intercourse with Europeans, those nations had acquired a relish for some of the comforts of civilized life, and entertained more enlarged views than most of the North American tribes of the advantages of private property. Their populous villages contained some comfortable houses, and their fertile fields and rich orchards yielded an abundant supply of maize and fruit.

To gain the friendship of these confederated nations, and of the other Indian tribes on the frontier of the United States, had, from the beginning of the war, been an object of attention both to the British government and to Congress. But former habits, together with rum, presents, and promises from the agents at the British posts on the lakes, secured to the royal cause the support of the greater part of the Six Nations; while a few, chiefly the Oneidas, espoused the interests of America.

Many of the loyalists, who had been obliged to flee from the United States, took refuge among the Indians, and at once increased their strength and whetted their ferocity. Even the savages were ashamed of their ruthless cruelty; and Indian chiefs have been heard to declare that they never would permit white men to accompany them in their military expeditions, because of the horrible enormities which they perpetrated. Of the murderous cruelty of the savage whites we have a striking instance in the infamous conduct of Butler at Wyoming, during the preceding campaign. In that lamentable catastrophe the Six Nations had taken an active part, and they were meditating fresh hostilities. Their bloody incursions excited a strong sensation throughout the United States, and produced the resolution to lead an overwhelming force into their territory, and to destroy their settlements.

The largest division of the army employed on that service assembled at Wyoming, on a chief branch of the Susquehannah. Another division, which had wintered on the Mohawk, marched under the orders of General Clinton, and joined the main body at the confluence of the two great sources of the Susquehannah. On the 22d of August, the united force, amounting to nearly five thousand men, under the command of General Sullivan, proceeded up the Cayuga, or western branch of the last-named river, which led directly into the Indian country. The preparations for

this expedition did not escape the notice of those against whom it was directed, and the Indians seem fully to have penetrated Sullivan's plan of operation. Formidable as his force was, they determined to meet him, and try the fortune of a battle. They were about a thousand strong, commanded by the two Butlers, Guy Johnson, McDonald, and Branett. They chose their ground with judgment, and fortified their camp at some distance above Chemang, and a mile in front of Newtown.

There Sullivan attacked them; and, after a short but spirited resistance, they retreated with precipitation. The Americans had thirty men killed or wounded; the Indians left only eleven dead bodies on the field: but they were so discouraged by this defeat, that they abandoned their villages and fields to the unresisted ravages of the victor, who laid waste their towns and orchards, so that they might have no inducement again to settle so near the states. The members of civilized society too faithfully imitated the savage enemy whom they assailed, in all the enormities of barbarous warfare.

This expedition gave little satisfaction to any of the parties concerned in planning or executing it. Sullivan gave a pompous account of his success: but Congress did not applaud; General Washington was not pleased; and Sullivan, in disgust, resigned his commission, and retired from the public service. In the course of the summer, the Indians on the southern frontier were also severely chastised; but although unable to resist the force sent against them, they made some sanguinary incursions into the provinces. An expedition of General Williamson and Colonel Pickens into the Indian settlements was attended with similar devastation.

We have already seen that Admiral Count d'Estaing, after repairing his ships at Boston, sailed to the West Indies; whither he was followed by Admiral Byron, with the British fleet, having on board a detachment of the army at New York, under General Grant. The French took the islands of Dominica, St. Vincent, and Grenada, and spread a general alarm throughout the West Indies. The British made themselves masters of St. Lucie; but this did not compensate the loss of the islands already named. The season of the hurricanes approached; and D'Estaing, after an indecisive engagement with the British fleet, sailed towards the coast of North America.

Although General Prevost had been obliged to retire from Charleston, and to abandon the upper parts of Georgia; yet so long as he kept possession of the town of Savannah, and maintained a post at Beaufort, South Carolina was much exposed to hostile incursions. Therefore, Governor Rutledge and General Lincoln earnestly pressed D'Estaing to repair to the Savannah, hoping by his aid to drive the British from Georgia. Plombard, the French consul at Charleston, joined in these solicitations. In



GENERAL WILLIAMSON AND COLONEL PICKENS PURSUING THE INDIANS.

compliance with their importunity, D'Estaing sailed from Cape François, in St. Domingo; and with twenty-two sail of the line, and a number of smaller vessels, having six thousand soldiers on board, appeared off the Savannah so unexpectedly, that the *Experiment*, a fifty-gun ship, and some other British vessels, fell into his hands.

General Lincoln, with about a thousand men, marched to Zubly's Ferry on the Savannah, but found more difficulty than he had anticipated in crossing the river and its marshes. On the evening of the 13th of September, however, he reached the southern bank, and encamped on the heights of Ebenezer, twenty-three miles from the town of Savannah. There he was joined by Colonel McIntosh, with his detachment, from Augusta. Pulaski's legion also arrived in camp. On the same day that Lincoln passed Zubly's Ferry, D'Estaing landed three thousand men at Beaulieu; and on the 16th of September, the combined armies united their strength before the town of Savannah. That place was the headquarters of General Prevost, who commanded the British troops in the southern provinces. Apprehending no immediate danger, he had weakened his garrison by establishing some distant outposts in Georgia, and by leaving Colonel Maitland with a strong detachment at Beaufort, in the island of Port Royal in South Carolina: but on the appearance of the

French fleet, he immediately called in his outposts; and before the French landed, or the Americans crossed the river, all the British detachments in Georgia had assembled at the town of Savannah, and amounted to nearly two thousand men.

Even before the arrival of Lincoln, D'Estaing had summoned the place to surrender. But although General Prevost had exerted himself with great activity in strengthening the defences of the place from the moment that he heard of the appearance of the French fleet on the coast, yet his works were incomplete, and he was desirous of gaining time. He requested a suspension of hostilities for twenty-four hours, which was granted him. In that critical interval, Colonel Maitland, by extraordinary efforts, arrived with the garrison of Beaufort, and entered the town. Encouraged by this accession of strength, General Prevost now informed Count d'Estaing that he was resolved to defend the place to the last extremity. The combined armies determined to besiege the town, and made the necessary preparations for that purpose. Several days were spent in bringing up heavy artillery and stores from the fleet; and on the 23d of September, the besieging army broke ground before the town. Against the 1st of October they had advanced within three hundred yards of the British works. Several batteries, mounting thirty-three pieces of heavy cannon and nine mortars, had for several days played incessantly on the garrison; and a floating battery of sixteen guns had also opened upon it from the river. But this cannonade made little impression on the works.

The situation of D'Estaing became extremely unpleasant. More time had already been spent in the siege than he had allotted for the expulsion of the British troops from that province. The French West India islands were exposed to danger in his absence; the tempestuous season of the year was setting in; a superior British fleet might come against him; and his officers strongly remonstrated against remaining longer in the Savannah. By continuing their regular approaches for a few days more, the besiegers would probably have made themselves masters of the place; but these few days D'Estaing could not spare. No alternative remained but to raise the siege or storm the place. The last of these the French commander resolved to attempt. For that purpose, on the morning of the 9th of October, a heavy cannonade and bombardment opened on the town. Three thousand French and fifteen hundred Americans, led by D'Estaing and Lincoln, advanced in three columns to the assault. But the garrison was fully prepared to receive them: the works were skilfully constructed, and diligently strengthened; and the assailants met with a warmer reception than they had anticipated. A well-directed and destructive fire from the batteries opened upon them; but they resolutely advanced, broke through the abattis, crossed the ditch, and mounted the parapet. The French and Americans, with emulous valour, each planted a standard on



DEATH OF PULASKI.

a redoubt ; but fell in great numbers in endeavouring to force their way into the works. While the assailants were vigorously opposed in front, the batteries galled their flanks. Count Pulaski, at the head of two hundred horsemen, galloped, between the batteries, towards the town, with the intention of charging the garrison in the rear : but he fell mortally wounded ; and his squadron was broken. The vigour of the assailants began to abate ; and, after a desperate conflict of fifty minutes, they were driven from the works, and sounded a retreat.

In this unsuccessful attack, the French lost seven hundred men in killed and wounded ; among the latter was Count d'Estaing himself ; and the Americans two hundred and forty. As the garrison, consisting of more than two thousand men, fought for the most part under cover, their loss was comparatively small, amounting only to fifty-five men.

General Prevost, and Colonel Moncrieff, the engineer who directed the construction of the works, acquired much reputation by the successful defence of the town. The British troops behaved with their characteristic bravery. Not more than ten guns were mounted when the place was summoned, but in a few days upwards of eighty were on the batteries. Both the French and the Americans displayed much courage and steadiness in the attack ; and although unsuccessful, yet, instead of mutual accusations and reproaches, their respect for each other was increased.

After this repulse no hope of taking the town remained ; and Count

d'Estaing having removed his heavy artillery, both armies left their ground on the evening of the 18th of October. D'Estaing marched only two miles that evening, and remained in the same encampment next day, in order to cover General Lincoln's retreat, and secure him from a pursuit by the garrison. The Americans re-crossed the Savannah at Zubly's Ferry, and took a position in South Carolina. The militia returned home. The French, with all their artillery, ammunition, and baggage, embarked without delay; but scarcely were they on board when a violent storm arose, which so completely dispersed the fleet, that, of seven ships which the admiral ordered to Hampton Road, in Chesapeake Bay, one only was able to reach that place.

From the arrival of the French to assist in the siege of Savannah, the Americans had anticipated the most brilliant results; and the discomfiture of the combined forces at that place spread a deep gloom over the southern provinces, where the cause of independence seemed more desperate than at any former period of the war. Their paper money became more depreciated; the hopes of the loyalists revived; and many exiles returned to take possession of their estates; but they were soon obliged again to abandon their property, and to seek refuge among strangers.

On being informed by Lincoln of his circumstances, Congress desired General Washington to order the North Carolina troops, and any other detachments he could spare from the northern army, to the aid of the southern provinces. At the same time they assured the inhabitants of South Carolina and Georgia of their watchful attention; and recommended to those states the filling up of their continental regiments, and a due regard to their militia while on actual service.

During the siege of Savannah, an ingenious enterprise of partisan warfare was executed by Colonel White of the Georgia line. Before the arrival of the French fleet in the Savannah, a British captain, with one hundred and eleven men, had taken post near the river Ogechee, twenty-five miles from Savannah. At the same place were five British vessels, four of which were armed, the largest with fourteen guns, the least with four; and the vessels were manned with forty sailors. Late at night, on the 30th of September, White, who had only six volunteers, including his own servant, kindled a number of fires in different places, so as to exhibit the appearance of a considerable encampment, practised several other corresponding artifices, and then summoned the captain instantly to surrender. That officer, believing that he was about to be attacked by a superior force, and that nothing but immediate submission could save him and his men from destruction, made no defence. The stratagem was carried on with so much address, that the prisoners, amounting to one hundred and forty-one, were secured, and conducted to the American post at Sunbury, twenty-five miles distant.

During the year 1779, the evils of the paper-money system became intolerable. The depreciation of the continental bills began at different periods in different states; but in general about the middle of the year 1777, and progressively increased for three or four years. Towards the last of 1777, the depreciation was about two or three for one; in 1778, it advanced from two or three for one, to five or six for one; in 1779, from five or six for one, to twenty-seven or twenty-eight for one; in 1780, from twenty-seven or twenty-eight for one, to fifty or sixty for one, in the first four or five months. Its circulation was afterwards partial, but where it passed it soon depreciated to one hundred and fifty for one. In some few parts it continued in circulation for the first four or five months of 1781, but in this latter period many would not take it at any rate, and they who did, received it at a depreciation of several hundreds for one.

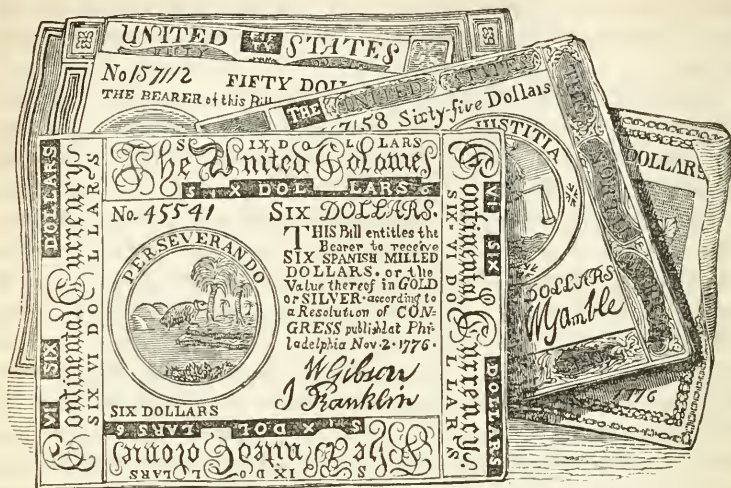
As there was a general clamour on account of the floods of money, which at successive periods had deluged the states, it was resolved in October, 1779, that no farther sum should be issued on any account whatever, than what, when added to the present sum in circulation, would in the whole be equal to two hundred millions of dollars. It was at the same time resolved, that Congress should emit only such a part of the sum wanting to make up two hundred millions, as should be absolutely necessary for the public exigencies, before adequate supplies could be otherwise obtained, relying for such supplies on the exertions of the several states. This was forcibly represented in a circular letter from Congress [September 13, 1779] to their constituents, and the states were earnestly entreated to prevent the deluge of evils which would flow from their neglecting to furnish adequate supplies for the wants of the confederacy. The same circular letter stated the practicability of redeeming all the bills of Congress at par with gold and silver, and rejected with indignation the supposition that the states would ever tarnish their credit by violating public faith. These strong declarations in favour of the paper currency deceived many to repose confidence in it to their ruin. Subsequent events compelled Congress to adopt the very measure, in 1780, which in the preceding year they had sincerely reprobated.

From the non-compliance of the states, Congress was obliged in a short time after the date of their circular letter to issue such a farther quantity as, when added to previous emissions, made the sum of two hundred millions of dollars. Besides this immense sum, the paper emissions of the different states amounted to many millions, which mixed with the continental money, and added to its depreciation. What was of little value before now became of less. The whole was soon expended, and yet, from its increasing depreciation, the immediate wants of the army were not supplied. The source which for five years had enabled Congress to keep an army in the field being exhausted, General Washington was reduced for some time to the

alternative of disbanding his troops, or of supplying them by a military force. He preferred the latter, and the inhabitants of New York and New Jersey, though they felt the injury, saw the necessity, and patiently submitted.

The states were next called upon to furnish, in lieu of money, determinate quantities of beef, pork, flour, and other articles, for the use of the army. This was called a requisition for specific supplies, or a tax in kind, and was found on experiment to be so difficult of execution, so inconvenient, partial, and expensive, that it was speedily abandoned. About this time, Congress resolved upon another expedient. This was to issue a new species of paper money, under the guarantee of the several states. The old money was to be called in by taxes, and as soon as brought in to be burnt, and in lieu thereof, one dollar of the new was to be emitted for every twenty of the old, so that when the whole two hundred millions were drawn in and cancelled, only ten millions of the new should be issued in their place, four-tenths of which were to be subject to the order of Congress, and the remaining six-tenths to the order of the several states. These new bills were to be redeemable in specie within six years, and to bear an interest at the rate of five per cent., to be paid also in specie, at the redemption of the bills, or at the election of the owner annually, in bills of exchange on the American commissioners in Europe, at four shillings and sixpence for each dollar.

From the execution of these resolutions, it was expected that the old money would be cancelled—that the currency would be reduced to a fixed standard—that the states would be supplied with the means of purchasing the specific supplies required of them, and that Congress would be furnished with efficient money, to provide for the exigencies of the war. That these good effects would have followed, even though the resolutions of Congress had been carried into execution, is very questionable; but from the partial compliances of the states the experiment was never fairly made, and the new paper answered very little purpose. It was hoped, by varying the ground of credit, that Congress would gain a repetition of the advantages which resulted from their first paper expedient, but these hopes were of short duration. By this time much of the popular enthusiasm had spent itself, and confidence in public engagements was nearly expired. The event proved, that credit is of too delicate a nature to be sported with, and can only be maintained by honesty and punctuality. The several expedients proposed by Congress for raising supplies having failed, a crisis followed very interesting to the success of the Revolution. The particulars of this shall be related among the public events of the year 1781, in which it took place. Some observations on that primary instrument of American independence, the old continental bills of credit, shall for the present close his subject.



SPECIMEN OF CONTINENTAL BILLS.

It would have been impossible to have carried on the war, without something in the form of money. There was spirit enough in America to bring to the field of battle as many of her sons as would have outnumbered the armies of Britain, and to have risked their fate on a general engagement; but this was the very thing they ought to avoid. Their principal hope lay in evacuating, retreating, and protracting to its utmost length a war of posts. The continued exertions necessary for this species of defence could not be expected from the impetuous sallies of militia. A regular permanent army became necessary. Though the enthusiasm of the times might have dispensed with present pay, yet without at least as much money as would support them in the field, the most patriotic army must have dispersed.

The impossibility of the Americans procuring gold and silver, even for that purpose, doubtless weighed with the British as an encouragement to bring the controversy to the decision of the sword. What they knew could not be done by ordinary means, was accomplished by those which were extraordinary. Paper of no intrinsic value was made to answer all the purposes of gold and silver, and to support the expenses of five campaigns. This was in some degree owing to a previous confidence, which had been begotten by honesty and fidelity in discharging the engagements of government. From New York to Georgia there never had been, in matters relating to money, an instance of a breach of public faith. In the scarcity of gold and silver, many emergencies had imposed a necessity of emitting

bills of credit. These had been uniformly and honestly redeemed. The bills of Congress, being thrown into circulation on this favourable foundation of public confidence, were readily received. The enthusiasm of the people contributed to the same effect. That the endangered liberties of America ought to be defended, and that the credit of their paper was essentially necessary to a proper defence, were opinions engraven on the hearts of a great majority of the citizens. It was therefore a point of honour, and considered as a part of duty, to take the bills freely at their full value. Private gain was then so little regarded, that the whig citizens were willing to run all the hazards incidental to bills of credit, rather than injure the cause of their country by undervaluing its money. Every thing human has its limits. While the credit of the money was well supported by public confidence and patriotism, its value diminished from the increase of its quantity. Repeated emissions begat that natural depreciation which results from an excess of quantity. This was helped on by various causes, which affected the *credit* of the money. The enemy very ingeniously counterfeited their bills and industriously circulated their forgeries through the United States. Congress allowed to their public agents a commission on the amount of their purchases. Instead of exerting themselves to purchase at a low price, they had therefore an interest in giving a high price for every thing. So strong was the force of prejudice, that the British mode of supplying armies by contract could not for a long time obtain the approbation of Congress. While these causes operated, confidence in the public was abating, and, at the same time, that fervour of patriotism which disregarded interest was daily declining. To prevent or retard the depreciation of their paper money, Congress attempted to prop its credit by means which wrecked private property, and injured the morals of the people without answering the end proposed. They recommended to the states to pass laws for regulating the prices of labour, manufacture, and all sorts of commodities, and for confiscating and selling the estates of tories, and for investing the money arising from the sales thereof in loan-office certificates. As many of those who were disaffected to the Revolution absolutely refused to take the bills of Congress even in the first stage of the war, when the real and nominal value was the same, with the view of counteracting their machinations, Congress early recommended to the states to pass laws for making the paper money a legal tender, at their nominal value, in the discharge of *bonâ fide* debts, though contracted to be paid in gold or silver. With the same views, they farther recommended that laws should be passed by each of the states, ordaining that "whosoever should ask or receive more, in their bills of credit for gold or silver or any species of money whatsoever, than the nominal sum thereof in Spanish dollars, or more in the said bills for any commodities whatsoever, than the same could be purchased from the same person in gold and silver, or offer

to sell any commodities for gold or silver, and refuse to sell the same for the said bills, shall be deemed an enemy to the liberties of the United States, and forfeit the property so sold or offered for sale." The laws which were passed by the states, for regulating the prices of labour and commodities, were found on experiment to be visionary and impracticable. They only operated on the patriotic few, who were disposed to sacrifice every thing in the cause of their country, and who implicitly obeyed every mandate of their rulers. Others disregarded them, and either refused to part with their commodities, or demanded and obtained their own prices.

These laws, in the first instance, made an artificial scarcity, and had they not been repealed, would soon have made a real one, for men never exert themselves unless they have the fruit of their exertions secured to them, and at their own disposal.

The confiscation and sale of the property of tories, for the most part, brought but very little into the public treasury. The sales were generally made for credit, and by the progressive depreciation, what was dear at the time of the purchase, was very cheap at the time of payment. The most extensive mischief resulted, in the progress and towards the close of the war, from the operation of the laws which made the paper bills a tender in the discharge of debts contracted payable in gold or silver. When this measure was first adopted, little or no injustice resulted from it, for at that time the paper bills were equal, or nearly equal to gold or silver, of the same nominal sum. In the progress of the war, when depreciation took place, the case was materially altered. Laws which were originally innocent became eventually the occasion of much injustice.

The aged, who had retired from the scenes of active business, to enjoy the fruits of their industry, found their substance melting away to a mere pittance, insufficient for their support. The widow, who lived comfortably on the bequests of a deceased husband, experienced a frustration of all his well-meant tenderness. The laws of the country interposed, and compelled her to receive a shilling where a pound was her due. The blooming virgin, who had grown up with an unquestionable title to a liberal patrimony, was legally stripped of every thing but her personal charms and virtues. The hapless orphan, instead of receiving from the hands of an executor a competency to set out in business, was obliged to give a final discharge on the payment of sixpence in the pound. In many instances, the earnings of a long life of care and diligence were, in the space of a few years, reduced to a trifling sum. A few persons escaped these affecting calamities, by secretly transferring their bonds, or by flying from the presence or neighbourhood of their debtors. The evils which resulted from the legal tender of these paper bills were foreign from the intentions of Congress, and of the state legislatures. It is but justice to add farther, that a great proportion of them flowed from ignorance. Till the year 1780, when the bills fell

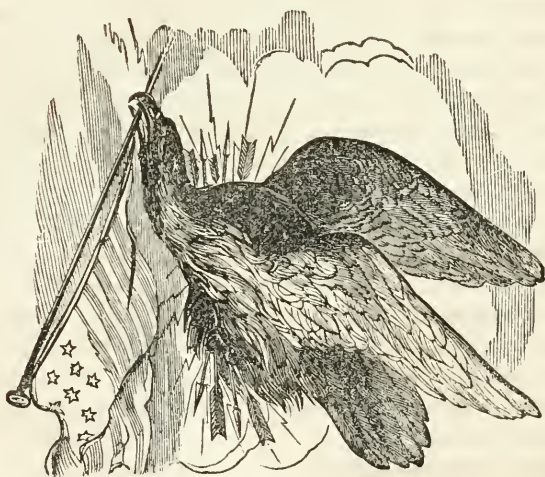
to forty for one, it was designed by most of the rulers of America, and believed by a great majority of the people, that the whole sum in circulation would be appreciated by a reduction of its quantity, so as finally to be equal to gold or silver. In every department of government the Americans erred from ignorance, but in none so much as in that which related to money.

Such were the evils which resulted from paper money. On the other hand, it was the occasion of good to many. It was at all times the poor man's friend. While it was current, all kinds of labour very readily found their reward. In the first years of the war, none were idle from want of employment, and none were employed without having it in their power to obtain ready payment for their services. To that class of people whose daily labour was their support, the depreciation was no disadvantage. Expending their money as fast as they received it, they always got its full value. The reverse was the case with the rich, or those who were disposed to hoarding. No agrarian law ever had a more extensive operation than continental money. That for which the Gracchi lost their lives in Rome was peaceably effected in the United States, by the legal tender of these depreciating bills. The poor became rich, and the rich became poor. Money lenders, and they whose circumstances enabled them to give credit, were essentially injured. All that the money lost in its value was so much taken from their capital, but the active and industrious indemnified themselves, by conforming the price of their services to the present state of the depreciation. The experience of this time inculcated on youth two salutary lessons—the impolicy of depending on paternal acquisitions, and the necessity of their own exertions. They who were in debt, and possessed property of any kind, could easily make the latter extinguish the former. Every thing that was useful when brought to market readily found a purchaser. A hog or two would pay for a slave; a few cattle for a comfortable house; and a good horse for an improved plantation. A small part of the productions of a farm would discharge the long outstanding accounts due from its owner. The dreams of the golden age were realized to the poor man and the debtor, but unfortunately, what these gained was just so much taken from others.

The evils of depreciation did not terminate with the war. They extend to the present hour. That the helpless part of the community were legislatively deprived of their property, was among the lesser evils which resulted from the legal tender of the depreciated bills of credit. The iniquity of the laws estranged the minds of many of the citizens from the habits and love of justice.

The nature of obligations was so far changed, that he was reckoned the honest man who from principle delayed to pay his debts. The mounds which government had erected, to secure the observance of honesty in the commercial intercourse of man with man, were broken down. Truth,

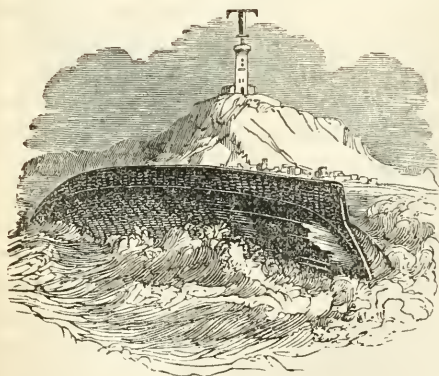
honour, and justice were swept away by the overflowing deluge of legal iniquity, nor have they yet assumed their ancient and accustomed seats. Time and industry have already, in a great degree, repaired the losses of property which the citizens sustained during the war, but both have hitherto failed in effacing the taint which was then communicated to their principles, nor can its total ablution be expected till a new generation arises, unpractised in the iniquities of their fathers.





PAUL JONES.

CAPTURE OF THE SERAPIS.



THE engagement between the Serapis and the Bon Homme Richard was the most desperate in naval chronicles. As a close and deadly fight, hand to hand, and accompanied by all the dreadful circumstances that can attend a sea-engagement, it has no parallel. Its incidents have been selected as the foundation of fictitious narratives of maritime combats, from exceeding in intense

interest the boldest imaginings of the poet and the novelist.

This battle was fought on the 23d September, under a full harvest

moon,—thousands of spectators, we are told, watched the engagement from the English shore, with anxiety corresponding to the deep interest of the game. No account of this memorable engagement can equal the simple and animated narrative of the main actor, which we purpose to adopt. It is to be noticed, that while Jones engaged the *Serapis*, the *Pallas* fought the Countess of Scarborough. The commencement of the engagements was simultaneous, but the Countess of Scarborough had struck while the *Serapis* still held desperately out.

“On the 21st,” says Jones, “we saw and chased two sail off Flamborough Head; the *Pallas* chased in the north-east quarter, while the *Bon Homme Richard*, followed by the *Vengeance*, chased in the south-west; the one I chased, a brigantine collier in ballast, belonging to Scarborough, was soon taken, and sunk immediately afterwards, as a fleet then appeared to the southward. This was so late in the day, that I could not come up with the fleet before night; at length, however, I got so near one of them as to force her to run ashore between Flamborough Head and the Spurn. Soon after I took another, a brigantine from Holland, belonging to Sunderland, and at daylight the next morning, seeing a fleet steering towards me from the Spurn, I imagined them to be a convoy bound from London for Leith, which had been for some time expected. One of them had a pendant hoisted, and appeared to be a ship of force. They had not, however, courage to come on, but kept back, all except the one which seemed to be armed, and that one also kept to windward, very near the land, and on the edge of dangerous shoals, where I could not with safety approach. This induced me to make a signal for a pilot, and soon afterwards two pilots’ boats came off. They informed me that a ship that wore a pendant was an armed merchantman, and that a king’s frigate lay there in sight, at anchor, within the Humber, awaiting to take under convoy a number of merchant ships bound to the northward. The pilots imagined the *Bon Homme Richard* to be an English ship-of-war, and consequently communicated to me the private signal which they had been required to make. I endeavoured by this means to decoy the ships out of the port; but the wind then changing, and, with the tide, becoming unfavourable for them, the deception had not the desired effect, and they wisely put back. The entrance of the Humber is exceedingly difficult and dangerous, and as the *Pallas* was not in sight, I thought it imprudent to remain off the entrance, therefore steered out again to join the *Pallas* off Flamborough Head. In the night we saw and chased two ships until three o’clock in the morning, when, being at a very small distance from them, I made the private signal of reconnoissance, which I had given to each captain before I sailed from Groix: one-half of the answer only was returned. In this position both sides lay to till daylight, when the ships proved to be the *Alliance* and the *Pallas*.

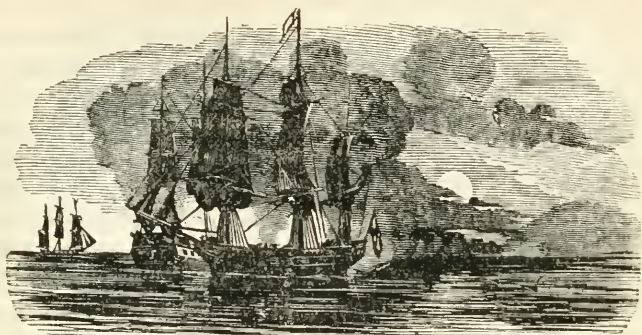


THE RICHARD AND SERAPIS. BEGINNING OF THE ACTION.

"On the morning of that day, the 23d, the brig from Holland not being in sight, we chased a brigantine that appeared laying to, to windward. About noon we saw and chased a large ship that appeared coming round Flamborough Head from the northward, and at the same time I manned and armed one of the pilot-boats to send in pursuit of the brigantine, which now appeared to be the vessel that I had forced ashore. Soon after this a fleet of forty-one sail appeared off Flamborough Head, bearing N. N. E. This induced me to abandon the single ship which had then anchored in Burlington Bay; I also called back the pilot-boat, and hoisted a signal for a general chase. When the fleet discovered us bearing down, all the merchant ships crowded sail towards the shore. The two ships of war that protected the fleet at the same time steered from the land, and made the disposition for battle. In approaching the enemy, I crowded every possible sail, and made the signal for the line of battle, to which the Alliance showed no attention. Earnest as I was for the action, I could not reach the commodore's ship until seven in the evening, being then within pistol-shot, when he hailed the *Bon Homme Richard*. We answered him by firing a whole broadside.

"The battle, being thus begun, was continued with unremitting fury. Every method was practised on both sides to gain an advantage, and rake each other; and I must confess that the enemy's ship, being much more manageable than the *Bon Homme Richard*, gained thereby several times an advantageous situation, in spite of my best endeavours to prevent it.

As I had to deal with an enemy of greatly superior force, I was under the necessity of closing with him to prevent the advantage which he had over me in point of manœuvre. It was my intention to lay the *Bon Homme Richard* athwart the enemy's bow; but as that operation required great dexterity in the management of both sails and helm, and some of our braces being shot away, it did not exactly succeed to my wish. The enemy's bowsprit, however, came over the *Bon Homme Richard's* poop by the mizen-mast, and I made both ships fast together in that situation, which, by the action of the wind on the enemy's sails, forced her stern close to the *Bon Homme Richard's* bow, so that the ships lay square alongside of each other, the yards being all entangled, and the cannon of each ship touching the opponent's. When this position took place, it was eight o'clock, previous to which the *Bon Homme Richard* had received sundry eighteen-pound shots below the water, and leaked very much. My battery of twelve-pounders, on which I had placed my chief dependence, being commanded by Lieutenant Dale and Colonel Weibert, and manned principally with American seamen and French volunteers, was entirely silenced and abandoned. As to the six old eighteen-pounders that formed the battery of the lower gun-deck, they did no service whatever, except firing eight shot in all. Two out of three of them burst at the first fire, and killed almost all the men who were stationed to manage them. Before this time, too, Colonel de Chamillard, who commanded a party of twenty soldiers on the poop, had abandoned that station, after having lost some of his men. I had now only two pieces of cannon (nine-pounders) on the quarter-deck that were not silenced, and not one of the heavier cannon was fired during the rest of the action. The purser, M. Mease, who commanded the guns on the quarter-deck, being dangerously wounded in the head, I was obliged to fill his place, and with great difficulty rallied a few men, and shifted over one of the lee quarter-deck guns, so that we afterwards played three pieces of nine-pounders upon the enemy. The tops alone seconded the fire of this little battery, and held out bravely during the whole of the action, especially the main-top, where Lieutenant Stack commanded. I directed the fire of one of the three cannon against the main-mast, with double-headed shot, while the other two were exceedingly well served with grape and canister shot, to silence the enemy's musketry and clear her decks, which was at last effected. The enemy were, as I have since understood, on the instant of calling for quarters, when the cowardice or treachery of three of my under-officers induced them to call to the enemy. The English commodore asked me if I demanded quarters, and I having answered him in the most determined negative, they renewed the battle with double fury. They were unable to stand the deck: but the fire of their cannon, especially the lower battery, which was entirely formed of ten-pounders, was incessant; both ships were set on fire in



THE RICHARD AND SERAPIS. CLOSE ACTION.

various places, and the scene was dreadful beyond the reach of language. To account for the timidity of my three under-officers, I mean the gunner, the carpenter, and the master-at-arms, I must observe, that the first two were slightly wounded, and, as the ship had received various shot under water, and one of the pumps being shot away, the carpenter expressed his fears that she would sink, and the other two concluded that she was sinking, which occasioned the gunner to run aft on the poop, without my knowledge, to strike the colours. Fortunately for me, a cannon-ball had done that before, by carrying away the ensign-staff; he was therefore reduced to the necessity of sinking, as he supposed, or of calling for quarter, and he preferred the latter.

"All this time the Bon Homme Richard had sustained the action alone, and the enemy, though much superior in force, would have been very glad to have got clear, as appears by their own acknowledgments, and by their having let go an anchor the instant that I laid them on board, by which means they would have escaped had I not made them well fast to the Bon Homme Richard.

"At last, at half-past nine o'clock, the Alliance appeared, and I now thought the battle at an end; but, to my utter astonishment, he discharged a broadside full into the stern of the Bon Homme Richard. We called to him for God's sake to forbear firing into the Bon Homme Richard; yet they passed along the off-side of the ship, and continued firing. There was no possibility of his mistaking the enemy's ships for the Bon Homme Richard, there being the most essential difference in their appearance and construction. Besides, it was then full moonlight, and the sides of the Bon Homme Richard were all black, while the sides of the prize were all yellow. Yet, for the greater security, I showed the signal of our reconnoissance, by putting out three lanterns, one at the head, another at the stern,

and the third in the middle, in a horizontal line. Every tongue cried that he was firing into the wrong ship, but nothing availed; he passed round, firing into the *Bon Homme Richard's* head, stern, and broadside, and by one of his volleys killed several of my best men, and mortally wounded a good officer on the forecastle only. My situation was really deplorable; the *Bon Homme Richard* received various shot under water from the *Alliance*; the leak gained on the pumps, and the fire increased much on board both ships. Some officers persuaded me to strike, of whose courage and good sense I entertained a high opinion. My treacherous master-at-arms let loose all my prisoners without my knowledge, and my prospects became gloomy indeed. I would not, however, give up the point. The enemy's mainmast began to shake, their firing decreased fast, ours rather increased, and the British colours were struck at half an hour past ten o'clock.

"This prize proved to be the British ship of war the *Serapis*, a new ship of forty-four guns, built on the most approved construction, with two complete batteries, one of them of eighteen-pounders, and commanded by the brave Commodore Richard Pearson. I had yet two enemies to encounter, far more formidable than the Britons,—I mean fire and water. The *Serapis* was attacked only by the first, but the *Bon Homme Richard* was assailed by both; there was five feet water in the hold, and though it was moderate from the explosion of so much gunpowder, yet the three pumps that remained could with difficulty only keep the water from gaining. The fire broke out in various parts of the ship, in spite of all the water that could be thrown in to quench it, and at length broke out as low as the powder magazine, and within a few inches of the powder. In that dilemma I took out the powder upon deck, ready to be thrown overboard at the last extremity, and it was ten o'clock the next day, (the 24th,) before the fire was entirely extinguished. With respect to the situation of the *Bon Homme Richard*, the rudder was cut entirely off, the stern-frame and transoms were almost entirely cut away, and the timbers by the lower deck, especially from the main-mast towards the stern, being greatly decayed with age, were mangled beyond my power of description, and a person must have been an eye-witness to form a just idea of the tremendous scene of carnage, wreck, and ruin, which everywhere appeared. Humanity cannot but recoil from the prospect of such finished horror, and lament that war should be capable of producing such fatal consequences.

"After the carpenters, as well as Captain Cottineau and other men of sense, had well examined and surveyed the ship, (which was not finished before five in the evening,) I found every person to be convinced that it was impossible to keep the *Bon Homme Richard* afloat, so as to reach a port, if the wind should increase, it being then only a very moderate breeze. I had but little time to remove my wounded, which now became

unavoidable, and which was effected in the course of the night and next morning. I was determined to keep the *Bon Homme Richard* afloat, and, if possible, to bring her into port. For that purpose, the first lieutenant of the *Pallas* continued on board with a party of men, to attend the pumps, with boats in waiting, ready to take them on board in case the water should gain on them too fast. The wind augmented in the night and the next day, the 25th, so that it was impossible to prevent the good old ship from sinking. They did not abandon her till after nine o'clock; the water was then up to the lower deck, and a little after ten I saw, with inexpressible grief, the last glimpse of the *Bon Homme Richard*. No lives were lost with the ship, but it was impossible to save the stores of any sort whatever. I lost even the best part of my clothes, books, and papers; and several of my officers lost all their clothes and effects.

"Having thus endeavoured to give a clear and simple relation of the circumstances and events that have attended the little armament under my command, I shall freely submit my conduct therein to the censure of my superiors and the impartial public. . I beg leave, however, to observe, that the force that was put under my command was far from being well composed, and as the great majority of the actors in it have appeared bent on the pursuit of *interest* only, I am exceedingly sorry that they and I have been at all concerned."

Such is the despatch which Commodore Jones transmitted from the *Texel* to Dr. Franklin, and afterwards to Congress. It is painful to observe how often he is forced to complain of the sordidness or cowardice of his associates. To a generous and elevated mind nothing could have been more humiliating than this necessity. The pursuit of "interest alone" with which he so frequently charges his associates, is, however, a positive virtue compared with the gratuitous villany imputed to Landais, the commander of the *Alliance*. The alleged conduct of this person, particularly during the engagement between the *Bon Homme Richard* and the *Serapis*, was so daring in atrocity and treachery as to exceed all reasonable belief, were it not solemnly asserted, as beyond all doubt it was firmly believed, by Jones. The general conduct of Landais was that of a malignant madman, as much incited by the prevailing influence of frenzy as actuated by deliberate villany. His behaviour during the whole cruise was made the subject of a set of charges drawn up by Jones in coming into the *Texel*, which were attested, in whole or in part, by most of the officers of the *Bon Homme Richard* and the *Alliance*. The fact of Landais firing into the *Bon Homme Richard* is also confirmed by the log-book, which was preserved when the ship sunk, and by a very interesting and seaman-like narrative of the engagement, drawn up by Mr. Dale, then first lieutenant of the ship. The brilliant success of Jones at this time, though far short of his own hopes and projects, gave him a right to speak out on affairs which left a deeper



COMMODORE DALE.

sting in his mind than even the perfidy of Landais. He thus concludes his despatch :—

“I am in the highest degree sensible of the singular attentions which I have experienced from the court of France, which I shall remember with perfect gratitude until the end of my life, and will always endeavour to merit, while I can consistent with my honour continue in the public service. I must speak plainly ; as I have been always honoured with the full confidence of Congress, and as I also flattered myself with enjoying in some measure the confidence of the court of France, I could not but be astonished at the conduct of Monsieur de Chaumont, when, in the moment of my departure from Groix, he produced a paper, *a concordat*, for me to sign, in common with the officers whom I had commissioned but a few days before. Had that paper, or even a less dishonourable one, been proposed to me at the beginning, I would have rejected it with just contempt, and the word *deplacement*, among others, should have been necessary. I cannot, however, even now, suppose that he was authorized by the court to make such a bargain with me. Nor can I suppose that the minister of the Marine meant that M. de Chaumont should consider me merely as a colleague with the commanders of the other ships, and communicate to

them not only all he knew, but all he thought, respecting our destination and operations. M. de Chaumont has made me various reproaches on account of the expense of the *Bon Homme Richard*, wherewith I cannot think I have been justly chargeable. M. de Chamillard can attest that the *Bon Homme Richard* was at last far from being well fitted or armed for war. If any person or persons who have been charged with the expense of that armament have acted wrong, the fault must not be laid to my charge. I had no authority to superintend that armament, and the persons who had authority were so far from giving me what I thought necessary, that M. de Chaumont even refused, among other things, to allow me irons to secure the prisoners of war.

“In short, while my life remains, if I have any capacity to render good and acceptable services to the common cause, no man will step forth with greater cheerfulness and alacrity than myself; but I am not made to be dishonoured, nor can I accept of the *half-confidence* of any man living. Of course, I cannot, consistent with my honour and a prospect of success, undertake future expeditions, unless when the object and destination is communicated to me alone, and to no other person in the marine line. In cases where troops are embarked, a like confidence is due alone to their commander-in-chief. On no other condition will I ever undertake the chief command of a private expedition; and when I do not command in chief, I have no desire to be in the secret.”

In the memorial drawn up for the private perusal of the king of France, Jones says that it was his intention at this time to cruise off the south-west of Ireland for twelve or fifteen days, in order to intercept the English homeward-bound East India ships, which he had been informed would return without convoy, and sail for this point of land. This purpose, which he confined to his own breast, and which would have been rendered abortive by the misconduct of Landais, was quite compatible with the other objects of the cruise, whether these were the West India, or Hudson's Bay ships, or the Baltic fleet.

The earliness and accuracy of the information which Jones procured while he lay in the various harbours of France is not a little remarkable. Instead of receiving intelligence from the American ministers, he was enabled, through his own private channels in England and other quarters, to transmit to them information of the sailing of fleets and of the strength of convoys. His former connections and mode of life may have given him some facilities; and money, the universal agent, never appears to have been with him an object of any consideration beyond its value as a means of obtaining professional advancement. He was able to supply the French admiral, Count d'Orvilliers, with important information from London of the sailing of a large West India fleet, and even to acquaint him with private transactions on board the squadrons of Keppel and Byronъ.

Meanwhile, the squadron of Jones, which the narrative has left behind, continued to be tossed about till the 3d of October, when it came to anchor in the Texel, contrary to the judgment of the commodore, who wished to gain the French harbour of Dunkirk, but was, he says, overruled by his officers. The rendezvous he found was the cause of much personal vexation to himself, though it proved of ultimate advantage to America, by hurrying on the period when the Dutch were forced from their politic neutrality. The political importance of this measure might have been foreseen by Franklin, when, in the previous summer, he directed Jones, on finishing his northern cruise, to take shelter in the Texel. By doing so, the American minister greatly increased the perplexity of their high mightinesses, on whom the cabinet of London already—and with good reason—looked with suspicious eyes. By this step the Dutch were in effect precipitated into the war rather sooner than suited their crafty and selfish policy, which, in shuffling with all parties, sought to profit by all. By compelling England to declare war, and the Dutch to declare openly for the United States, an end was virtually put to a contest, in which Britain was left to contend single-handed with her refractory colonies, then backed by France, Spain, and Holland.

Though the squadron of Jones had failed in its main purpose, and had neither captured fleets nor put wealthy cities to ransom, the blow struck at the maritime pride of England could not fail to be highly gratifying to the Americans. Dr. Franklin immediately wrote, warmly congratulating the victor. "For some days," says Franklin, "after the arrival of your express, scarce any thing was talked of at Paris and Versailles, but your cool conduct and persevering bravery during that terrible conflict. You may believe that the impression on my mind was not less strong than that on others,—but I do not choose to say, in a letter to yourself, all I think on such an occasion.

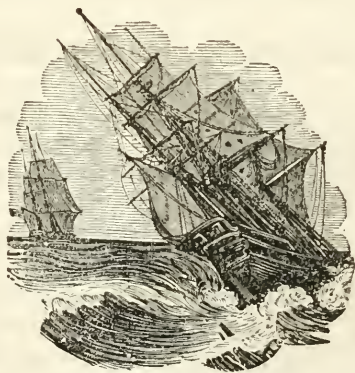
"The ministry are much dissatisfied with Captain Landais, and Monsieur de Sartine has signified to me, in writing, that it is expected that I should send for him to Paris, and call him to account for his conduct, particularly for deferring so long his coming to your assistance ; by which means, it is supposed, the states lost some of their valuable citizens, and the king lost many of his subjects, volunteers in your ship, together with the ship itself.

"I have, accordingly, written to him this day, acquainting him that he is charged with disobedience of orders in the cruise, and neglect of his duty in the engagement; that a court-martial being at this time inconvenient, if not impracticable, I would give him an early opportunity of offering what he has to say in his justification, and for that purpose direct him to render himself immediately here, bringing with him such papers or testimonies as he may think useful in his defence. I know not whether he

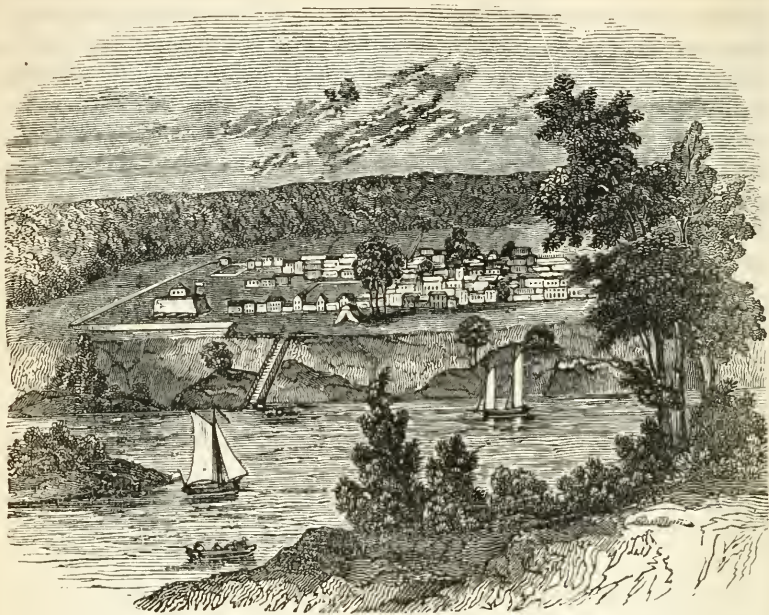
will obey my orders, nor what the ministry would do with him if he comes; but I suspect that they may, by some of their concise operations, save the trouble of a court-martial. It will, however, be well for you to furnish me with what you may judge proper to support the charges against him, that I may be able to give a just and clear account to Congress. In the mean time it will be necessary, if he should refuse to come, that you should put him under an arrest, and in that case, as well as if he comes, that you should either appoint some person to the command, or take it upon yourself; for I know of no person to recommend to you as fit for that station.

“I am uneasy about your prisoners, (five hundred and four in number,)—I wish they were safe in France. You will then have completed the glorious work of giving liberty to all the Americans that have so long languished for it in the British prisons.”

Jones also received the thanks of the Duc de la Vauguyon, the French ambassador at the Hague, and the congratulations of numerous friends and admirers.

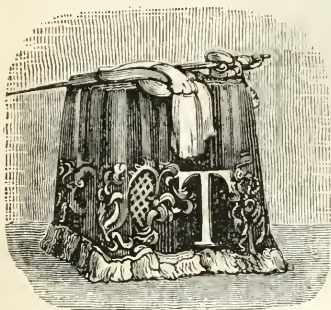


THE BON HOMME RICHARD SINKING.



SAVANNAH BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.

CAMPAIGN OF 1780 IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.



HE successful defence of Savannah, together with the subsequent departure of Count d'Estaing from the coast of the United States, soon dissipated all apprehensions previously entertained for the safety of New York. These circumstances pointed out to Sir Henry Clinton the propriety of renewing offensive operations. Having effected nothing of importance for the two preceding campaigns, he turned his attention southwardly, and

regaled himself with flattering prospects of easy conquest, among the weaker states. The suitableness of the climate for winter operations, the richness of the country, and its distance from support, designated South Carolina as a proper object of enterprise. No sooner, therefore, was the departure of the French fleet known and confirmed, than Sir Henry Clinton committed the command of the royal army in New York to Lieutenant-

general Knipphausen, and embarked for the southward, with four flank battalions, twelve regiments, and a corps British, Hessian and provincial, a powerful detachment of artillery, two hundred and fifty cavalry, together with an ample supply of military stores and provisions. Vice-admiral Arbuthnot, with a suitable naval force, undertook to convey the troops to the place of their destination. The whole sailed from New York. [Dec. 26, 1779.] After a tedious and dangerous passage, in which part of their ordnance, most of their artillery, and all their cavalry horses were lost, the fleet arrived at Tybee in Georgia, January 31. In a few days, the transports, with the army on board, sailed from Savannah for North Edisto, and after a short passage the troops made good their landing about thirty miles from Charleston, and on the 11th of February took possession of John's Island and Stono Ferry, and soon after of James Island and Wappoo-cut. A bridge was thrown over the canal, and part of the royal army took post on the banks of Ashley river opposite to Charleston.

The assembly of the state was sitting when the British landed, but broke up after "delegating to Governor Rutledge, and such of his council as he could conveniently consult, a power to do every thing necessary for the public good, except the taking away the life of a citizen without a legal trial." The governor immediately ordered the militia to rendezvous. Though the necessity was great, few obeyed the pressing call. A proclamation was issued by the governor, under his extraordinary powers, requiring such of the militia as were regularly drafted, and all the inhabitants and owners of property in the town, to repair to the American standard and join the garrison immediately, under pain of confiscation. This severe though necessary measure produced very little effect. The country was much dispirited by the late repulse at Savannah.

The tedious passage from New York to Tybee gave the Americans time to fortify Charleston. This, together with the losses which the royal army had sustained in the late tempestuous weather, induced Sir Henry Clinton to despatch an order to New York for reinforcements of men and stores. He also directed Major-general Prevost to send on to him twelve hundred men from the garrison of Savannah. Brigadier-general Patterson, at the head of this detachment, made his way good over the river Savannah, and through the intermediate country, and soon after joined Sir Henry Clinton near the banks of Ashley river. The royal forces without delay proceeded to the siege. At Wappoo on James Island, they formed a depot, and erected fortifications both on that island and on the main, opposite to the southern and western extremities of Charleston. [March 29.] An advanced party crossed Ashley river, and soon after broke ground at the distance of eleven hundred yards from the American works. At successive periods, they erected five batteries on Charleston neck. The garrison was equally assiduous in preparing for its defence. The works which had

been previously thrown up were strengthened and extended. Lines and redoubts were continued across from Cooper to Ashley river. In front of the whole was a strong abattis, and a wet ditch made by passing a canal from the heads of swamps, which run in opposite directions. Between the abattis and the lines, deep holes were dug at short intervals. The lines were made particularly strong on the right and left, and so constructed as to rake the wet ditch in almost its whole extent. To secure the centre, a hornwork had been erected, which, being closed during the siege, formed a kind of citadel. Works were also thrown up on all sides of the town, where a landing was practicable. Though the lines were no more than field works, yet Sir Henry Clinton treated them with the respectful homage of three parallels. From the 3d to the 10th of April, the first parallel was completed, and immediately after the town was summoned to surrender. On the 12th, the batteries were opened, and from that day an almost incessant fire was kept up. About the time the batteries were opened a work was thrown up near Wando river, nine miles from town, and another at Lempriere's Point, to preserve the communication with the country by water. A post was also ordered at a ferry over the Santee, to favour the coming in of reinforcements, or the retreat of the garrison when necessary. The British marine force, consisting of one ship of fifty guns, two of forty-four guns, four of thirty-two, and the Sandwich armed ship, crossed the bar in front of Rebellion road and anchored in Five Fathom Hole. The American force opposed to this was the Bricole, which, though pierced for forty-four guns, did not mount half of that number, two of thirty-two guns, one of twenty-eight, two of twenty-six, two of twenty, and the brig *Nôtre Dame* of sixteen guns. The first object of its commander, Commodore Whipple, was to prevent Admiral Arbuthnot from crossing the bar, but on farther examination this was found to be impracticable. He therefore fell back to Fort Moultrie, and afterwards to Charleston. The crew and guns of all his vessels, except one, were put on shore to reinforce the batteries.

Admiral Arbuthnot weighed anchor at Five Fathom Hole, and with the advantage of a strong southerly wind and flowing tide, passed Fort Moultrie without stopping to engage it, and anchored near the remains of Fort Johnson. Colonel Pinckney, who commanded on Sullivan's Island, kept up a brisk and well-directed fire on the ships in their passage, which did as great execution as could be expected. To prevent the royal armed vessels from running into Cooper river, eleven vessels were sunk in the channel opposite to the Exchange. The batteries of the besiegers soon obtained a superiority over those of the town. The former had twenty-one mortars and royals, the latter only two. The regular force in the garrison was much inferior to that of the besiegers, and but few of the militia could be persuaded to leave their plantations, and reinforce their brethren in the

capital. A camp was formed at Monk's Corner, to keep up the communication between the town and country, and the militia without the lines were requested to rendezvous there: but this was surprised and routed by Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton. The British, having now less to fear, extended themselves to the eastward of Cooper river. Two hundred and fifty horse and six hundred infantry were detached on this service, but nevertheless, in the opinion of a council of war, the weak state of the garrison made it improper to detach a number sufficient to attack even that small force. About the 20th of April, Sir Henry Clinton received a reinforcement of three thousand men from New York. A second council of war, held on the 21st, agreed that "a retreat would be attended with many distressing inconveniences, if not altogether impracticable," and advised, "that offers of capitulation, before their affairs became more critical, should be made to General Clinton, which might admit of the army's withdrawing, and afford security to the persons and property of the inhabitants." These terms being proposed, were instantly rejected, but the garrison adhered to them, in hopes that succours would arrive from the neighbouring states. The bare offer of capitulating dispirited the garrison, but they continued to resist in expectation of favourable events. The British speedily completed the investiture of the town both by land and water. After Admiral Arbuthnot had passed Sullivan's Island, Colonel Pinckney, with one hundred and fifty of the men under his command, was withdrawn from that post to Charleston. [May 6.] Soon after, the fort on the island was surrendered, without opposition, to Captain Hudson, of the royal navy. On the same day, the remains of the American cavalry which escaped from the surprise at Monk's Corner on the 14th of April, were again surprised by Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton at Laneau's ferry, on Santee, and the whole either killed, captured, or dispersed. While every thing prospered with the British, Sir Henry Clinton began a correspondence with General Lincoln, and renewed his former offers to the garrison in case of their surrender. Lincoln was disposed to close with them as far as they respected his army, but some demur was made with a view of gaining better terms for the citizens, which it was hoped might be obtained on a conference. This was asked: but Clinton, instead of granting it, answered "that hostilities should recommence at eight o'clock." Nevertheless, neither party fired till nine. The garrison then recommenced hostilities. The besiegers immediately followed, and each cannonaded the other with unusual briskness. The British batteries of the third parallel opened on this occasion. Shells and carcasses were thrown into almost all parts of the town, and several houses were burned. The cannon and mortars played on the garrison at a less distance than a hundred yards. The Hessian chasseurs were so near the American lines, that with their rifles they could easily strike any object that was visible on them. The

British, having crossed the wet ditch by sap, advanced within twenty-five yards of the American works, and were ready for making a general assault by land and water. All expectation of succour was at an end. The only hope left was that nine thousand men, the flower of the British army, seconded by a naval force, might fail in storming extensive lines defended by less than three thousand men. Under these circumstances, the siege was protracted till the 11th. On that day a great number of the citizens addressed General Lincoln, in a petition, expressing their acquiescence in the terms which Sir Henry Clinton had offered, and requesting his acceptance of them. On the reception of this petition, General Lincoln wrote to Sir Henry, and offered to accept the terms before proposed. The royal commanders, wishing to avoid the extremity of a storm, and unwilling to press to unconditional submission an enemy whose friendship they wished to conciliate, returned a favourable answer. A capitulation was signed, and Major-general Leslie took possession of the town on the next day, May 12. The loss on both sides during the siege was nearly equal. Of the king's troops, seventy-six were killed and one hundred and eighty-nine wounded. Of the Americans, eighty-nine were killed and one hundred and forty wounded. Upwards of four hundred pieces of artillery were surrendered. By the articles of capitulation, the garrison was to march out of town, and to deposit their arms in front of the works, but the drums were not to beat a British march, nor the colours to be uncased. The continental troops and seamen were to keep their baggage, and remain prisoners of war till exchanged. The militia were to be permitted to return to their respective homes as prisoners on parole, and while they adhered to their parole, were not to be molested by the British troops in person or property. The inhabitants of all conditions to be considered as prisoners on parole, and to hold their property on the same terms with the militia. The officers of the army and navy to retain their servants, swords, pistols, and baggage unsearched. They were permitted to sell their horses, but not to remove them; a vessel was allowed to proceed to Philadelphia with General Lincoln's despatches unopened.

The number which surrendered prisoners of war, inclusive of the militia and every adult male inhabitant, was above five thousand, but the proper garrison at the time of the surrender did not exceed two thousand five hundred. The precise number of privates in the continental army was one thousand nine hundred and seventy-seven, of which number five hundred were in the hospitals. The captive officers were much more in proportion than the privates, and consisted of one major-general, six brigadiers, nine colonels, fourteen lieutenant-colonels, fifteen majors, eighty-four captains, eighty-four lieutenants, thirty-two second lieutenants and ensigns. The gentlemen of the country, who were mostly militia officers, from a sense of honour repaired to the defence of Charleston, though they could not bring with them privates

equal to their respective commands. The regular regiments were fully officered, though greatly deficient in privates.

This was the first instance, in which the Americans had attempted to defend a town. The unsuccessful event, with its consequences, demonstrated the policy of sacrificing the towns of the Union, in preference to endangering the whole, by risking too much for their defence.

Much censure was undeservedly cast on General Lincoln, for attempting the defence of Charleston. Though the contrary plan was in general the best, he had particular reasons to justify his deviation from the example of the commander-in-chief of the American army. Charleston was the only considerable town in the southern extreme of the confederacy, and for its preservation, South Carolina and the adjacent states seemed willing to make great exertions. The reinforcements, promised for its defence, were fully sufficient for that purpose. The Congress, and the states of North and South Carolina, gave General Lincoln ground to expect an army of nine thousand nine hundred men to second his operations, but from a variety of causes this army, including the militia, was little more than a third of that number. As long as an evacuation was practicable, he had such assurances of support, that he could not attempt it with propriety. Before he could be ascertained of the futility of these assurances, the British had taken such a position, that in the opinion of good judges a retreat could not be successfully made.



HORTLY after the surrender, the British commander adopted sundry measures to induce the inhabitants to return to their allegiance. It was stated to them in a handbill, which, though without a name, seemed to flow from authority: "That the helping hand of every man was wanting to re-establish peace and good government—that the commander-in-chief wished not to draw them

into danger, while any doubt could remain of his success, but as that was now certain, he trusted that one and all would heartily join, and give effect to necessary measures for that purpose." Those who had families were informed "that they would be permitted to remain at home, and form a militia for the maintenance of peace and good order, but from those who had no families it was expected that they would cheerfully assist in driving their oppressors, and all the miseries of war, from their borders." To such it was promised, "that when on service, they would be allowed pay, ammunition, and provisions in the same manner as the king's troops." [May 22.] About the same time, Sir Henry Clinton, in a proclamation, declared, "That if any person should thenceforward appear in arms in order to prevent the establishment of his majesty's government in that country, or should, under any pretence or authority whatever, attempt to compel any other person or persons so to do, or who should hinder the



TARLETON'S QUARTERS.

king's faithful subjects from joining his forces, or from performing those duties their allegiance required, such persons should be treated with the utmost severity, and their estates be immediately seized for confiscation."

[June 1.] In a few days after, Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, in the character of commissioners for restoring peace, offered to the inhabitants, with some exceptions, "Pardon for their past treasonable offences, and a reinstatement in the possession of all those rights and immunities which they heretofore had enjoyed under a free British government, exempt from taxation, except by their own legislatures."

The capital having surrendered, the next object with the British was to secure the general submission of the whole body of the people.

To this end, they posted garrisons in different parts of the country to awe the inhabitants. They also marched with upwards of two thousand men towards North Carolina. This caused an immediate retreat of some parties of Americans, who had advanced into the northern extremity of South Carolina, with the expectation of relieving Charleston. One of these, consisting of about three hundred continentals, commanded by Colonel Buford, was overtaken at the Waxhaws by Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, and completely defeated. Five out of six of the whole were either killed or so badly wounded, as to be incapable of being moved from the field of battle; and this took place though they made such ineffectual opposition as only to kill twelve and wound five of the British. This great dispro-



LORD RAWDON.

portion of the killed on the two sides, arose from the circumstance that Tarleton's party refused quarter to the Americans, after they had ceased to resist and laid down their arms. Tarleton's quarter was thenceforward a watchword.

Sir Henry Clinton, having left about four thousand men for the southern service, embarked early in June with the main army for New York. On his departure the command devolved on Lieutenant-general Cornwallis. The season of the year, the condition of the army, and the unsettled state of South Carolina, impeded the immediate invasion of North Carolina. Earl Cornwallis despatched instructions to the principal loyalists in that state, to attend to the harvest, prepare provisions, and remain quiet till the latter end of August or beginning of September. His lordship committed the care of the frontier to Lord Rawdon, and repairing to Charleston,

devoted his principal attention to the commercial and civil regulations of South Carolina. In the mean time, the impossibility of fleeing with their families and effects, and the want of an army to which the militia of the states might repair, induced the people in the country to abandon all schemes of farther resistance. At Beaufort, Camden, and Ninety-Six, they generally laid down their arms, and submitted either as prisoners or as subjects. Excepting the extremities of the state bordering on North Carolina, the inhabitants who did not flee out of the country preferred submission to resistance. This was followed by an unusual calm, and the British believed that the state was thoroughly conquered. An opportunity was now given to make an experiment from which much was expected, and for the omission of which, Sir Henry Clinton's predecessor, Sir William Howe, had been severely censured. It had been confidently asserted, that a majority of the Americans were well affected to the British government, and that, under proper regulations, substantial service might be expected from them, in restoring the country to peace. At this crisis every bias in favour of Congress was removed. Their armies in the southern states were either captured or defeated. There was no regular force to the southward of Pennsylvania, which was sufficient to awe the friends of royal government. Every encouragement was held forth to those of the inhabitants who would with arms support the old constitution. Confiscation and death were threatened as the consequence of opposing its re-establishment. While there was no regular army within four hundred miles to aid the friends of independence, the British were in force posted over all the country. The people were thus left to themselves, or rather strongly impelled to abandon an apparently sinking cause, and arrange themselves on the side of the conquerors. Under these favourable circumstances, the experiment was made for supporting the British interest by the exertion of loyal inhabitants, unawed by American armies or republican demagogues. It soon appeared that the disguise which fear had imposed, subsisted no longer than the present danger, and that the minds of the people, though overawed, were actuated by a hostile spirit. In prosecuting the scheme for obtaining a military aid from the inhabitants, that tranquillity which previous successes had procured was disturbed, and that ascendancy which arms had gained was interrupted. The inducement to submission with many was a hope of obtaining a respite from the calamities of war, under the shelter of British protection. Such were not less astonished than confounded, on finding themselves virtually called upon to take up arms in support of royal government. This was done in the following manner: after the inhabitants, by the specious promises of protection and security, had generally submitted as subjects, or taken their parole as prisoners of war, a proclamation was issued by Sir Henry Clinton, which set forth—
"That it was proper for all persons to take an active part in settling and

securing his majesty's government"—and in which it was declared "that all the inhabitants of the province who were then prisoners on parole, (those who were taken in Fort Moultrie and Charleston, and such as were in actual confinement, excepted,) should, from and after the 20th of June, be freed from their paroles, and restored to all the rights and duties belonging to citizens and inhabitants." And it was in the same proclamation farther declared, "that all persons under the description above-mentioned, who should afterwards neglect to return to their allegiance, and to his majesty's government, should be considered as enemies and rebels to the same, and treated accordingly." It was designed by this arbitrary change of the political condition of the inhabitants from prisoners to citizens, to bring them into a dilemma, which would force them to take an active part in settling and securing the royal government. It involved a majority in the necessity of either fleeing out of the country, or of becoming a British militia. With this proclamation the declension of British authority commenced, for though the inhabitants, from motives of fear or convenience, had generally submitted, the greatest part of them retained an affection for their American brethren, and shuddered at the thought of taking arms against them. Among such it was said, "If we must fight, let it be on the side of America, our friends and countrymen." A great number considering this proclamation as a discharge from their paroles, armed themselves in self-defence, being induced thereto by the royal menaces, that they who did not return to their allegiance as British subjects, must expect to be treated as rebels. A greater number, from being in the power of the British, exchanged their paroles as prisoners for the protection of subjects, but this was done in many cases with a secret reservation of breaking the compulsory engagement, when a proper opportunity should present itself.

A party always attached to royal government, though they had conformed to the laws of the state, rejoiced in the ascendancy of the royal arms, but their number was inconsiderable, in comparison with the multitude who were obliged by necessity, or induced by convenience, to accept of British protection.

The precautions taken to prevent the rising of the royalists in North Carolina, did not answer the end. Several of the inhabitants of Tryon county, under the direction of Colonel Moore, took up arms, and were in a few days defeated by the Whig militia, commanded by General Rutherford. Colonel Bryan, another loyalist, though equally injudicious as to time, was successful. He reached the 71st regiment stationed in the Cheraws with about eight hundred men, assembled from the neighbourhood of the river Yadkin.

While the conquerors were endeavouring to strengthen the party for royal government, the Americans were not inattentive to their interests

Governor Rutledge, who during the siege of Charleston had been requested by General Lincoln to go out of town, was industriously and successfully negotiating with North Carolina, Virginia, and Congress, to obtain a force for checking the progress of the British arms. Representations to the same effect had also been made in due time by General Lincoln. Congress ordered a considerable detachment from their main army to be marched to the southward. North Carolina also ordered a large body of militia to take the field. As the British advanced to the upper country of South Carolina, a considerable number of determined Whigs retreated before them, and took refuge in North Carolina. In this class was Colonel Sumter, a distinguished partisan, who was well qualified for conducting military operations. A party of exiles from South Carolina made choice of him for their leader. At the head of this little band of freemen, he returned to his own state, and took the field against the victorious British, after the inhabitants had generally abandoned all ideas of farther resistance. This unexpected impediment to the extension of British conquests, roused all the passions which disappointed ambition could inspire. Previous successes had flattered the royal commanders with hopes of distinguished rank among the conquerors of America, but the renewal of hostilities obscured the pleasing prospect. Flushed with the victories they had gained in the first of the campaign, and believing every thing told them favourable to their wishes to be true, they conceived that they had little to fear on the south side of Virginia. When experience refuted these hopes, they were transported with indignation against the inhabitants, and confined several of them on suspicion of their being accessory to the recommencement of hostilities.

The first effort of renewed warfare was two months after the fall of Charleston, when one hundred and thirty-three of Colonel Sumter's corps attacked [July 12] and routed a detachment of the royal forces and militia, which were posted in a land at Williamson's plantation. This was the first advantage gained over the British, since their landing in the beginning of the year. The steady persevering friends of America, who were very numerous in the north-western frontier of South Carolina, turned out with great alacrity to join Colonel Sumter, though opposition to the British government had entirely ceased in every other part of the state. His troops in a few days amounted to six hundred men. With this increase of strength, he made a spirited attack on a party of the British at Rocky Mount, but as he had no artillery, and they were secured under cover of earth filled in between logs, he could make no impression upon them, and was obliged to retreat. Sensible that the minds of men are influenced by enterprise, and that to keep militia together it is necessary to employ them, this active partisan attacked another of the royal detachments, consisting of the Prince of Wales' regiment, and a large body of Tories, posted

at the Hanging Rock. The Prince of Wales' regiment was almost totally destroyed. From two hundred and seventy-eight it was reduced to nine. The loyalists, who were of that party which had advanced from North Carolina under Colonel Bryan, were dispersed. The panic occasioned by the fall of Charleston daily abated. The Whig militia on the extremities of the state formed themselves into parties under leaders of their own choice, and sometimes attacked detachments of the British army, but more frequently those of their own countrymen, who as a royal militia were co-operating with the king's forces. While Sumter kept up the spirits of the people by a succession of gallant enterprises, a respectable continental force was advancing through the middle states, for the relief of their southern brethren. With the hopes of relieving Charleston, orders were given [March 26] for the Maryland and Delaware troops to march from General Washington's head-quarters to South Carolina; but the quartermaster-general was unable to put this detachment in motion as soon as was intended.

The manufacturers employed in providing for the army would neither go on with their business, nor deliver the articles they had completed, declaring they had suffered so much from the depreciation of the money, that they would not part with their property without immediate payment. Under these embarrassing circumstances, the southern states required an aid from the northern army, to be marched through the intermediate space of eight hundred miles. The Maryland and Delaware troops were with great exertions at length enabled to move. After marching through Jersey and Pennsylvania, [April 16,] they embarked at the Head of Elk and landed soon after at Petersburg, and thence proceeded through the country towards South Carolina. This force was at first put under the command of Major-general Baron de Kalb, and afterwards of General Gates. The success of the latter in the northern campaigns of 1776 and 1777, induced many to believe that his presence as commander of the southern army would reanimate the friends of independence. While Baron de Kalb commanded, a council of war had advised him to file off from the direct road to Camden, towards the well-cultivated settlements in the vicinity of the Waxhaws: but General Gates on taking the command did not conceive this movement to be necessary, supposing it to be most for the interest of the states that he should proceed immediately with his army, on the shortest road to the vicinity of the British encampment. This led through a barren country, in passing over which, the Americans severely felt the scarcity of provisions. Their murmurs became audible, and there were strong appearances of mutiny; but the officers who shared every calamity in common with the privates, interposed, and conciliated them to a patient sufferance of their hard lot. They principally subsisted on lean cattle, picked up in the woods. The whole army was under the necessity of



GENERAL GATES.

using green corn and peaches, in the place of bread. They were subsisted for several days on the latter alone. Dysenteries became common in consequence of this diet. The heat of the season, the unhealthiness of the climate, together with insufficient and unwholesome food, threatened destruction to the army. The common soldiers, instead of desponding, began after some time to be merry with their misfortunes. They used "starvation" as a cant word, and vied with each other in burlesquing their situation. The wit and humour displayed on the occasion contributed not a little to reconcile them to their sufferings. The American army, [Aug. 13,] having made its way through a country of pine-barren, sand-hills and swamps, reached Clermont, thirteen miles from Camden. The next day, [14th,] General Stephens arrived with a large body of Virginia militia.

As the American army approached South Carolina, Lord Rawdon concentrated his force at Camden. The retreat of the British from their outposts, the advances of the American army, and the impolitic conduct of the conquerors towards their new subjects, concurred at this juncture to produce a general revolt in favour of Congress. The people were daily more dissatisfied with their situation. Tired of war, they had sub-

mitted to British government with the expectation of bettering their condition, but they soon found their mistake. The greatest address should have been practised towards the inhabitants, in order to second the views of the parent state, in re-uniting the revolted colonies to her government. That the people might be induced to return to the condition of subjects, their minds and affections, as well as their armies, ought to have been conquered. This delicate task was rarely attempted. The officers, privates, and followers of the royal army, were generally more intent on amassing fortunes by plunder and rapine, than on promoting a re-union of the dissevered members of the empire. Instead of increasing the real number of friends to royal government, they disgusted those that they found. The high-spirited citizens of Carolina, impatient of their rapine and insolence, rejoiced in the prospect of freeing their countrymen from its oppressors. Motives of this kind, together with a prevailing attachment to the cause of independence, induced many to break through all ties to join General Gates, and more to wish him the completest success.

The similarity of language and appearance between the British and American armies, gave opportunities for imposing on the inhabitants. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with a party, by assuming the name and dress of Americans, passed themselves, near Black River, for the advance of General Gates's army. Some of the neighbouring militia were eagerly collected by Mr. Bradley, to co-operate with his supposed friends, but after some time the veil being thrown aside, Bradley and his volunteers were carried to Camden, and confined there as prisoners.

General Gates, on reaching the frontier of South Carolina, issued a proclamation inviting the patriotic citizens "to join heartily in rescuing themselves and their country from the oppression of a government imposed on them by the ruffian hand of conquest." He also gave "assurances of forgiveness and perfect security, to such of the unfortunate citizens as had been induced by the terror of sanguinary punishment, the menace of confiscation, and the arbitrary measures of military domination, apparently to acquiesce under the British government, and to make a forced declaration of allegiance and support to a tyranny, which the indignant souls of citizens resolved on freedom inwardly revolted at with horror and detestation," excepting only from this amnesty "those who, in the hour of devastation, had exercised acts of barbarity and depredation on the persons and property of their fellow-citizens." The army with which General Gates advanced, was, by the arrival of Stephens's militia, increased nearly to four thousand men, but of this large number, the whole regular force was only nine hundred infantry and seventy cavalry. On the approach of Gates, Earl Cornwallis hastened from Charleston to Camden, and arrived there on the 14th. The force which his lordship found collected on his arrival, was seventeen hundred infantry and three hundred cavalry. This

inferior number would have justified a retreat, but he chose rather to stake his fortune on the decision of a battle. On the night of the 15th, he marched from Camden with his whole force, intending to attack the Americans in their camp at Clermont. In the same night Gates, after ordering his baggage to the Waxhaws, put his army in motion, with an intention of advancing to an eligible position, about eight miles from Camden. The American army was ordered to march at 10 o'clock P. M. in the following order. Colonel Armand's advance cavalry. Colonel Porterfield's light infantry, on the right flank of Colonel Armand's in Indian file, two hundred yards from the road. Major Armstrong's light infantry in the same order as Colonel Porterfield's, on the left flank of the legion advanced guard of foot, composed of the advanced pickets, first brigade of Maryland, second brigade of Maryland—division of North Carolina, Virginia rear-guard, volunteer cavalry, upon flanks of baggage equally divided. The light infantry upon each flank were ordered to march up and support the cavalry, if it should be attacked by the British cavalry, and Colonel Armand was directed in that case to stand the attack at all events.

The advance of both armies met in the night and engaged. Some of the cavalry of Armand's legion, being wounded in the first fire, fell back on others, who recoiled so suddenly, that the first Maryland regiment was broken, and the whole line of the army was thrown into confusion. This first impression struck deep, and dispirited the militia. The American army soon recovered its order, and both they and their adversaries kept their ground, and occasionally skirmished through the night. Colonel Porterfield, a most excellent officer, on whose abilities General Gates particularly depended, was wounded in the early part of the night attack. In the morning, a severe and general engagement took place. At the first onset, a great body of the Virginia militia, who formed the left wing of the army, on being charged with fixed bayonets by the British infantry, threw down their arms, and with the utmost precipitation fled from the field. A considerable part of the North Carolina militia followed the unworthy example, but the continentals, who formed the right wing of the army, inferior as they were in numbers to the British, stood their ground and maintained the conflict with great resolution. Never did men acquit themselves better: for some time they had clearly the advantage of their opponents, and were in possession of a considerable body of prisoners: overpowered at last by numbers, and nearly surrounded by the enemy, they were compelled reluctantly to leave the ground. In justice to the North Carolina militia it should be remarked, that part of the brigade, commanded by General Gregory, acquitted themselves well. They were formed immediately on the left of the continentals, and kept the field while they had a cartridge to fire. General Gregory himself was twice wounded by a bayonet in bringing off his men, and several of his brigade, who were



BATTLE OF CAMDEN, AND DEATH OF DE KALB.

made prisoners, had no wounds except from bayonets. Two hundred and ninety American wounded prisoners were carried into Camden, after this action. Of this number, two hundred and six were continentals, eighty-two were North Carolina militia, and two were Virginia militia. The resistance made by each corps may in some degree be estimated from the number of wounded. The Americans lost the whole of their artillery, eight field-pieces, upwards of two hundred wagons, and the greatest part of their baggage. Almost all their officers were separated from their respective commands. Every corps was broken in action and dispersed. The fugitives who fled by the common road were pursued above twenty miles by the horse of Tarleton's legion, and the way was covered with arms, baggage, and wagons. Baron de Kalb, the second in command, a brave and experienced officer, was taken prisoner, and died on the next day of his wounds. The baron, who was a German by birth, had long been in the French service. He had travelled through the British provinces, about the time of the stamp act, and is said to have reported to his superiors on his return, "that the colonists were so firmly and universally attached to Great Britain, that nothing could shake their loyalty." The Congress resolved that a monument should be erected to his memory, in

Annapolis, with a very honourable inscription. General Rutherford, of North Carolina, was wounded and taken prisoner.

The royal army fought with great bravery, but the completeness of their victory was in a great degree owing to their superiority in cavalry, and the precipitate flight of the American militia. Their whole loss is supposed to have amounted to several hundreds.

To add to the distresses of the Americans, the defeat of Gates was immediately followed by the surprise and dispersion of Sumter's corps. While the former was advancing near to the British army, the latter, who had previously taken post between Camden and Charleston, took a number of prisoners, and captured sundry British stores, together with their convoy. On hearing of the defeat of his superior officer, he began to retreat with his prisoners and stores. Tarleton, with his legion and a detachment of infantry, pursued with such celerity and address as to overtake and surprise this party at Fishing Creek. The British rode into their camp before they were prepared for defence. The retreating Americans, having been four days with little or no sleep, were more obedient to the calls of nature, than attentive to her first law, self-preservation. Sumter had taken every prudent precaution to prevent a surprise, but his videttes were so overcome with fatigue, that they neglected their duty. With great difficulty he got a few to stand their ground for a short time, but the greater part of his corps fled to the river or the woods. He lost all his artillery, and his whole detachment was either killed, captured or dispersed. The prisoners he had lately taken were all re-taken.

On the 17th and 18th of August about one hundred and fifty of Gates's army rendezvoused at Charlotte. These had reason to apprehend that they would be immediately pursued and cut to pieces. There was no magazine of provisions in the town, and it was without any kind of defence. It was therefore concluded to retreat to Salisbury. A circumstantial detail of this, would be the picture of complicated wretchedness. There were more wounded men than could be conveniently carried off. The inhabitants hourly expecting the British to advance into their settlement, and generally intending to flee, could not attend to the accommodation of the suffering soldiers. Objects of distress occurred in every quarter. There were many who stood in need of kind assistance, but there were few who could give it to them. Several men were to be seen with but one arm, and some without any. Anxiety, pain and dejection, poverty, hurry and confusion, promiscuously marked the gloomy scene. Under these circumstances the remains of that numerous army, which had lately caused such terror to the friends of Great Britain, retreated to Salisbury, and soon after to Hillsborough. General Gates had previously retired to this last place, and was there in concert with the government of North Carolina devising plans of defence, and for renewing military operations.

Though there was no army to oppose Lord Cornwallis, yet the season and bad health of his army, restrained him from pursuing his conquests. By the complete dispersion of the continental forces, the country was in his power. The present moment of triumph seemed therefore the most favourable conjuncture for breaking the spirits of those who were attached to independence. To prevent their future co-operation with the armies of Congress, a severer policy was henceforward adopted.



UNFORTUNATELY for the inhabitants, this was taken up on grounds which involved thousands in distress, and not a few in the loss of life. The British conceived themselves in possession of the rights of sovereignty over a conquered country, and that therefore the efforts of the citizens to assert their independence exposed them to the penal consequences of treason and rebellion. Influenced by these opinions, and transported with indignation against the inhabitants, they violated the rights which are held sacred between independent hostile nations. Orders were given by Lord Cornwallis, "that all the inhabitants of the province, who had submitted, and who had taken part in this revolt, should be punished with the greatest rigour—that they should be imprisoned, and their whole property taken from them or destroyed." He also ordered in the most positive manner, "that every militia man, who had borne arms with the British, and afterwards joined the Americans, should be put to death." At Augusta, at Camden, and elsewhere, several of the inhabitants were hanged in consequence of these orders. The men who suffered had been compelled by the necessities of their families, and the prospect of saving their property, to make an involuntary submission to the royal conquerors. Experience soon taught them the inefficacy of these submissions. This in their opinion absolved them from the obligations of their engagements to support the royal cause, and left them at liberty to follow their inclinations. To treat men thus circumstanced, with the severity of punishment usually inflicted on deserters and traitors, might have a political tendency to discourage farther revolts, but the impartial world must regret that the unavoidable horrors of war should be aggravated by such deliberate effusions of human blood.

Notwithstanding the decisive superiority of the British armies in South Carolina, several of the most respectable citizens, though in the power of their conquerors, resisted every temptation to resume the character of subjects. To enforce a general submission, orders were given by Lord Cornwallis, immediately after his victory, to send out of South Carolina a number of its principal citizens. Lieutenant-governor Gadsden, most of the civil and militia officers and some others, who had declined exchanging their paroles for the protection of British subjects, were taken up, put on



GENERAL MOULTRIE.

board a vessel in the harbour, and sent to St. Augustine. [August 27., General Moultrie remonstrated against the confinement and removal of these gentlemen, as contrary to their rights derived from the capitulation of Charleston. They at the same time challenged their adversaries to prove any conduct of theirs, which merited expulsion from their country and families. They received no farther satisfaction, than that the measure had been "adopted from motives of policy." To convince the inhabitants that the conquerors were seriously resolved to remove from the country, all who refused to become subjects, an additional number of about thirty citizens of South Carolina, who remained prisoners on parole, were sent off to the same place in less than three months. General Rutherford and Colonel Isaacs, both of North Carolina, who had been lately taken near Camden, were associated with them.

To compel the re-establishment of British government, Lord Cornwallis, in about four weeks after his victory, [Sept. 16,] issued a proclamation for the sequestration of all estates belonging to the active friends of independence. By this he constituted "John Cruden, commissioner, with full

power and authority, on the receipt of an order or warrant, to take into his possession the estates, both real and personal, (not included in the capitulation of Charleston,) of those in the service or acting under the authority of the rebel Congress, and also the estates, both real and personal, of those persons who, by an open avowal of rebellious principles, or by other notorious acts, manifested a wicked and desperate perseverance in opposing the re-establishment of his majesty's just and lawful authority;" and it was farther declared, "that any person or persons obstructing or impeding the said commissioner in the execution of his duty, by the concealment or removal of property or otherwise, should on conviction be punished as aiding and abetting rebellion."

An adherent to independence was now considered as one who courted exile, poverty and ruin. Many yielded to the temptation, and became British subjects. The mischievous effects of slavery, in facilitating the conquest of the country, now became apparent. As the slaves had no interest at stake, the subjugation of the state was a matter of no consequence to them. Instead of aiding in its defence, they, by a variety of means, threw the weight of their little influence into the opposite scale.

Though numbers broke through all the ties which bound them to support the cause of America, illustrious sacrifices were made at the shrine of liberty. Several of the richest men in the state suffered their fortunes to remain in the power and possession of their conquerors, rather than stain their honour by joining the enemies of their country. The patriotism of the ladies contributed much to this firmness. They crowded on board prison ships, and other places of confinement, to solace their suffering countrymen. While the conquerors were regaling themselves at concerts and assemblies, they could obtain very few of the fair sex to associate with them; but no sooner was an American officer introduced as a prisoner, than his company was sought for, and his person treated with every possible mark of attention and respect. On other occasions, the ladies, in a great measure, retired from the public eye, wept over the distresses of their country, and gave every proof of the warmest attachment to its suffering cause. Among the numbers who were banished from their families, and whose property was seized by the conquerors, many examples could be produced of ladies cheerfully parting with their sons, husbands and brothers, exhorting them to fortitude and perseverance, and repeatedly entreating them never to suffer family attachments to interfere with the duty they owed to their country. When, in the progress of the war, they were also comprehended under a general sentence of banishment, with equal resolution they parted with their native country, and the many endearments of home—followed their husbands into prison-ships and distant lands, where they were reduced to the necessity of receiving charity.

Animated by such examples, as well as by a high sense of honour and the love of their country, a great proportion of the gentlemen of South Carolina deliberately adhered to their first resolution, of risking life and fortune in support of their liberties. Hitherto the royal forces in South Carolina had been attended with almost uninterrupted success. Their standards overspread the country, penetrated into every quarter, and triumphed over all opposition.

The British ministry, by this flattering posture of affairs, were once more intoxicated with the hope of subjugating America. New plans were formed, and great expectations indulged, of speedily re-uniting the dis-severed members of the empire. It was now asserted, with a confidence bordering on presumption, that such troops as fought at Camden, put under such a commander as Lord Cornwallis, would soon extirpate rebellion so effectually as to leave no vestige of it in America. The British ministry and army, by an impious confidence in their own wisdom and prowess, were duly prepared to give, in their approaching downfall, a useful lesson to the world.

The disaster of the army under General Gates overspread at first the face of American affairs with a dismal gloom; but the day of prosperity to the United States began, as will appear in the sequel, from that moment to dawn. Their prospects brightened up, while those of their enemies were obscured by disgrace, broken by defeat, and at last covered with ruin. Elated with their victories, the conquerors grew more insolent and rapacious, while the real friends of independence became resolute and determined.

We have seen Sumter penetrating into South Carolina, and recommencing a military opposition to British government. Soon after that event, he was promoted by Governor Rutledge to the rank of brigadier-general. About the same time Marion was promoted to the same rank, and in the north-eastern extremities of the state successfully prosecuted a similar plan. This valuable officer, after the surrender of Charleston, retreated to North Carolina. On the advance of General Gates, he obtained a command of sixteen men. With these he penetrated through the country, and took a position near the Santee. On the defeat of General Gates, he was compelled to abandon the state, but returned after an absence of a few days. For several weeks he had under his command only seventy men. At one time hardships and dangers reduced that number to twenty-five; yet with this inconsiderable number he secured himself in the midst of surrounding foes. Various schemes were tried to detach the inhabitants from co-operating with him. Major Wemys turned scores of houses on Pedee, Lynch's creek and Black river, belonging to such as were supposed to do duty with Marion, or to be subservient to his views. This had an effect different from what was intended. Revenge



GENERAL MARION.

and despair co-operated with patriotism to make these ruined men keep the field. Having no houses to shelter them, the camps of their countrymen became their homes. For several months Marion and his party were obliged to sleep in the open air, and to shelter themselves in the recesses of deep swamps. From these retreats they sallied out whenever an opportunity of harassing the enemy, or of serving their country, presented itself.



POSITION to British government was not wholly confined to the parties commanded by Sumter and Marion. It was at no time altogether extinct in the extremities of the state. The disposition to revolt, which had been excited on the approach of General Gates, was not extinguished by his defeat. The spirit of the people was overawed, but not subdued. The severity with which revolvers who fell into the hands of the British were treated, induced those who escaped to persevere and seek safety in swamps.

From the time of the general submission of the inhabitants in 1780, pains had been taken to increase the royal force by the co-operation of the

yeomanry of the country. The British persuaded the people to form a royal militia, by representing that every prospect of succeeding in their scheme of independence was annihilated, and that a farther opposition would only be a prolongation of their distresses, if not their utter ruin. Major Ferguson, of the seventy-first regiment, was particularly active in this business. He visited the settlements of the disaffected to the American cause, and collected a corps of militia of that description, from which much active service was expected. He advanced to the north-western settlements, to hold communication with the loyalists of both Carolinas. From his presence, together with assurances of an early movement of the royal army into North Carolina, it was hoped that the friends of royal government would be roused to activity in the service of their king. In the mean time every preparation was made for urging offensive operations, as soon as the season and the state of the stores would permit.

That spirit of enterprise, which has already been mentioned as beginning to revive among the American militia about this time, prompted Colonel Clarke to make an attempt on the British post at Augusta in Georgia; but in this he failed and was obliged to retreat. Major Ferguson, with the hope of intercepting his party, kept near the mountains and at a considerable distance from support. These circumstances, together with the depredations of the loyalists, induced the hardy republicans, on the west side of the Alleghany mountains, to form an enterprise for reducing that distinguished partisan. This was done of their own motion, without any direction from the governments of America, or from the officers of the continental army.

There was, without any apparent design, a powerful combination of several detached commanders of several adjacent states, with their respective commands of militia. Colonel Campbell of Virginia, Colonels Cleveland, Shelby, Sevier, and McDowel, of North Carolina, together with Colonels Lacey, Hawthorn and Hill, of South Carolina, all rendezvoused together, with a number of men amounting to one thousand six hundred, though they were under no general command, and though they were not called upon to embody by any common authority, or indeed by any authority at all, but that of a general impulse on their own minds. They had so little of the mechanism of a regular army, that the colonels of some of the states by common consent, commanded each day alternately. The hardships these volunteers underwent were very great. Some of them subsisted for weeks together, without tasting bread or salt, or spirituous liquors, and slept in the woods without blankets. The running stream quenched their thirst. At night the earth afforded them a bed, and the heavens, or at most the limbs of trees, were their only covering. Ears of corn or pumpions thrown into the fire, with occasional supplies of beef or venison, killed and roasted in the woods, were the chief articles of their provisions.

They had neither commissaries, quarter-masters, nor stores of any kind. They selected about a thousand of their best men, and mounted them on their fleetest horses. [Oct. 7.] These attacked Major Ferguson on the top of King's mountain, near the confines of North and South Carolina. The Americans formed three parties. Colonel Lacey of South Carolina led one, which attacked on the west end. The two others were commanded by Colonels Campbell and Cleveland, one of which attacked on the east end, and the other in the centre. Ferguson with great boldness attacked the assailants with fixed bayonets, and compelled them successively to retire, but they only fell back a little way, and, getting behind trees and rocks, renewed their fire in almost every direction. The British being uncovered, were aimed at by the American marksmen, and many of them were slain. An unusual number of the killed were found to have been shot in the head. Riflemen took off riflemen with such exactness, that they killed each other when taking sight, so effectually that their eyes remained after they were dead, one shut and the other open, in the usual manner of marksmen when levelling at their object. Major Ferguson displayed as much bravery as was possible in his situation: but his encampment on the top of the mountain was not well chosen, as it gave the Americans an opportunity of covering themselves in their approaches. Had he pursued his march on charging and driving the first party of the militia which gave way, he might have got off with the most of his men, but his unconquerable spirit disdained either to flee or to surrender. After a severe conflict he received a mortal wound. No chance of escape being left, and all prospect of successful resistance being at an end, the contest was ended by the submission of the survivors. Upwards of eight hundred became prisoners, and two hundred and twenty-five had been previously killed or wounded. Very few of the assailants fell, but in their number was Colonel Williams, a distinguished militia officer in Ninety-six district, who had been very active in opposing the re-establishment of British government. Ten of the royal militia who had surrendered were hanged by their conquerors. They were provoked to this measure by the severity of the British, who had lately hanged several of the captured Americans, in South Carolina and Georgia. They also alleged that the men who suffered were guilty of previous felonies, for which their lives were forfeited by the laws of the land. The fall of Ferguson was in itself a great loss to the royal cause. He possessed superior abilities as a partisan, and his spirit of enterprise was uncommon. To a distinguished capacity for planning great designs, he also added the practical abilities necessary to carry them into execution. The unexpected advantage which the Americans gained over him and his party, in a great degree frustrated a well concerted scheme for strengthening the British army by the co-operation of the Tory inhabitants, whom he had undertaken to discipline and



LORD CORNWALLIS.

prepare for active service. The total rout of the party, which had joined Major Ferguson, operated as a check on the future exertions of the loyalists. The same timid caution, which made them averse to joining their countrymen in opposing the claims of Great Britain, restrained them from risking any more in support of the royal cause. Henceforward they waited to see how the scales were likely to incline, and reserved themselves till the British army, by its own unassisted efforts, should gain a decided superiority.

In a few weeks after the general action near Camden, Lord Cornwallis left a small force in that village, and marched with the main army towards Salisbury, intending to push forwards in that direction. While on his way thither, the North Carolina militia was very industrious and successful in

annoying his detachments. Riflemen frequently penetrated near his camp, and from behind trees made sure of their objects. The late conquerors found their situation very uneasy, being exposed to unseen dangers if they attempted to make an excursion of only a few hundred yards from their main body. The defeat of Major Ferguson, added to these circumstances, gave a serious alarm to Lord Cornwallis, and he soon after retreated to Winnsborough. As he retired, the militia took several of his wagons, and single men often rode up within gunshot of his army, discharged their pieces, and made their escape. The panic occasioned by the defeat of General Gates had in a great measure worn off. The defeat of Major Ferguson, and the consequent retreat of Lord Cornwallis, encouraged the American militia to take the field, and the necessity of the times induced them to submit to stricter discipline. Sumter, soon after the dispersion of his corps on the 18th of August, collected a band of volunteers, partly from new adventurers, and partly from those who had escaped on that day. With these, though for three months there was no continental army in the state, he constantly kept the field in support of American independence. He varied his position from time to time about Evoree, Broad and Tyger rivers, and had frequent skirmishes with his adversaries. Having mounted his followers, he infested the British parties with frequent incursions—beating up their quarters—intercepted their convoys, and so harassed them with successive alarms, that their movements could not be made but with caution and difficulty. His spirit of enterprise was so particularly injurious to the British, that they laid sundry plans for destroying his force, but they failed in the execution. [Nov. 12.] He was attacked at Broad River by Major Wemys, commanding a corps of infantry and dragoons. In this action the British were defeated, and their commanding officer taken prisoner. Eight days after he was attacked at Black Stocks, near Tyger river, by Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton. The attack was begun with one hundred and seventy dragoons and eighty men of the sixty-third regiment. A considerable part of Sumter's force had been thrown into a large log barn, from the apertures of which they fired with security. Many of the sixty-third regiment were killed. Tarleton charged with his cavalry, but, being unable to dislodge the Americans, retreated, and Sumter was left in quiet possession of the field. The loss of the British in this action was considerable. Among their killed were three officers, Major Money, Lieutenant Gibson and Cope. The Americans lost very few, but General Sumter received a wound, which for several months interrupted his gallant enterprises in behalf of his country. His zeal and activity in animating the militia, when they were discouraged by repeated defeats, and the bravery and good conduct he displayed in sundry attacks on the British detachments, procured him the applause of his countrymen, and the thanks of Congress

For the three months which followed the defeat of the American army near Camden, General Gates was industriously preparing to take the field. [November.] Having collected a force at Hillsborough, he advanced to Salisbury, and very soon after to Charlotte. He had done every thing in his power to repair the injuries of his defeat, and was again in a condition to face the enemy; but from that influence which popular opinion has over public affairs in a commonwealth, Congress resolved to supercede him, and to order a court of inquiry to be held on his conduct. This was founded on a former resolve, that whoever lost a post should be subject to a court of inquiry. The cases were noways parallel; he had lost a battle but not a post. The only charge that could be exhibited against General Gates was, that he had been defeated. His enemies could accuse him of no military crime, unless that to be unsuccessful might be reckoned so. The public, sore with their losses, were desirous of a change, and Congress found it necessary to gratify them, though at the expense of the feelings of one of their best, and till August, 1780, one of their most successful officers. Virginia did not so soon forget Saratoga. [December 28.] When General Gates was at Richmond, on his way home from Carolina, the House of Burgesses of that state unanimously resolved "that a committee of four be appointed to wait on General Gates, and assure him of their high regard and esteem, and that the remembrance of his former glorious services could not be obliterated by any reverse of fortune; but that ever mindful of his great merit, they would omit no opportunity of testifying to the world the gratitude which the country owed to him in his military character."

These events, together with a few unimportant skirmishes not worthy of being particularly mentioned, closed the campaign of 1780, in the southern states. They afforded ample evidence of the folly of prosecuting the American war. Though British conquests had rapidly succeeded each other, yet no advantages accrued to the victors. The minds of the people were unsubdued, or rather more alienated from every idea of returning to their former allegiance. Such was their temper, that the expense of retaining them in subjection would have exceeded all the profits of the conquest. British garrisons kept down open resistance in the vicinity of the places where they were established, but as soon as they were withdrawn, and the people left to themselves, a spirit of revolt hostile to Great Britain always displayed itself, and the standard of independence, whensoever it was prudently raised, never wanted followers from the active and spirited part of the community.



CAPTURE OF ANDRE.

CAMPAIGN OF 1780, IN THE NORTHERN STATES.



WHILE the war raged in South Carolina, the campaign of 1780, in the northern states, was barren of important events. At the close of the preceding campaign, the American northern army took post at Morristown, and built themselves huts, agreeably to the practice which had been first introduced at Valley Forge. This position was well calculated to cover the country from the excursions of the British, being only twenty miles from New York.

In January, Lord Stirling made an effectual attempt to surprise a party of the enemy on Staten Island. While he was on the island, a number of persons from the Jersey side passed over and plundered the inhabitants who had submitted to the British government. In these times of confusion, licentious persons fixed themselves near the lines which divided the British from the Americans. Whenever an opportunity offered, they were in the habit of going within the settlements of the opposite party, and, under the pretence of distressing their enemies, committed the most

shameful depredations. In the first months of the year 1780, while the royal army was weakened by the expedition against Charleston, the British were apprehensive for their safety in New York. The rare circumstance which then existed, of a connection between the main and York Island, by means of ice, seemed to invite to the enterprise, but the force and equipments of the American army were unequal to it. Lieutenant-general Knyphausen, who then commanded in New York, apprehending such a design, embodied the inhabitants of the city as a militia for its defence. They very cheerfully formed themselves into companies, and discovered great zeal in the service.

In June, an incursion was made into Jersey from New York, with five thousand men, commanded by Lieutenant-general Knyphausen. They landed at Elizabethtown, and proceeded to Connecticut Farms. In this neighbourhood lived the Rev. Mr. James Caldwell, a Presbyterian clergyman, of great activity, ability, and influence, whose successful exertions in animating the Jersey militia to defend their rights, had rendered him particularly obnoxious to the British. When the royal forces were on their way into the country, a soldier came to his house, in his absence, and shot his wife, Mrs. Caldwell, instantly dead, by levelling his piece directly at her through the window of the room in which she was sitting with her children. Her body, at the request of an officer of the new levies, was moved to some distance, and then the house and every thing in it was reduced to ashes. The British burnt about twelve other houses, and also the Presbyterian church, and then proceeded to Springfield. As they advanced they were annoyed by Colonel Dayton with a few militia. On their approach to the bridge near the town, they were farther opposed by General Maxwell, who, with a few continental troops, was prepared to dispute its passage. They made a halt, and soon after returned to Elizabethtown. - Before they had retreated, the whole American army at Morristown marched to oppose them. While this royal detachment was in Jersey, Sir Henry Clinton returned with his victorious troops from Charleston to New York. He ordered a reinforcement to Knyphausen, and the whole advanced a second time towards Springfield. They were now opposed by General Greene, with a considerable body of continental troops. Colonel Angel, with his regiment and a piece of artillery, was posted to secure the bridge in front of the town. A severe action took place which lasted forty minutes. Superior numbers forced the Americans to retire. General Greene took post with his troops on a range of hills, in hopes of being attacked. Instead of this, the British began to burn the town. Near fifty dwelling-houses were reduced to ashes. The British then retreated, but were pursued by the enraged militia, till they entered Elizabethtown. The next day they set out on their return to New York. The loss of the Americans in the action was about eighty, and that of the



GENERAL GREENE.

British was supposed to be considerably more. It is difficult to tell what was the precise object of this expedition. Perhaps the royal commanders hoped to get possession of Morristown, and to destroy the American stores. Perhaps they flattered themselves that the inhabitants were so dispirited by the recent loss of Charleston, that they would submit without resistance; and that the soldiers of the continental army would desert to them: but if these were their views, they were disappointed in both. The firm opposition which was made by the Jersey farmers, contrasted with the conduct of the same people in the year 1776, made it evident that not only their aversion to Great Britain continued in full force, but that the practical habits of service and danger had improved the country militia, so as to bring them near to an equality with regular troops.

By such desultory operations were hostilities carried on at this time in the northern states. Individuals were killed, houses were burnt, and much mischief done; but nothing was effected which tended either to reconciliation or subjugation.

The loyal Americans who had fled within the British lines, commonly called refugees, reduced a predatory war into system. On their petition

to Sir Henry Clinton, they had been, in the year 1779, permitted to set up a distinct government in New York, under a jurisdiction called the honourable board of associated loyalists. They had something like a fleet of small privateers and cruisers, by the aid of which they committed various depredations. A party of them who had formerly belonged to Massachusetts, went to Nantucket, broke open the warehouses, and carried off every thing that fell in their way. They also carried off two loaded brigs, and two or three schooners. In a proclamation they left behind them, they observed, "that they had been deprived of their property, and compelled to abandon their dwellings, friends and connections; and that they conceived themselves warranted, by the laws of God and man, to wage war against their persecutors, and to endeavour, by every means in their power, to obtain compensation for their sufferings." These associated loyalists eagerly embraced every adventure, which gratified either their avarice or their revenge. Their enterprises were highly lucrative to themselves, and extremely distressing to the Americans. Their knowledge of the country and superior means of transportation enabled them to make hasty descents and successful enterprises. A war of plunder, in which the feelings of humanity were often suspended, and which tended to no valuable public purpose, was carried on in this shameful manner, from the double excitements of profit and revenge. The adjoining coasts of the continent, and especially the maritime parts of New Jersey, became scenes of waste and havoc.

The distress which the Americans suffered from the diminished value of their currency, though felt in the year 1778, and still more so in the year 1779, did not arrive to its highest pitch till the year 1780. Under the pressure of sufferings from this cause, the officers of the Jersey line addressed a memorial to their state legislature, setting forth, "that four months' pay of a private would not procure for his family a single bushel of wheat; that the pay of a colonel would not purchase oats for his horse; that a common labourer or express-rider received four times as much as an American officer." They urged, "that unless a speedy and ample remedy was provided, the total dissolution of their line was inevitable," and concluded with saying, "that their pay should either be made up in Mexican dollars, or in something equivalent." In addition to the insufficiency of their pay and support, other causes of discontent prevailed. The original idea of a continental army, to be raised, paid, subsisted and regulated upon an equal and uniform principle, had been in a great measure exchanged for state establishments. This mischievous measure partly originated from necessity, for state credit was not quite so much depreciated as continental. Congress not possessing the means of supporting their army, devolved the business on the component parts of the confederacy. Some states, from their internal ability and local advantages, fur-

nished their troops not only with clothing, but with many conveniencies. Others supplied them with some necessaries, but on a more contracted scale. A few, from their particular situation, could do little or nothing at all. The officers and men in the routine of duty, mixed daily and compared circumstances. Those who fared worse than others, were dissatisfied with a service which made such injurious distinctions. From causes of this kind, superadded to a complication of wants and sufferings, a disposition to mutiny began to show itself in the American army. This broke forth into full action among the soldiers which were stationed at Fort Schuyler. Thirty-one of the men of that garrison went off in a body. Being pursued, sixteen of them were overtaken, and thirteen of the sixteen were instantly killed. About the same time, two regiments of Connecticut troops mutinied and got under arms. They determined to return home, or to gain subsistence at the point of the bayonet. Their officers reasoned with them, and urged every argument that could either interest their pride or their passions. They were reminded of their good conduct, of the important objects for which they were contending, but their answer was, "our sufferings are too great, and we want present relief." After much expostulation, they were at length prevailed upon to go to their huts. It is remarkable, that this mutinous disposition of the Connecticut troops was in a great measure quelled by the Pennsylvania line, which in a few months, as shall hereafter be related, planned and executed a much more serious revolt than that which they now suppressed. While the army was in this feverish state of discontent from their accumulated distresses, a printed paper, addressed to the soldiers of the continental army was circulated in the American camp. This was in the following words: "The time is at length arrived, when all the artifices and falsehoods of the Congress and of your commanders can no longer conceal from you the miseries of your situation. You are neither fed, clothed, nor paid. Your numbers are wasting away by sickness, famine, and nakedness, and rapidly so by the period of your stipulated services being expired. This is now the period to fly from slavery and fraud."

"I am happy in acquainting the old countrymen that the affairs of Ireland are fully settled, and that Great Britain and Ireland are united as well from interest as from affection. I need not tell you who are born in America, that you have been cheated and abused. You are both sensible that in order to procure your liberty you must quit your leaders and join your real friends, who scorn to impose upon you, and who will receive you with open arms, kindly forgiving all your errors. You are told you are surrounded by a numerous militia. This is also false. Associate then together, make use of your firelocks, and join the British army, where you will be permitted to dispose of yourselves as you please."

About the same time, or rather a little before, the news arrived of the

reduction of Charleston, and the capture of the whole American southern army. Such was the firmness of the common soldiery, and so strong their attachment to the cause of their country, that though danger impelled, want urged, and British favour invited them to a change of sides, yet on the arrival of but a scanty supply of meat for their immediate subsistence, military duty was cheerfully performed, and no uncommon desertion took place.

So great were the necessities of the American army, that General Washington was obliged to call on the magistrates of the adjacent counties for specified quantities of provisions, to be supplied in a given number of days. At other times he was compelled to send out detachments of his troops, to take provisions at the point of the bayonet from the citizens. This expedient at length failed, for the country in the vicinity of the army afforded no further supplies. These impressments were not only injurious to the morals and discipline of the army, but tended to alienate the affections of the people. Much of the support, which the American general had previously experienced from the inhabitants, proceeded from the difference of treatment they received from their own army, compared with what they suffered from the British. The general, whom the inhabitants hitherto regarded as their protector, had now no other alternative but to disband his troops, or to support them by force. The situation of General Washington was eminently embarrassing. The army looked to him for provisions, the inhabitants for protection of their property. To supply the one, and not offend the other, seemed little less than an impossibility. To preserve order and subordination in an army of free republicans, even when well fed, paid and clothed, would have been a work of difficulty; but to retain them in service and restrain them with discipline, when destitute, not only of the comforts, but often of the necessities of life, required address and abilities of such magnitude as are rarely found in human nature. In this choice of difficulties, General Washington not only kept his army together, but conducted with so much discretion, as to command the approbation both of the army and of the citizens.

So great a scarcity, in a country usually abounding with provisions, appears extraordinary, but various remote causes had concurred about this time to produce an unprecedented deficiency. The seasons, both in 1779 and 1780, were unfavourable to the crops. The labours of the husbandmen, who were attached to the cause of independence, had been frequently interrupted by the calls of militia duty. Those who cared for neither side, or who from principles of religion held the unlawfulness of war, or who were secretly attached to the royal interest, had been very deficient in industry. Such sometimes reasoned that all labour on their farms, beyond a bare supply of their own necessities, was unavailing; but the principal cause of the sufferings of the army, was the daily diminishing value of the

continental bills of credit. The farmers found, that the longer they delayed the payment of the taxes, the less quantity of country produce would discharge the stipulated sum. They also observed, that the longer they kept their grain on hand, the more of the paper currency was obtained in exchange for it. This either discouraged them from selling, or made them very tardy in coming to market. Many secreted their provisions and denied their having any, while others, who were contiguous to the British, secretly sold to them for gold or silver. The patriotism which, at the commencement of the war, had led so many to sacrifice property for the good of their country, had in a great degree subsided. Though they still retained their good wishes for the cause, yet these did not carry them so far as to induce a willingness to exchange the hard-earned produce of their farms, for a paper currency of a daily diminishing value. For provisions carried to New York, the farmers received real money, but for what was carried to the Americans, they received only paper. The value of the first was known, of the other daily varying, but in an unceasing progression from bad to worse. Laws were made against this intercourse, but they were executed in the manner laws uniformly have been, in the evasion of which multitudes find an immediate interest.

In addition to these disasters from short crops, and depreciating money, disorder and confusion pervaded the departments for supplying the army. Systems for these purposes had been hastily adopted, and were very inadequate to the end proposed. To provide for an army under the best establishments, and with a full military chest, is a work of difficulty, and, though guarded by the precautions which time and experience have suggested, opens a door to many frauds; but it was the hard case of the Americans to be called on to discharge this duty without sufficient knowledge of the business, and under ill-digested systems, and with a paper currency that was not two days of the same value. Abuses crept in, frauds were practised, and economy was exiled.

To obviate these evils, Congress adopted the expedient of sending a committee of their own body to the camp of their main army. Mr. Schuyler of New York, Mr. Peabody of New Hampshire, and Mr. Mathews of South Carolina, were appointed. They were furnished with ample powers and instructions to reform abuses—to alter preceding systems, and to establish new ones in their room. This committee proceeded to camp in May, 1780, and thence wrote sundry letters to Congress and the states, in which they confirmed the representations previously made of the distresses and disorders everywhere prevalent. In particular they stated, “that the army was unpaid for five months—that it seldom had more than six days’ provision in advance, and was on several occasions for sundry successive days without meat—that the army was destitute of forage—that the medical department had neither sugar, coffee, tea, chocolate, wine nor spiritu-

ous liquors of any kind—that every department of the army was without money, and had not even the shadow of credit left—that the patience of the soldiers, borne down by the pressure of complicated sufferings, was on the point of being exhausted.”

A tide of misfortunes from all quarters was at this time pouring in upon the United States. There appeared not, however, in their public bodies, the smallest disposition to purchase safety by concessions of any sort. They seemed to rise in the midst of their distresses, and to gain strength from the pressure of calamities. When Congress could neither command money nor credit for the subsistence of their army, the citizens of Philadelphia formed an association to procure a supply of necessary articles for their suffering soldiers. The sum of three hundred thousand dollars was subscribed in a few days, under the direction of the patriotic merchant, Robert Morris, and converted into a bank, the principal design of which was to purchase provisions for the troops, in the most prompt and efficacious manner. The advantages of this institution were great, and particularly enhanced by the critical time in which it was instituted. The loss of Charleston, and the subsequent British victories in Carolina, produced effects directly the reverse of what were expected. It being the deliberate resolution of the Americans never to return to the government of Great Britain, such unfavourable events as threatened the subversion of independence operated as incentives to their exertions. The patriotic flame which had blazed forth in the beginning of the war was re-kindled. A willingness to do, and to suffer, in the cause of American liberty, was revived in the breasts of many. These dispositions were invigorated by private assurances, that his most Christian majesty would, in the course of the campaign, send a powerful armament to their aid. To excite the states to be in readiness for this event, Congress circulated among them an address of which the following is a part:—“The crisis calls for exertion. Much is to be done in a little time, and every motive that can stimulate the mind of man presents itself to view. No period has occurred in this long and glorious struggle, in which indecision would be so destructive on the one hand, and on the other, no conjuncture has been more favourable to great and deciding efforts.”

The powers of the committee of Congress in the American camp were enlarged so far as to authorize them to frame and execute such plans as, in their opinion, would most effectually draw forth the resources of the country, in co-operating with the armament expected from France. In this character they wrote sundry letters to the states, stimulating them to vigorous exertions. It was agreed to make arrangements for bringing into the field thirty-five thousand effective men, and to call on the states for specific supplies of every thing necessary for their support. To obtain the men, it was proposed to complete the regular regiments by drafts from the militia,

and to make up what they fell short of thirty-five thousand effectives, by calling forth more of the militia. Every motive concurred to rouse the activity of the inhabitants. The states, nearly exhausted with the war, ardently wished for its determination. An opportunity now offered for striking a decisive blow, that might at once, as they supposed, rid the country of its distresses. The only thing required on the part of the United States, was to bring into the field thirty-five thousand men, and to make effectual arrangements for their support. The tardiness of deliberation in Congress was in a great measure done away, by the full powers given to their committee in camp. Accurate estimates were made of every article of supply necessary for the ensuing campaign. These, and also the numbers of men wanted, were quotaed on the ten northern states in proportion to their abilities and numbers. In conformity to these requisitions, vigorous resolutions were adopted for carrying them into effect. Where voluntary enlistments fell short of the proposed number, the deficiencies were, by the laws of several states, to be made up by drafts or lots from the militia. The towns in New England, and the counties in the middle states, were respectively called on for a specified number of men. Such was the zeal of the people in New England, that neighbours would often club together, to engage one of their number to go into the army. Being without money, in conformity to the practice usual in the early stages of society, they paid for military duty with cattle. Twenty head were frequently given as a reward for eighteen months' service. Maryland directed her lieutenants of counties to class all the property in their respective counties, into as many equal classes as there were men wanted, and each class was, by law, obliged, within ten days thereafter, to furnish an able-bodied recruit to serve during the war; and in case of their neglecting or refusing so to do, the county lieutenants were authorized to procure men at their expense, at any rate not exceeding fifteen pounds in every hundred pounds' worth of property, classed agreeably to the law. Virginia also classed her citizens, and called upon the respective classes for every fifteenth man for public service. Pennsylvania concentrated the requisite power in her president, Joseph Reed, and authorized him to draw forth the resources of the state, under certain limitations, and, if necessary, to declare martial law over the state. The legislative part of these complicated arrangements was speedily passed, but the execution, though uncommonly vigorous, lagged far behind. Few occasions could occur in which it might be so fairly tried, to what extent, in conducting a war, a variety of wills might be brought to act in unison. The result of the experiment was, that however favourable republics may be to the liberty and happiness of the people in the time of peace, they will be greatly deficient in that vigour and despatch, which military operations require,

unless they imitate the policy of monarchies, by committing the executive departments of government to the direction of a single will.

While these preparations were making in America, the armament which had been promised by his most Christian majesty was on its way. As soon as it was known in France, that a resolution was adopted to send out troops to the United States, the young French nobility discovered the greatest zeal to be employed on that service. Court favour was scarcely ever solicited with more earnestness, than was the honour of serving under General Washington. The number of applicants was much greater than the service required. The disposition to support the American revolution was not only prevalent in the court of France, but it animated the whole body of the nation. The winds and waves did not second the ardent wishes of the French troops. Though they sailed from France on the 1st of May, 1780, they did not reach a port in the United States till the 10th of July following. On that day, to the great joy of the Americans, M. de Ternay arrived at Rhode Island, with a squadron of seven sail of the line, five frigates, and five smaller armed vessels. He likewise conveyed a fleet of transports with four old French regiments, besides the legion de Lauzun, and a battalion of artillery, amounting in the whole to six thousand men, all under the command of Lieutenant-general Count de Rochambeau. To the French, as soon as they landed, possession was given of the forts and batteries on the island, and by their exertions they were soon put in a high state of defence. In a few days after their arrival, an address of congratulation from the general Assembly of the State of Rhode Island, was presented to Count de Rochambeau, in which they expressed "their most grateful sense of the magnanimous aid afforded to the United States, by their illustrious friend and ally, the monarch of France, and also gave assurances of every exertion in their power for the supply of the French forces, with all manner of refreshments and necessities for rendering the service happy and agreeable." Rochambeau declared in his answer, "that he only brought over the vanguard of a much greater force which was destined for their aid; that he was ordered by the king, his master, to assure them that his whole power should be exerted for their support." "The French troops," he said, "were under the strictest discipline, and acting under the orders of General Washington, would live with the Americans as brethren. He returned their compliments by an assurance, that as brethren, not only his own life, but the lives of all those under his command were devoted to their service."

General Washington recommended in public orders to the American officers, as a symbol of friendship and affection for their allies, to wear black and white cockades, the ground to be of the first colour, and the relief of the second.

The French troops, united both in interest and affection with the Americans, ardently longed for an opportunity to co-operate with them against the common enemy. The continental army wished for the same with equal ardour. One circumstance alone seemed unfavourable to this spirit of enterprise. This was the deficient clothing of the Americans. Some whole lines, officers as well as men, were shabby, and a great proportion of the privates were without shirts. Such troops, brought alongside even of allies fully clad in the elegance of uniformity, must have been more or less than men to feel no degradation on the contrast.

Admiral Arbuthnot had only four sail of the line at New York, when M. de Ternay arrived at Rhode Island. This inferiority was in three days reversed, by the arrival of Admiral Greaves with six sail of the line. The British admiral, having now a superiority, proceeded to Rhode Island. He soon discovered that the French were perfectly secure from any attack by sea. Sir Henry Clinton, who had returned in the preceding month with his victorious troops from Charleston, embarked about eight thousand of his best men, and proceeded as far as Huntingdon Bay, on Long Island, with the apparent design of concurring with the British fleet in attacking the French force at Rhode Island. When this movement took place, General Washington set his army in motion, and proceeded to Peekskill. Had Sir Henry Clinton prosecuted what appeared to be his design, General Washington intended to have attacked New York in his absence. Preparations were made for this purpose, but Sir Henry Clinton instantly turned about from Huntingdon Bay towards New York.

In the mean time, the French fleet and army being blocked up at Rhode Island, were incapacitated from co-operating with the Americans. Hopes were, nevertheless, indulged, that by the arrival of another fleet of his most Christian majesty then in the West Indies, under the command of Count de Gruichen, the superiority would be so much in favour of the allies, as to enable them to prosecute their original intention, of attacking New York. When the expectations of the Americans were raised to the highest pitch, and when they were in great forwardness of preparation to act in concert with their allies, intelligence arrived that Count de Gruichen had sailed for France. This disappointment was extremely mortifying. The Americans had made uncommon exertions, on the idea of receiving such aid from their allies as would enable them to lay effectual siege to New York, or to strike some decisive blow. Their towering expectations were in a moment levelled with the dust. Another campaign was anticipated, and new shades were added to the deep cloud, which for some time past had overshadowed American affairs.

The campaign of 1780 passed away in the northern states, as has been related, in successive disappointments and reiterated distresses. The



GENERAL ARNOLD.

country was exhausted, the continental currency expiring. The army, for want of subsistence, kept inactive, and brooding over its calamities. While these disasters were openly menacing the ruin of the American cause, treachery was silently undermining it. A distinguished officer engaged, for a stipulated sum of money, to betray into the hands of the British an important post committed to his care. General Arnold, who committed this foul crime, was a native of Connecticut. That state, remarkable for the purity of its morals, for its republican principles and patriotism, was the birth-place of a man, to whom none of the other states have produced an equal. He had been among the first to take up arms against Great Britain, and to widen the breach between the parent state and the colonies. His distinguished military talents had procured him every honour a grateful country could bestow. Poets and painters had marked

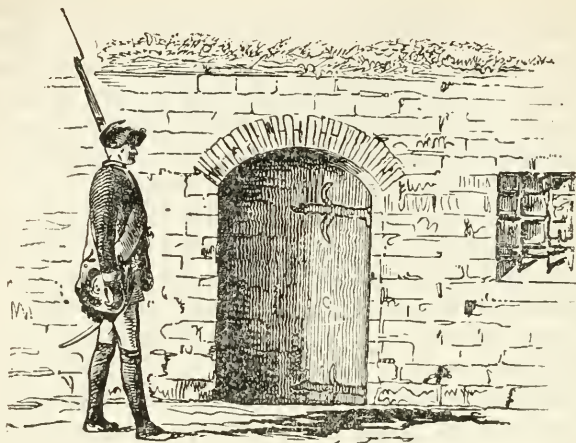
him as a suitable subject for the display of their respective abilities. He possessed an elevated seat in the hearts of his countrymen, and was in the full enjoyment of a substantial fame, for the purchase of which the wealth of worlds would have been insufficient. His country had not only loaded him with honours, but forgiven him his crimes. Though in his accounts against the states, there was much room to suspect fraud and imposition, yet the recollection of his gallantry and good conduct, in a great measure, served as a cloak to cover the whole. He who had been prodigal of life in his country's cause, was indulged in extraordinary demands for his services. The generosity of the states did not keep pace with the extravagance of their favourite officer. A sumptuous table and expensive equipage, unsupported by the resources of private fortune, unguarded by the virtues of economy and good management, soon increased his debts beyond a possibility of his discharging them. His love of pleasure produced the love of money, and that extinguished all sensibility to the obligations of honour and duty. The calls of luxury were various and pressing, and demanded gratification, though at the expense of fame and country. Contracts were made, speculations entered into, and partnerships instituted which could not bear investigation. Oppression, extortion, misapplication of public money and property, furnished him with the farther means of gratifying his favourite passions. In these circumstances, a change of sides afforded the only hope of evading a scrutiny, and, at the same time, held out a prospect of replenishing his exhausted coffers. The disposition of the American forces in the year 1780, afforded an opportunity of accomplishing this so much to the advantage of the British, that they could well afford a liberal reward for the beneficial treachery. The American army was stationed in the strongholds of the highlands on both sides of the North River. In this arrangement, Arnold solicited for the command of West Point. This has been termed the Gibraltar of America. It was built after the loss of Fort Montgomery, for the defence of the North River, and was deemed the most proper for commanding its navigation. Rocky ridges, rising one behind another, rendered it incapable of being invested by less than twenty thousand men. Though some, even then, entertained doubts of Arnold's fidelity, yet, General Washington, in the unsuspecting spirit of a soldier, believing it to be impossible that honour should be wanting in a breast which he knew was the seat of valour, cheerfully granted his request, and intrusted him with the important post. General Arnold, thus invested with command, carried on a negotiation with Sir Henry Clinton, by which it was agreed that the former should make a disposition of his forces, which would enable the latter to surprise West Point under such circumstances, that he would have the garrison so completely in his power, that the troops must either lay down their arms or be cut to pieces. The object of this negotiation was the

strongest post of the Americans, the thoroughfare of communication between the eastern and southern states, and was the repository of their most valuable stores. The loss of it would have been severely felt.

The agent employed in this negotiation on the part of Sir Henry Clinton, was Major Andre, adjutant-general of the British army, a young officer of great hopes and of uncommon merit. Nature had bestowed on him an elegant taste for literature and the fine arts, which by industrious cultivation he had greatly improved. He possessed many amiable qualities, and very great accomplishments. His fidelity, together with his place and character, eminently fitted him for this business; but his high ideas of candour, and his abhorrence of duplicity, made him inexpert in practising those arts of deception which it required. To favour the necessary communications, the Vulture sloop-of-war had been previously stationed in the North River, as near to Arnold's posts as was practicable, without exciting suspicion. Before this a written correspondence between Arnold and Andre had been for some time carried on, under the fictitious names of Gustavus and Anderson. [Sept. 21.] A boat was sent at night from the shore to fetch Major Andre. On its return, Arnold met him at the beach, without the posts of either army. Their business was not finished till it was too near the dawn of day for Andre to return to the Vulture. Arnold told him he must be concealed till the next night. For that purpose, he was conducted within one of the American posts, against his previous stipulation and knowledge, and continued with Arnold the following day. The boatmen refused to carry him back the next night, as the Vulture, from being exposed to the fire of some cannon brought up to annoy her, had changed her position. Andre's return to New York by land was then the only practicable mode of escape. To favour this he quitted his uniform, which he had hitherto worn under a surtout, for a common coat, and was furnished with a horse, and under the name of John Anderson, with a passport "to go to the lines of White Plains, or lower if he thought proper, he being on public business." He advanced alone and undisturbed a great part of the way. When he thought himself almost out of danger, he was stopped by three of the New York militia, who were with others scouting between the outposts of the two armies. Major Andre, instead of producing his pass, asked the man who stopped him "where he belonged to," who answered "to below," meaning New York. He replied "so do I," and declared himself a British officer, and pressed that he might not be detained. He soon discovered his mistake. His captors proceeded to search him: sundry papers were found in his possession. These were secreted in his boots, and were in Arnold's handwriting. They contained exact returns of the state of the forces, ordnance and defences at West Point, with the artillery orders, critical remarks on the works, &c.

Andre offered his captors a purse of gold and a new valuable watch, if they would let him pass, and permanent provision and future promotion, if they would convey and accompany him to New York. They nobly disdained the proffered bribe, and delivered him a prisoner to Lieutenant-colonel Jameson, who commanded the scouting parties. In testimony of the high sense entertained of the virtuous and patriotic conduct of John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Vert, the captors of Andre, Congress resolved "That each of them receive annually two hundred dollars in specie during life, and that the board of war be directed to procure for each of them a silver medal, on one side of which should be a shield with this inscription, *Fidelity*; and on the other, the following motto, *Vincit Amor Patriæ*: and that the commander-in-chief be requested to present the same, with the thanks of Congress, for their fidelity and the eminent service they had rendered their country." Andre, when delivered to Jameson, continued to call himself by the name of Anderson, and asked leave to send a letter to Arnold, to acquaint him with Anderson's detention. This was inconsiderately granted. Arnold, on the receipt of this letter, abandoned every thing, and went on board the Vulture sloop-of-war. Lieutenant-colonel Jameson forwarded to General Washington all the papers found on Andre, together with a letter giving an account of the whole affair, but the express, by taking a different route from the general, who was returning from a conference at Hartford with Count de Rochambeau, missed him. This caused such a delay as gave Arnold time to effect his escape. The same packet which detailed the particulars of Andre's capture, brought a letter from him, in which he avowed his name and character, and endeavoured to show that he did not come under the description of a spy. The letter was expressed in terms of dignity without insolence, and of apology without meanness. He stated therein, that he held a correspondence with a person under the orders of his general. That his intention went no farther than meeting that person on neutral ground, for the purpose of intelligence, and that, against his stipulation, his intention, and without his knowledge beforehand, he was brought within the American posts, and had to concert his escape from them. Being taken on his return, he was betrayed into the vile condition of an enemy in disguise. His principal request was, that "whatever his fate might be, a decency of treatment might be observed, which would mark, that though unfortunate, he was branded with nothing that was dishonourable, and that he was involuntarily an impostor."

General Washington referred the whole case of Major Andre to the examination and decision of a board, consisting of fourteen general officers. On his examination, he voluntarily confessed every thing that related to himself, and particularly that he did not come ashore under the protection of a flag. The board did not examine a single witness, but founded their



ANDRE'S PRISON.

report on his own confession. In this they stated the following facts: "That Major Andre came on shore on the night of the 21st of September in a private and secret manner, and that he changed his dress within the American lines, and under a feigned name and disguised habit passed their works, and was taken in a disguised habit when on his way to New York, and when taken, several papers were found in his possession, which contained intelligence for the enemy." From these facts they farther reported it as their opinion, "That Major Andre ought to be considered as a spy, and that agreeably to the laws and usages of nations he ought to suffer death."

Sir Henry Clinton, Lieutenant-general Robertson, and the late American general Arnold, wrote pressing letters to General Washington, to prevent the decision of the board of general officers from being carried into effect. General Arnold in particular urged, that every thing done by Major Andre was done by his particular request, and at a time when he was the acknowledged commanding officer in the department. He contended "that he had a right to transact all these matters, for which, though wrong, Major Andre ought not to suffer." An interview also took place between General Robertson, on the part of the British, and General Greene, on the part of the Americans. Every thing was urged by the former, that ingenuity or humanity could suggest for averting the proposed execution. Greene made a proposition for delivering up Andre for Arnold; but this could not be acceded to by the British, without offending against every principle of policy. Robertson urged "that Andre went on shore under the sanction

of a flag, and that being then in Arnold's power, he was not accountable for his subsequent actions, which were said to be compulsory." To this it was replied, "that he was employed in the execution of measures very foreign from the objects of flags of truce, and such as they were never meant to authorize or countenance, and that Major Andre in the course of his examination had candidly confessed, that it was impossible for him to suppose that he came on shore under the sanction of a flag." As Greene and Robertson differed so widely both in their statement of facts, and the inferences they drew from them, the latter proposed to the former, that the opinions of disinterested gentlemen might be taken on the subject, and proposed Knyphausen and Rochambeau. Robertson also urged that Andre possessed a great share of Sir Henry Clinton's esteem; and that he would be infinitely obliged if he should be spared. He offered that in case Andre was permitted to return with him to New York, any person whatever, that might be named, should be set at liberty. All these arguments and entreaties having failed, Robertson presented a long letter from Arnold, in which he endeavoured to exculpate Andre, by acknowledging himself the author of every part of his conduct, "and particularly insisted on his coming from the Vulture, under a flag which he had sent for that purpose." He declared that if Andre suffered, he should think himself bound in honour to retaliate. He also observed "that forty of the principal inhabitants of South Carolina had justly forfeited their lives, which had hitherto been spared only through the clemency of Sir Henry Clinton, but who could no longer extend his mercy if Major Andre suffered: an event which would probably open a scene of bloodshed, at which humanity must revolt." He entreated Washington by his own honour, and for that of humanity, not to suffer an unjust sentence to touch the life of Andre, but if that warning should be disregarded and Andre suffer, he called heaven and earth to witness, that he alone would be justly answerable for the torrents of blood that might be spilt in consequence."

Every exertion was made by the royal commanders to save Andre, but without effect. It was the general opinion of the American army that his life was forfeited, and that national dignity and sound policy required that the forfeiture should be exacted.

Andre, though superior to the terrors of death, wished to die like a soldier. To obtain this favour, he wrote a letter to General Washington, fraught with sentiments of military dignity. From an adherence to the usages of war, it was not thought proper to grant this request; but his delicacy was saved from the pain of receiving a negative answer. The guard which attended him in his confinement, marched with him to the place of execution. The way over which he passed was crowded on each side by anxious spectators. Their sensibility was strongly impressed by beholding a well-dressed youth, in the bloom of life, of a peculiarly

engaging person, mien and aspect, devoted to immediate execution. Major Andre walked with firmness, composure and dignity, between two officers of his guard, his arm being locked in theirs. Upon seeing the preparations at the fatal spot, he asked with some degree of concern, "Must I die in this manner?" He was told it was unavoidable. He replied, "I am reconciled to my fate, but not to the mode;" but soon subjoined, "It will be but a momentary pang." He ascended the cart with a pleasing countenance, and with a degree of composure which excited the admiration and melted the hearts of all the spectators. He was asked, when the fatal moment was at hand, if he had any thing to say? he answered, "Nothing, but to request that you will witness to the world that I die like a brave man." The succeeding moments closed the affecting scene.

This execution was the subject of severe censures. Barbarity, cruelty and murder, were plentifully charged on the Americans, but the impartial of all nations allowed, that it was warranted by the usages of war. It cannot be condemned, without condemning the maxims of self-preservation, which have uniformly guided the practice of hostile nations. The finer feelings of humanity would have been gratified, by dispensing with the rigid maxims of war in favour of so distinguished an officer, but these feelings must be controlled by a regard for the public safety. Such was the distressed state of the American army, and so abundant were their causes of complaint, that there was much to fear from the contagious nature of treachery. Could it have been reduced to a certainty that there were no more Arnolds in America, perhaps Andre's life might have been spared; but the necessity of discouraging farther plots fixed his fate, and stamped it with the seal of political necessity. If conjectures in the boundless field of possible contingencies were to be indulged, it might be said that it was more consonant to extended humanity to take one life, than by ill-timed lenity to lay a foundation, which probably would occasion not only the loss of many, but endanger the independence of a great country.

Though a regard to the public safety imposed a necessity for inflicting the rigours of martial law, yet the rare worth of this unfortunate officer made his unhappy case the subject of universal regret. Not only among the partizans of royal government, but among the firmest American republicans, the friendly tear of sympathy freely flowed, for the early fall of this amiable young man. Some condemned, others justified, but all regretted the fatal sentence which put a period to his valuable life.

This grand project terminated with no other alteration in respect of the British, than that of their exchanging one of their best officers for the worst man in the American army. Arnold was immediately made a brigadier-general in the service of the king of Great Britain. The failure of the scheme respecting West Point made it necessary for him to dispel the cloud which overshadowed his character by the performance of some signal service for

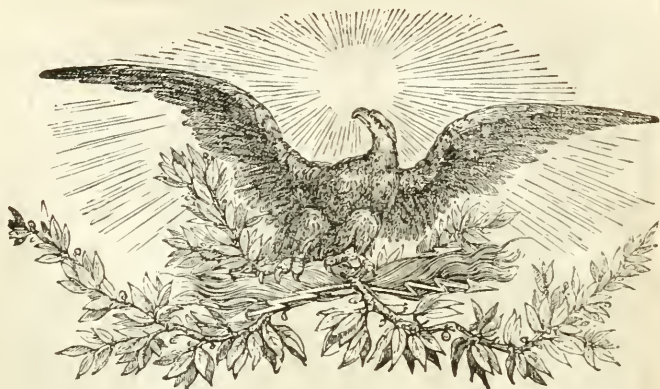
his new masters. The condition of the American army afforded him a prospect of doing something of consequence. He flattered himself that, by the allurements of pay and promotion, he should be able to raise a numerous force from among the distressed American soldiery. He therefore took methods for accomplishing this purpose, by obviating their scruples and working on their passions. His first public measure was issuing an address, directed to the inhabitants of America, dated from New York, five days after Andre's execution. In this he endeavoured to justify himself for deserting their cause. He said, "that when he first engaged in it he conceived the rights of his country to be in danger, and that duty and honour called him to her defence. A redress of grievances was his only aim and object. He however acquiesced in the declaration of independence, although he thought it precipitate. But the reasons that were then offered to justify that measure no longer could exist, when Great Britain, with the open arms of a parent, offered to embrace them as children and to grant the wished-for redress. From the refusal of these proposals, and the ratification of the French alliance, all his ideas of the justice and policy of the war were totally changed, and from that time he had become a professed loyalist." He acknowledged that "in these principles he had only retained his arms and command for an opportunity to surrender them to Great Britain." This address was soon followed by another, inscribed to the officers and soldiers of the continental army. This was intended to induce them to follow his example, and engage in the royal service. He informed them that he was authorized to raise a corps of cavalry and infantry, who were to be on the same footing with the other troops in the British service. To allure the private men, three guineas were offered to each, besides payment for their horses, arms and accoutrements. Rank in the British army was also held out to the American officers, who would recruit and bring in a certain number of men, proportioned to the different grades of military service. These offers were proposed to unpaid soldiers, who were suffering from the want of both food and clothing, and to officers who were in a great degree obliged to support themselves from their own resources, while they were spending the prime of their days, and risking their lives in the unproductive service of Congress. Though they were urged at a time when the paper currency was at its lowest ebb of depreciation, and the wants and distresses of the American army were at their highest pitch, yet they did not produce the intended effect on a single sentinel or officer. Whether the circumstances of Arnold's case added new shades to the crime of desertion, or whether their providential escape from the deep-laid scheme against West Point gave a higher tone to the firmness of the American soldiery, cannot be unfolded : but either from these or some other causes, desertion wholly ceased at this remarkable period of the war.



MAJOR ANDRE.

It is matter of reproach to the United States, that they brought into public view a man of Arnold's character, but it is to the honour of human nature that a great revolution and an eight years' war produced but one. In civil contests, for officers to change sides has not been unusual, but in the various events of the American war, and among the many regular officers it called to the field, nothing occurred that bore any resemblance to the conduct of Arnold. His singular case enforces the policy of conferring high trusts exclusively on men of clean hands, and of withholding all public confidence from those who are subjected to the dominion of pleasure.

A gallant enterprise of Major Talmadge about this time deserves notice. He crossed the sound to Long Island with eighty men, made a circuitous march of twenty miles to Fort George, and reduced it without any other loss than that of one private man wounded. He killed and wounded eight of the enemy, captured a lieutenant-colonel, a captain, and fifty-five privates.



MUTINY IN THE ARMY.



THOUGH General Arnold's address to his countrymen produced no effect in detaching the soldiery of America from the unproductive service of Congress, their steadiness could not be accounted for, from any melioration of their circumstances. They still remained without pay, and without such clothing as the season required. They could not be induced to enter the British service, but their complicated distresses at length broke out into deliberate mutiny. This event, which had been long expected, made its first threatening appearance in the Pennsylvania line. The common soldiers enlisted in that state were for the most part natives of Ireland; but, though not bound to America by the accidental tie of birth, they were inferior to none in discipline, courage, or attachment to the cause of independence. They had been, but a few month's before, the most active instruments in quelling a mutiny of the Connecticut troops, and had on all occasions done their duty to admiration. An ambiguity in the terms of their enlistment furnished a pretext for their conduct. A great part of them were enlisted for three years, or during the war—the three years were expired, and the men insisted that the choice of staying or going remained with them, while the officers contended that the choice was in the state.

The mutiny was excited by the non-commissioned officers and privates, in the night of the 1st of January, 1781, and soon became so universal in the line of that state as to defy all opposition. The whole, except three



GENERAL WAYNE AND THE MUTINEERS.

regiments, upon a signal for the purpose, turned out under arms without their officers, and declared for a redress of grievances. The officers, in vain, endeavoured to quell them. Several were wounded, and a captain was killed in attempting it. General Wayne presented his pistols, as if about to fire on them; they held their bayonets to his breast, and said, "We love and respect you, but if you fire, you are a dead man. We are not going to the enemy; on the contrary, if they were now to come out, you should see us fight under your orders with as much alacrity as ever; but we will be no longer amused, we are determined on obtaining our just due." Deaf to arguments and entreaties, they, to the number of thirteen hundred, moved off in a body from Morristown, and proceeded in good order, with their arms and six field-pieces, to Princeton. They elected temporary officers from their own body, and appointed a serjeant-major, who had formerly deserted from the British army, to be their commander. General Wayne forwarded provisions after them, to prevent their plundering the country for their subsistence. They invaded no man's property, farther than their immediate necessities made unavoidable. This was readily submitted to by the inhabitants, who had long been used to exactions of the same kind, levied for similar purposes by their lawful rulers. They professed that they had no object in view, but to obtain what was justly due to them, nor were their actions inconsistent with that profession.

Congress sent a committee of their body, consisting of General Sullivan, Mr. Mathews, Mr. Atlee, and Dr. Witherspoon, to procure an accommodation. The revolvers were resolute in refusing any terms, of which a redress of their grievances was not the foundation. Every thing asked of their country, they might, at any time after the 6th of January, have obtained from the British, by passing over into New York. This they refused. Their sufferings had exhausted their patience, but not their patriotism. Sir Henry Clinton, by confidential messengers, offered to take them under the protection of the British government—to pardon all their past offences—to have the pay due them from Congress faithfully made up, without any expectation of military service in return, although it would be received if voluntarily offered. It was recommended to them to move behind the South River, and it was promised that a detachment of British troops should be in readiness for their protection, as soon as desired. In the mean time, the troops passed over from New York to Staten Island, and the necessary arrangements were made for moving them into New Jersey, whensoever they might be wanted. The royal commander was not less disappointed than surprised, to find that the faithful though revolting soldiers disdained his offers. The messengers of Sir Henry Clinton were seized and delivered to General Wayne. President Reed and General Potter were appointed, by the council of Pennsylvania, to accommodate matters with the revolvers. They met them at Princeton, and agreed to dismiss all whose terms of enlistment were completed, and admitted the oath of each soldier to be evidence in his own case. A board of officers tried and condemned the British spies, and they were instantly executed. President Reed offered a purse of a hundred guineas to the mutineers, as a reward for their fidelity in delivering up the spies; but they refused to accept it, saying, "That what they had done was only a duty they owed their country, and that they neither desired nor would receive any reward but the approbation of that country for which they had so often fought and bled."

[January 17.] By these healing measures the revolt was completely quelled; but the complaints of the soldiers, being founded in justice, were first redressed. Those whose time of service was expired obtained their discharges, and others had their arrears of pay in a great measure made up to them. A general amnesty closed the business. On this occasion, the commander-in-chief stated in a circular letter to the four eastern states, the well-founded complaints of his army, and the impossibility of keeping them together, under the pressure of such a variety of sufferings. General Knox was requested to be the bearer of these despatches, and to urge the states to an immediate exertion for the relief of the soldiers. He visited Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island; and with great earnestness, and equal success, described the wants of the

army. Massachusetts gave twenty-four silver dollars to each man of her line; and also furnished them with some clothing. Other states about the same time made similar advances.

[January, 1781.] The spirit of mutiny proved contagious. About one hundred and sixty of the Jersey troops followed the example of the Pennsylvania line; but they did not conduct with equal spirit, nor with equal prudence. They committed sundry acts of outrage against particular officers, while they affected to be submissive to others. Major-general Howe, with a considerable force, was ordered to take methods for reducing them to obedience. Convinced that there was no medium between dignity and servility, but coercion, and that no other remedy could be applied without the deepest wound to the service, he determined to proceed against them with decision. General Howe marched from Kingwood about midnight, and by the dawning of the next day had his men in four different positions, to prevent the revolters from making their escape. Every avenue being secured, Colonel Barber of the Jersey line was sent to them, with orders immediately to parade without arms, and to march to a particular spot of ground. Some hesitation appearing among them, Colonel Sprout was directed to advance, and only five minutes were given to the mutineers to comply with the orders which had been sent them. This had its effect, and they to a man marched without arms to the appointed ground. The Jersey officers gave a list of the leaders of the revolt, upon which General Howe desired them to select three of the greatest offenders. A field court-martial was presently held upon these three, and they were unanimously sentenced to death. Two of them were executed on the spot, and the executioners were selected from among the most active in the mutiny. The men were divided into platoons, and made public concessions to their officers, and promised by future good conduct to atone for past offences.

These mutinies alarmed the states, but did not produce permanent relief to the army. Their wants with respect to provisions were only partially supplied, and by expedients from one short time to another. The most usual was ordering an officer to seize on provisions wherever found. This differed from robbing only in its being done by authority for the public service, and in the officer being always directed to give the proprietor a certificate of the quantity and quality of what was taken from him. At first some reliance was placed on these certificates as vouchers to support a future demand on the United States; but they soon became so common as to be of little value. Recourse was so frequently had to coercion, both legislative and military, that the people not only lost confidence in public credit, but became impatient under all exertions of authority for forcing their property from them. That an army should be kept together under such circumstances, so far exceeds credibility, as to make it necessary to

produce some evidence of the fact. The American General Clinton, in a letter to General Washington, dated at Albany, April 16, 1781, wrote as follows: "There is not now (independent of Fort Schuyler) three days' provision in the whole department for the troops in case of an alarm, nor any prospect of procuring any. The recruits of the new levies I cannot receive, because I have nothing to give them. The Canadian families, I have been obliged to deprive of their scanty pittance, contrary to every principle of humanity. The quartermaster's department is totally useless the public armory has been shut up for near three weeks, and a total suspension of every military operation has ensued." Soon after this General Washington was obliged to apply nine thousand dollars, sent by the state of Massachusetts for the payment of her troops, to the use of the quartermaster's department, to enable him to transport provisions from the adjacent states. Before he consented to adopt this expedient, he had consumed every ounce of provision which had been kept as a reserve in the garrison of West Point; and had strained impress by military force to so great an extent that there was reason to apprehend the inhabitants, irritated by such frequent calls, would proceed to dangerous insurrections. Fort Schuyler, West Point, and the posts up the North River, were on the point of being abandoned by their starving garrisons. At this period of the war, there was little or no circulating medium, either in the form of paper or specie, and in the neighbourhood of the American army there was a real want of necessary provisions. The deficiency of the former occasioned many inconveniences, and an unequal distribution of the burdens of the war; but the insufficiency of the latter had wellnigh dissolved the army, and laid the country in every direction open to British excursions.

These events were not unforeseen by the rulers of America. From the progressive depreciation of their bills of credit, it had for some time past occurred, that the period could not be far distant, when they would cease to circulate. This crisis, which had been ardently wished for by the enemies, and dreaded by the friends of American independence, took place in 1781; but without realizing the hopes of the one, or the fears of the other. New resources were providentially opened, and the war was carried on with the same vigour as before. A great deal of gold and silver was about this time introduced into the United States, by a beneficial trade with the French and Spanish West India islands, and by means of the French army in Rhode Island. Pathetic representations were made to the ministers of his Most Christian Majesty by General Washington, Dr. Franklin, and particularly by Lieutenant-colonel John Laurens, who was sent to the court of Versailles as a special minister on this occasion. The king of France gave the United States a subsidy of six millions of livres, and became their security for ten millions more, borrowed for their use in the United Netherlands. A regular system of finance was also about this time adopted. All

matters relative to the treasury, the supplies of the army and the accounts, were put under the direction of Robert Morris, who arranged the whole with judgment and economy. The issuing of paper money by the authority of government was discontinued, and the public engagements were made payable in coin. The introduction of so much gold and silver, together with these judicious domestic regulations, aided by the bank, which had been erected the preceding year in Philadelphia, extricated Congress from much of their embarrassment, and put it in their power to feed, clothe, and move their army.

About the same time the old continental money, by common consent, ceased to have currency. Like an aged man expiring by the decays of nature, without a sigh or groan, it fell asleep in the hands of its last possessors. By the scale of depreciation the war was carried on five years, for little more than a million of pounds sterling, and two hundred millions of paper dollars were made redeemable by five millions of silver ones. In other countries such measures would probably have produced popular insurrections, but in the United States they were submitted to without any tumults. Public faith was violated, but, in the opinion of most men, public good was promoted. The evils consequent on depreciation had taken place, and the redemption of the bills of credit at their nominal value, as originally promised, instead of remedying the distresses of the sufferers, would in many cases have increased them, by subjecting their small remains of property to exorbitant taxation. The money had in a great measure got out of the hands of the original proprietors, and was in the possession of others, who had obtained it at a rate of value not exceeding what was fixed upon it by the scale of depreciation.

Nothing could afford a stronger proof that the resistance of America to Great Britain was grounded in the hearts of the people, than these events. To receive paper bills of credit issued without any funds, and to give property in exchange for them, as equal to gold or silver, demonstrated the zeal and enthusiasm with which the war was begun; but to consent to the extinction of the same after a currency of five years, without any adequate provision made for their future redemption, was more than would have been borne by any people who conceived that their rulers had separate interests or views from themselves. The demise of one king, and the coronation of a lawful successor, have often excited greater commotions in royal governments, than took place in the United States on the sudden extinction of their whole current money. The people saw the necessity which compelled their rulers to act in the manner they had done, and being well convinced that the good of the country was their object, quietly submitted to measures, which, under other circumstances, would scarcely have been expiated by the lives and fortunes of their authors.



INVASION OF VIRGINIA.



WHILE the Americans were suffering the complicated calamities which introduced the year 1781, their adversaries were carrying on the most extensive plan of operation which had ever been attempted since the war. It had often been objected to the British commanders, that they had not conducted the war in the manner most likely to effect the subjugation of the revolted provinces. Military critics in particular found fault with them for keeping a large army idle at New York, which they said, if properly applied, would have been sufficient to make successful impressions, at one and the same time, on several of the states. The British seem to have calculated the campaign of 1781, with a view to make an experiment of the comparative merit of this mode of conducting military operations. The war raged in that year not only in the vicinity of British head-quarters at New York, but in Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and in Virginia. The latter state, from its peculiar situa-



ARNOLD'S DESCENT ON VIRGINIA.

tion, and from the modes of building, planting and living, which had been adopted by the inhabitants, is particularly exposed, and lies at the mercy of whatever army is master of the Chesapeake. These circumstances, together with the pre-eminent rank which Virginia held in the confederacy, pointed out the propriety of making that state the object of particular attention. To favour Lord Cornwallis's designs in the southern states, Major-general Leslie, with about two thousand men, had been detached from New York to the Chesapeake in the latter end of 1780; but subsequent events induced his lordship to order him from Virginia to Charleston, with the view of his more effectually co-operating with the army under his own immediate command. Soon after the departure of General Leslie, Virginia was again invaded by another party from New York. This was commanded by General Arnold, now a brigadier in the royal army. His force consisted of about sixteen hundred men, and was supported by such a number of armed vessels as enabled him to commit extensive ravages on the unprotected coasts of that well-watered country. The invaders landed about fifteen miles below Richmond, and in two days marched into the town, where they destroyed large quantities of tobacco, salt, rum, sail-cloth, and other merchandise. Successive excursions were made to several other places, in which the royal army committed similar devastations.

[Jan. 20.] In about a fortnight, they marched into Portsmouth, and began to fortify it. The loss they sustained from the feeble opposition of the dispersed inhabitants was inconsiderable. The havoc made by General Arnold, and the apprehension of a design to fix a permanent post in Virginia, induced General Washington to detach the Marquis de La Fayette, with twelve hundred of the American infantry, to that state, and also to urge the French in Rhode Island to co-operate with him, in attempting to capture Arnold and his party. The French commanders eagerly closed with the proposal. Since they had landed in the United States, no proper opportunity of gratifying their passion for military fame had yet presented itself. They rejoiced at that which now offered, and indulged a cheerful hope of rendering essential service to their allies by cutting off the retreat of Arnold's party. With this view, their fleet, with fifteen hundred additional men on board, sailed [March 8] from Rhode Island for Virginia. D'Estouches, who, since the death of De Ternay, on the preceding December, had commanded the French fleet, previous to the sailing of his whole naval force, despatched the *Eveille*, a sixty-four gun ship, and two frigates, with orders to destroy the British ships and frigates in the Chesapeake. These took [March 25] or destroyed ten vessels, and captured the *Romulus*, of forty-four guns. Arbuthnot, with a British fleet, sailed [March 10] from Gardiner's Bay in pursuit of D'Estouches. The former overtook [March 16] and engaged the latter off the capes of Virginia. The British had the advantage of more guns than the French, but the latter were much more strongly manned than the former. The contest between the fleets, thus nearly balanced, ended without the loss of a ship on either side; but the British obtained the fruits of victory so far as to frustrate the whole scheme of their adversaries. The fleet of his most Christian majesty returned to Rhode Island without effecting the object of the expedition. Thus was Arnold saved from imminent danger of falling into the hands of his exasperated countrymen. The day before the French fleet returned to Newport, a convoy arrived in the Chesapeake [March 25] from New York, with Major-general Phillips and about two thousand men. This distinguished officer, who, having been taken at Saratoga, had been lately exchanged, was appointed to be commander of the royal forces in Virginia. Phillips and Arnold soon made a junction, and carried every thing before them. They successively defeated those bodies of militia which came in their way. The whole country was open to their excursions. On their embarkation from Portsmouth, a detachment visited Yorktown, but the main body proceeded to Williamsburgh. On the 22d of April they reached Chickapowing. A party proceeded up that river ten or twelve miles, and destroyed much property. On the 24th they landed at City-point, and soon after they marched for Petersburg. About one mile from the town they were opposed by a small force

commanded by Baron Steuben ; but this, after making a gallant resistance, was compelled to retreat.

[April 27.] At Petersburg they destroyed four thousand hogshead, of tobacco, a ship, and a number of small vessels. Within three days one party marched to Chesterfield court-house, and burned a range of barracks, and three hundred barrels of flour. On the same day, another party under the command of General Arnold marched to Osborne's. About four miles above that place, a small marine force was drawn up to oppose him. General Arnold sent a flag to treat with the commander of this fleet, but he declared that he would defend it to the last extremity. Upon this refusal, Arnold advanced with some artillery, and fired upon him with decisive effect from the banks of the river. Two ships and ten small vessels loaded with tobacco, cordage, flour, &c., were captured. Four ships, five brigantines and a number of small vessels were burnt or sunk. The quantity of tobacco taken or destroyed in this fleet exceeded two thousand hogsheads, and the whole was effected without the loss of a single man on the side of the British. [April 30.] The royal forces then marched up the fork till they arrived at Manchester. There they destroyed one thousand two hundred hogsheads of tobacco ; returning thence they made great havoc at Warmic. They destroyed the ships on the stocks, and in the river, and a large range of rope-walks. A magazine of five hundred barrels of flour, with a number of warehouses, and of tanhouses, all filled with their respective commodities, were also consumed in one general conflagration. On the 9th of May they returned to Petersburg, having, in the course of the preceding three weeks, destroyed property to an immense amount. With this expedition, Major-general Phillips terminated a life, which in all his previous operations had been full of glory. At early periods of his military career, on different occasions of a preceding war, he had gained the full approbation of Prince Ferdinand, under whom he had served in Germany. As an officer he was universally admired. Though much of the devastations committed by the troops under his command may be vindicated on the principles of those who hold that the rights and laws of war, are of equal obligation with the rights and laws of humanity, yet the friends of his fame have reason to regret that he did not die three weeks sooner.





CAMPAIGN OF 1781—OPERATIONS IN THE TWO CAROLINAS AND GEORGIA.



THE successes which, with a few checks, followed the British arms since they had reduced Savannah and Charleston, encouraged them to pursue their object by advancing from south to north. A vigorous invasion of North Carolina was therefore projected, for the business of the winter which followed General Gates's defeat. The Americans were sensible of the necessity of reinforcing and supporting their southern

army, but were destitute of the means of doing it. Their northern army would not admit of being farther weakened, nor was there time to march over the intervening distance of seven hundred miles, but if men could have been procured and time allowed for marching them to South Carolina, money for defraying the unavoidable expenses of their transportation could not be commanded, either in the latter end of 1780, or the first months of 1781. Though Congress was unable to forward either men or money, for the relief of the southern states, they did what was equivalent. They sent them a general, whose head was a council, and whose military talents were equal to a reinforcement. The nomination of an officer for this important trust was left to General Washington. He mentioned General Greene, adding for reason, "that he was an officer in whose abilities and

integrity, from a long and intimate experience, he had the most entire confidence."

The army, after its defeat and dispersion on the 16th of August, 1780, rendezvoused at Hillsborough. In the latter end of the year they advanced to Charlottetown. At this place General Gates transferred the command to General Greene. The manly resignation of the one was equalled by the delicate disinterestedness of the other. Expressions of civility, and acts of friendship and attention were reciprocally exchanged. Greene, upon all occasions, was the vindicator of Gates's reputation. In his letters and conversation, he uniformly maintained that his predecessor had failed in no part of his military duty, and that he had deserved success, though he could not command it. Within a few hours after Greene took charge of the army, a report was made of a gallant enterprise of Lieutenant-colonel Washington. Being out on a foraging excursion, he had penetrated within thirteen miles of Camden, to Clermont, the seat of Lieutenant-colonel Rigely, of the British militia. This was fortified by a block-house, and encompassed by an abattis, and was defended by upwards of one hundred of the inhabitants, who had submitted to the British government. Lieutenant-colonel Washington advanced with his cavalry, and planted the trunk of a pine-tree, so as to resemble a field-piece. The lucky moment was seized, and a peremptory demand of an immediate surrender was made, when the garrison was impressed with the expectation of an immediate cannonade in case of their refusal. The whole surrendered at discretion, without a shot on either side. This fortunate incident, through the superstition to which most men are more or less subject, was viewed by the army as a presage of success under their new commander.

When General Greene took the command, he found the troops had made a practice of going home without permission, staying several days or weeks, and then returning to camp. Determined to enforce strict discipline, he gave out that he would make an example of the first deserter of the kind he caught. One such being soon taken, was accordingly shot, at the head of the army, drawn up to be spectators of the punishment. This had the desired effect, and put a stop to the dangerous practice.

The whole southern army at this time consisted of about two thousand men, more than half of which were militia. The regulars had been for a long time without pay, and were very deficient in clothing. All sources of supply from Charleston were in possession of the British, and no imported article could be obtained from a distance less than two hundred miles. The procuring of provisions for this small force was a matter of difficulty. The paper currency was depreciated so far as to be wholly unequal to the purchase of even such supplies as the country afforded. Hard money had not a physical existence in any hands accessible to the

Americans. The only resource left for supplying the army was by the arbitrary mode of impress. To seize on the property of the inhabitants, and at the same time to preserve their kind affections, was a difficult business and of delicate execution, but of the utmost moment, as it furnished the army with provisions without impairing the disposition of the inhabitants to co-operate with it in recovering the country. This grand object called for the united efforts of both. Such was the situation of the country, that it was almost equally dangerous for the American army to go forward or stand still. In the first case every thing was hazarded; in the last the confidence of the people would be lost, and with it all prospect of being supported by them. The impatience of the suffering exiles and others, led them to urge the adoption of rash measures. The mode of opposition they preferred was the least likely to effect their ultimate wishes. The nature of the country, thinly inhabited, abounding with swamps, and covered with woods—the inconsiderable force of the American army, the number of the disaffected, and the want of magazines, weighed with General Greene to prefer a partisan war. By close application to his new profession, he had acquired a scientific knowledge of the principles and maxims for conducting wars in Europe, but considered them as often inapplicable to America. When they were adapted to his circumstances he used them, but oftener deviated from them, and followed his own practical judgment, founded on a comprehensive view of his real situation.



WITH an inconsiderable army, miserably provided, General Greene took the field against a superior British regular force, which had marched in triumph two hundred miles from the seacoast, and was flushed with successive victories through a whole campaign. Soon after he took the command, he divided his force, sending General Morgan, with a

respectable detachment, to the western extremity of South Carolina, and about the same time marched with the main body to Hicks's creek, on the north side of the Pedee, opposite Cheraw Hill.

After the general submission of the militia in the year 1780, a revolution took place highly favourable to the interest of America. The residence of the British army, instead of increasing the real friends to royal government, diminished their number, and added new vigour to the opposite party. The British held a post in Ninety-six for thirteen months, during which time the country was filled with rapine, violence, and murder. Applications were daily made for redress, yet in that whole period, there was not a single instance wherein punishment was inflicted, either on the soldiery or the Tories. The people soon found that there was no security for their lives, liberties, or property, under the military government of British officers, careless of their civil rights. The peaceable citizens

were reduced to that uncommon distress, in which they had more to fear from oppression than resistance. They therefore most ardently wished for an American force. Under these favourable circumstances General Greene detached General Morgan to take a position in that district. The appearance of this force, a sincere attachment to the cause of independence, and the impolitic conduct of the British, induced several persons to resume their arms, and to act in concert with the continental troops.

When this irruption was made into the district of Ninety-six, Lord Cornwallis was far advanced in his preparations for the invasion of North Carolina. To leave General Morgan in his rear, was contrary to military policy. In order, therefore, to drive him from this station, and to deter the inhabitants from joining him, Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton was ordered to proceed with about eleven hundred men, and "push him to the utmost." He had two field-pieces, and a superiority of infantry in the proportion of five to four, and of cavalry in the proportion of three to one. Besides this inequality of force, two-thirds of the troops under General Morgan were militia. [Jan. 17, 1781.] With these fair prospects of success, Tarleton engaged Morgan at the Cowpens, with the expectation of driving him out of South Carolina. The latter drew up his men in two lines. The whole of the southern militia, with one hundred and ninety from North Carolina, were put under the command of Colonel Pickens. These formed the first line, and were advanced a few hundred yards before the second, with orders to form on the right of the second, when forced to retire. The second line consisted of the light infantry, and a corps of Virginia militia riflemen. Lieutenant-colonel Washington, with his cavalry and about forty-five militia men, mounted and equipped with swords, were drawn up at some distance in the rear of the whole. The open wood in which they were formed, was neither secured in front, flank, or rear. On the side of the British, the light legion infantry and fusileers, though worn down with extreme fatigue, were ordered to form in line. Before this order was executed, the line, though far from being complete, was led to the attack by Tarleton himself. They advanced with a shout and poured in an incessant fire of musketry. Colonel Pickens directed the men under his command to restrain their fire, till the British were within forty or fifty yards. This order, though executed with great firmness, was not sufficient to repel their advancing foes. The militia fell back. The British advanced and engaged the second line, which after an obstinate conflict was compelled to retreat to the cavalry. In this crisis, Lieutenant-colonel Washington made a successful charge on Captain Ogilvie, who with about forty dragoons was cutting down the militia, and forced them to retreat in confusion. Lieutenant-colonel Howard, almost at the same moment, rallied the continental troops and charged with fixed bayonets. The example was instantly followed by the militia. Nothing could exceed the astonishment and confusion of the British occasioned by these



BATTLE OF THE CLOUDS.

unexpected charges. Their advance fell back on their rear, and communicated a panic to the whole. Two hundred and fifty horse which had not been engaged fled with precipitation. The pieces of artillery were seized by the Americans, and the greatest confusion took place among the infantry. While they were in this state of disorder, Lieutenant-colonel Howard called to them, to "lay down their arms," and promised them good quarter. Some hundreds accepted the offer and surrendered. The first battalion of the seventy-first, and two British light infantry companies, laid down their arms to the American militia. A party which had been left some distance in the rear to guard the baggage, was the only body of infantry that escaped. The officer of that detachment, on hearing of Tarleton's defeat, destroyed a great part of the baggage, and retreated to Lord Cornwallis. Upwards of three hundred of the British were killed or wounded, and above five hundred prisoners were taken. Eight hundred muskets, two field-pieces, thirty-five baggage wagons, and one hundred dragoon horses, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The Americans had only twelve men killed and sixty wounded.

General Morgan's good conduct on this memorable day was honoured by Congress with a gold medal. They also presented medals of silver to Lieutenant-colonels Washington and Howard, a sword to Colonel Pickens, a brevet-majority to Edward Giles, the general's aid-de-camp, and a captaincy to Baron Glassbeck. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, hitherto triumph-



GENERAL MORGAN.

ant in a variety of skirmishes, on this occasion lost his laurels, though he was supported by the seventh regiment, one battalion of the seventy-first, and two companies of light infantry; and his repulse did more essential injury to the British interest than was equivalent to all the preceding advantages he had gained. It was the first link in a chain of causes which finally drew down ruin, both in North and South Carolina, on the royal interest. That impetuosity of Tarleton which had acquired him great reputation, when on former occasions he had surprised an incautious enemy, or attacked a panic-struck militia, was at this time the occasion of his ruin. Impatient of delay, he engaged with fatigued troops, and led them on to action, before they were properly formed, and before the reserve had taken its ground. He was also guilty of a great oversight in not bringing up a column of cavalry to support and improve the advantages he had gained when the Americans retreated.

Lord Cornwallis, though preparing to extend his conquests northwardly, was not inattentive to the security of South Carolina. Besides the force at Charleston, he left a considerable body of troops under the command of Lord Rawdon. These were principally stationed at Camden, from which central situation they might easily be drawn forth to defend the frontiers or to suppress insurrections. To facilitate the intended operations against North Carolina Major Craig, with a detachment of about three hundred

men from Charleston, and a small marine force, took possession of Wilmington. While these arrangements were making, the year 1781 commenced with the fairest prospects to the friends of British government. The arrival of General Leslie in Charleston, with his late command in Virginia, gave Earl Cornwallis a decided superiority, and enabled him to attempt the reduction of North Carolina, with a force sufficient to bear down all probable opposition. Arnold was before him in Virginia, while South Carolina, in his rear, was considered as completely subdued. His lordship had much to hope and little to fear. His admirers flattered him with the expectation, that his victory at Camden would prove but the dawn of his glory; and that the events of the approaching campaign would immortalize his name as the conqueror, at least of the southern states. Whilst Lord Cornwallis was indulging these pleasant prospects, he received intelligence, no less unwelcome than unexpected, that Tarleton, his favourite officer, in whom he placed the greatest confidence, instead of driving Morgan out of the country, was completely defeated by him. This surprised and mortified, but did not discourage his lordship. He hoped, by vigorous exertions, soon to obtain reparation for the late disastrous event, and even to recover what he had lost. With the expectation of retaking the prisoners captured at the Cowpens, and to obliterate the impression made by the issue of the late action at that place, his lordship instantly determined on the pursuit of General Morgan, who had moved off towards Virginia with his prisoners. The movements of the royal army, in consequence of this determination, induced General Greene immediately to retreat from Hick's Creek, lest the British, by crossing the upper sources of the Pedee, should get between him and the detachment, which was encumbered with the prisoners. In this critical situation, General Greene left the main army under the command of General Huger, and rode a hundred and fifty miles through the country, to join the detachment under General Morgan, that he might be in front of Lord Cornwallis, and direct the motions of both divisions of his army, so as to form a speedy junction between them. Immediately after the action, on the 17th of January, Morgan sent on his prisoners under a proper guard, and having made every arrangement in his power for their security, retreated with expedition. Nevertheless, the British gained ground upon him. Morgan intended to cross the mountains with his detachment and prisoners, that he might more effectually secure the latter: but General Greene, on his arrival, ordered the prisoners to Charlotteville, and directed the troops to Guilford Court-house, to which place he had also ordered General Huger to proceed with the main army.

In this retreat, the Americans underwent hardships almost incredible. Many of them performed this march without shoes, over frozen ground which so gashed their naked feet, that the blood marked every step of their

progress. They were sometimes without meat, often without flour, and always without spirituous liquors. Their march led them through a barren country which scarcely afforded necessaries for a few straggling inhabitants. In this severe season also, with very little clothing, they were daily reduced to the necessity of fording deep creeks, and of remaining wet without any change of clothes, till the heat of their bodies and occasional fires in the woods dried their tattered rags. To all these difficulties they submitted without the loss of a single sentinel by desertion. Lord Cornwallis reduced the quantity of his own baggage, and the example was followed by the officers under his command. Every thing that was not necessary in action, or to the existence of the troops, was destroyed. No wagons were reserved except those loaded with hospital stores, salt and ammunition, and four empty ones for the use of the sick. The royal army, encouraged by the example of his lordship, submitted to every hardship with cheerfulness. They beheld, without murmuring, their most valuable baggage destroyed, their spirituous liquors staved, when they were entering on hard service, and under circumstances which precluded every prospect of supply.



THE British had urged the pursuit with so much rapidity, that they reached the Catawba on the evening of the same day on which their fleeing adversaries had crossed it. Before the next morning a heavy fall of rain made that river impassable. The Americans, confident of the justice of their cause, considered this event as an interposition of Providence in their favour. It is certain that if the rising of the river had taken place a few hours earlier, General Morgan with his whole detachment and five hundred prisoners would have scarcely had any chance of escape. When the fresh had subsided so far as to leave the river fordable, a large proportion of the king's troops received orders to be in readiness to march at one o'clock in the morning. [February 1.] Feints had been made of passing at several different fords, but the real attempt was made at a ford near McCowan's, the north banks of which were defended by a small guard of militia commanded by General Davidson. The British marched through the river upwards of five hundred yards wide and about three feet deep, sustaining a constant fire from the militia on the opposite bank, without returning it till they had made good their passage. The light infantry and grenadier companies, as soon as they reached the land, dispersed the Americans; General Davidson, the brave leader of the latter, was killed at the first onset. The militia throughout the neighbouring settlements were dispirited, and but few of them could be persuaded to take or keep the field. A small party which collected about ten miles from the ford was attacked, and dispersed by Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton. All the fords

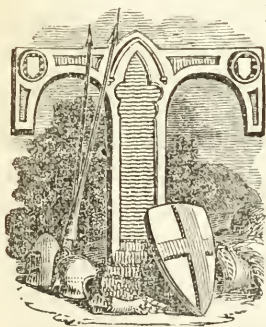
were abandoned, and the whole royal army crossed over without any farther opposition. The passage of the Catawba being effected, the Americans continued to flee and the British to pursue. The former by expeditious movements crossed the Yadkin, partly in flats, and partly by fording, on the second and third days of February, and secured their boats on the north side. Though the British were close in their rear, yet the want of boats and the rapid rising of the river from preceding rains made their crossing impossible. This second hair-breadth escape was considered by the Americans as a farther evidence that their cause was favoured by Heaven. That they in two successive instances should effect their passage, while their pursuers, only a few miles in their rear, could not follow, impressed the religious people of that settlement with such sentiments of devotion, as added fresh vigour to their exertions in behalf of American independence.

The British having failed in their first scheme of passing the Yadkin, were obliged to cross at the upper fords; but before this was completed, the two divisions of the American army made a junction at Guildford court-house. [Feb. 7.] Though this had taken place, their combined numbers were so much inferior to the British, that General Greene could not with any propriety risk an action. He therefore called a council of officers, who unanimously concurred in opinion that he ought to retire over the Dan, and to avoid an engagement till he was reinforced. Lord Cornwallis, knowing the inferiority of the American force, conceived hopes, by getting between General Greene and Virginia, to cut off his retreat, intercept his supplies and reinforcements, and oblige him to fight under many disadvantages. With this view, his lordship kept the upper country, where only the rivers are fordable—supposing that his adversaries, from the want of a sufficient number of flats, could not make good their passage in the deep water below, or in case of their attempting it, he expected to overtake and force them to action before they could cross. In this expectation he was deceived. General Greene, by good management, eluded his lordship. The British urged their pursuit with so much rapidity, that the American light troops were, on the 14th, compelled to retire upwards of forty miles. By the most indefatigable exertions General Greene had that day transported his army, artillery and baggage, over the river Dan into Virginia. So rapid was the pursuit, and so narrow the escape, that the van of the pursuing British just arrived as the rear of the Americans had crossed. The hardships and difficulties which the royal army had undergone in this march, were exceeded by the mortification that all their toils and exertions were to no purpose. They conceived it next to impossible that General Greene could escape, without receiving a decisive blow. They therefore cheerfully submitted to difficulties, of which they who reside in cultivated countries can form no adequate ideas. After sur-

mounting incredible hardships, when they fancied themselves within grasp of their object, they discovered that all their hopes were blasted.

The continental army having been driven out of North Carolina, Earl Cornwallis thought the opportunity favourable for assembling the loyalists. With this view he left the Dan, and proceeded to Hillsborough. On his arrival there, he erected the king's standard, and published a proclamation, inviting all loyal subjects to repair to it with their arms and ten days' provision, and assuring them of his readiness to concur with them in effectual measures for suppressing the remains of rebellion, and for the re-establishment of good order and constitutional government. Soon after the king's standard was erected at Hillsborough, some hundreds of the inhabitants rode into the British camp. They seemed to be very desirous of peace, but averse to any co-operation for procuring it. They acknowledged the continentals were chased out of the province, but expressed their apprehensions that they would soon return, and on the whole declined to take any decided part in a cause which yet appeared dangerous. Notwithstanding the indifference or timidity of the loyalists near Hillsborough, Lord Cornwallis hoped for substantial aid from the inhabitants between Haw and Deep river. He therefore detached Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton with four hundred and fifty men, to give countenance to the friends of royal government in that district. Greene being informed that many of the inhabitants had joined his lordship, and that they were repairing in great numbers to make their submission, was apprehensive that unless some spirited measures were immediately taken, the whole country would be lost to the Americans. He therefore concluded, at every hazard, to recross the Dan. This was done by the light troops, and these on the next day were followed by the main body, accompanied with a brigade of Virginia militia. [Feb. 21.] Immediately after the return of the Americans to North Carolina, some of their light troops, commanded by General Pickens and Lieutenant-colonel Lee, were detached in pursuit of Tarleton, who had been sent to encourage the insurrection of the loyalists. Three hundred and fifty of these Tories, commanded by Colonel Pyle, when on their way to join the British, fell in with this light American party, and mistook them for the royal detachment sent for their support. The Americans attacked them, labouring under this mistake, to great advantage, and cut them down as they were crying out "God save the King," and making protestations of their loyalty. Natives of the British colonies who were of this character, more rarely found mercy than European soldiers. They were considered by the Whig Americans as being cowards, who not only wanted spirit to defend their constitutional rights, but who unnaturally co-operated with strangers in fixing the chains of foreign domination on themselves and countrymen. Many of them on this occasion suffered the extremity of military vengeance. Tarleton was refreshing his legion, about

a mile from this scene of slaughter. Upon hearing the alarm, he re-crossed the Haw and returned to Hillsborough. On his retreat he cut down several of the royalists, as they were advancing to join the British army, mistaking them for the rebel militia of the country. These events, together with the return of the American army, upset all the schemes of Lord Cornwallis. The tide of public sentiment was no longer in his favour. The recruiting service in behalf of the royal army was entirely stopped. The absence of the American army, for one fortnight longer, might have turned the scale. The advocates for royal government being discouraged by these adverse accidents, and being also generally deficient in that ardent zeal which characterized the patriots, could not be induced to act with confidence. They were so dispersed over a large extent of a thinly settled country, that it was difficult to bring them to unite in any common plan. They had no superintending Congress to give system or concert to their schemes. While each little district pursued separate measures, all were obliged to submit to the American governments. Numbers of them, who were on their way to join Lord Cornwallis, struck with terror at the unexpected return of the American army, and with the unhappy fate of their brethren, went home to wait events. Their policy was of that timid kind, which disposed them to be more attentive to personal safety than to the success of either army.



HOUGH General Greene had recrossed, his plan was not to venture upon an immediate action, but to keep alive the courage of his party—to depress that of the loyalists, and to harass the foragers and detachments of the British, till reinforcements should arrive. While Greene was unequal even to defensive operations, he lay seven days within ten miles of Cornwallis's camp, but took a new position every night, and kept it a profound secret where the next was to be. By such frequent movements, Lord Corn-

wallis could not gain intelligence of his situation in time to profit by it. He manœuvred in this manner, to avoid an action, for three weeks, during which time he was often obliged to ask bread from the common soldiers, having none of his own. By the end of that period, two brigades of militia from North Carolina, and one from Virginia, together with four hundred regulars, raised for eighteen months, joined his army, and gave him a superiority of numbers. He, therefore, determined no longer to avoid an engagement. Lord Cornwallis having long sought for this, no longer delay took place on either side. The American army consisted of about four thousand four hundred men, of which more than one-half were militia. The British of about two thousand four hundred, chiefly troops grown

veteran in victories. The former was drawn up in three lines. The front composed of North Carolina militia, the second of Virginia militia, the third and last of continental troops, commanded by General Huger and Colonel Williams. After a brisk cannonade in front, the British advanced in three columns. The Hessians on the right, the guards in the centre, and Lieutenant-colonel Webster's brigade on the left, and attacked the front line. This gave way when their adversaries were at the distance of a hundred and forty yards, and was occasioned by the misconduct of a colonel, who, on the advance of the enemy, called out to an officer at some distance, "that he would be surrounded." The alarm was sufficient: without inquiring into the probability of what had been injudiciously suggested, the militia precipitately quitted the field: as one good officer may sometimes mend the face of affairs, so the misconduct of a bad one may injure a whole army. Untrained men when on the field are similar to each other. The difference of their conduct depends much on incidental circumstances, and on none more than the manner of their being led on, and the quality of the officers by whom they are commanded.

The Virginia militia stood their ground, and kept up their fire till they were ordered to retreat. General Stevens, their commander, had posted forty riflemen, at equal distances, twenty paces in the rear of his brigade, with orders to shoot every man who should leave his post. That brave officer, though wounded through the thigh, did not quit the field. The continental troops were last engaged, and maintained the conflict with great spirit for an hour and a half. At length, the discipline of veteran troops gained the day. They broke the second Maryland brigade, turned the American left flank, and got in rear of the Virginia brigade. They appeared to be gaining Greene's right, which would have encircled the whole of the continental troops; a retreat was therefore ordered. This was made in good order, and no farther than over the Reedy Fork, a distance of about three miles. Greene halted there, and drew up till he had collected most of the stragglers, and then retired to Speedwell's iron works, ten miles distant from Guilford. The Americans lost four pieces of artillery and two ammunition wagons. The victory cost the British dear. Their killed and wounded amounted to several hundreds. The guards lost Colonel Stuart and three captains, besides subalterns. Colonel Webster, an officer of distinguished merit, died of his wounds, to the great regret of the whole royal army. Generals O'Hara and Howard, and Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, were wounded. About three hundred of the continentals, and one hundred of the Virginia militia, were killed or wounded. Among the former, was Major Anderson, of the Maryland line, a most valuable officer; of the latter, were Generals Huger and Stevens. The early retreat of the North Carolinians saved them from much

loss. The American army sustained a great diminution, by the numerous fugitives, who, instead of rejoining the camp, went to their homes. Lord Cornwallis suffered so much that he was in no condition to improve the advantages he had gained. The British had only the name, the Americans all the good consequences of a victory. General Greene retreated, and Lord Cornwallis kept the field, but, notwithstanding, the British interest in North Carolina was from that day ruined. [March 18.] Soon after this action, Lord Cornwallis issued a proclamation, setting forth his complete victory, and calling on all loyal subjects to stand forth, and take an active part in restoring order and good government, and offering a pardon and protection to all rebels, murderers excepted, who would surrender themselves on or before the 20th of April. On the next day after this proclamation was issued, his lordship left his hospital and seventy-five wounded men with the numerous loyalists in the vicinity, and began a march towards Wilmington, which had the appearance of a retreat. Major Craig, who, for the purposes of co-operating with his lordship, had been stationed at Wilmington, was not able to open a water communication with the British army while they were in the upper country. The distance, the narrowness of Cape Fear river, the commanding elevation of its banks, and the hostile sentiments of the inhabitants on each side of it, forbade the attempt. The destitute condition of the British army, made it necessary to go to these supplies, which, for these reasons, could not be brought to them.

General Greene no sooner received information of this movement of Lord Cornwallis, than he put his army in motion to follow him. As he had no means of providing for the wounded of his own and the British forces, he wrote a letter to the neighbouring inhabitants of the Quaker persuasion, in which he mentioned his being brought up a Quaker, and urged them to take care of the wounded on both sides. His recommendations prevailed, and the Quakers supplied the hospitals with every comfort in their power.

[March 28.] The Americans continued the pursuit of Cornwallis till they had arrived at Ramsay's mill, on Deep River, but, for good reasons, desisted from following him any farther.

Lord Cornwallis halted and refreshed his army for about three weeks at Wilmington, and then marched across the country to Petersburg, in Virginia. Before it was known that his lordship had determined on this movement, the bold resolution of returning to South Carolina was formed by General Greene. This animated the friends of Congress in that quarter. Had the American army followed his lordship, the southern states would have conceived themselves conquered; for their hopes and fears prevailed just as the armies marched north or south. Though Lord Cornwallis marched through North Carolina to Virginia, yet, as the American



MARION INVITING THE BRITISH OFFICER TO DINE.

army returned to South Carolina, the people considered that movement of his lordship in the light of a retreat.

While the two armies were in North Carolina, the Whig inhabitants of South Carolina were animated by the gallant exertions of Sumter and Marion. These distinguished partisans, while surrounded with enemies, kept the field. Though the continental army was driven into Virginia, they did not despair of the commonwealth. Having mounted their followers, their motions were rapid, and their attacks unexpected. With their light troops they intercepted the British convoys of provisions, infested their outposts, beat up their quarters, and harassed their detachments with such frequent alarms that they were obliged to be always on their guard. In the western extremity of the state, Sumter was powerfully supported by Colonels Niel, Lacey, Hill, Winn, Bratton, Brandon, and others, each of whom held militia commissions, and had many friends. In the north-eastern extremity, Marion* received, in like manner, great assistance from the active exertions of Colonels Peter Horry and Hugh Horry, Lieutenant-colonel John Baxter, Colonel James Postell, Major John Postell, and Major John James.

* Marion's character, and his destitute condition in the woods, are illustrated by the well-known anecdote of his offering the British officer (sent with a message to him) a dinner of roasted sweet potatoes. The officer is said to have abandoned the service rather than be employed against patriots who could practise such self-denial.

The inhabitants, either as affection or vicinity induced them, arranged themselves under some of the militia officers, and performed many gallant enterprises. These, singly, were of too little consequence to merit a particular relation, but in general they displayed the determined spirit of the people and embarrassed the British. One in which Major John Postell commanded may serve as an illustration of the spirit of the times, and particularly of the indifference for property which then prevailed. Captain James De Peyster, of the royal army, with twenty-five grenadiers, having taken post in the house of the major's father, the major posted his small command of twenty-one militia-men in such positions as commanded its doors, and demanded their surrender. This being refused, he set fire to an out-house, and was proceeding to burn that in which they were posted, and nothing but the immediate submission of the whole party restrained him from sacrificing his father's valuable property, to gain an advantage to his country.

While Lord Cornwallis was preparing to invade Virginia, General Greene determined to recommence offensive military operations in the southern extreme of the confederacy, in preference to pursuing his lordship into Virginia. General Sumter, who had warmly urged this measure, was about this time authorized to raise a state brigade, to be in service for eighteen months. He had also prepared the militia to co-operate with the returning continentals. With these forces an offensive war was recommenced in South Carolina, and prosecuted with spirit and success.

Before Greene set out on his march for Carolina, he sent orders to General Pickens to prevent supplies from going to the British garrisons at Ninety-Six and Augusta, and also detached Lieutenant-colonel Lee to advance before the continental troops. The latter, in eight days, penetrated through the intermediate country to General Marion's quarters upon the Santee. The main army, in a few more days, completed their march from Deep River to Camden. The British had erected a chain of posts from the capital to the extreme districts of the state, which had regular communications with each other. Lord Cornwallis being gone to Virginia, these became objects of enterprise to the Americans. While General Greene was marching with his main force against Camden, Fort Watson, which lay between Camden and Charleston, was invested by General Marion and Lieutenant-colonel Lee. The besiegers speedily erected a work which overlooked the fort, though that was built on an Indian mound upwards of thirty feet high, from which they fired into it with such execution that the besieged durst not show themselves. Under these circumstances, the garrison, consisting of one hundred and fourteen men, surrendered by capitulation.

Camden, before which the main American army was encamped, is a village situated on a plain, covered on the south and east sides by the

Wateree and a creek, the western and northern by six redoubts. It was defended by Lord Rawdon, with about nine hundred men. The American army, consisting only of about an equal number of continentals, and between two and three hundred militia, was unequal to the task of carrying this post by storm, or of completely investing it. General Greene therefore took a good position about a mile distant, in expectation of alluring the garrison out of their lines. Lord Rawdon armed his whole force, and with great spirit sallied on the 25th of April. An engagement ensued. Victory for some time evidently inclined to the Americans, but in the progress of the action the premature retreat of two companies eventually occasioned the defeat of the whole American army. Greene, with his usual firmness, instantly took measures to prevent Lord Rawdon from improving the success he had obtained. He retreated with such order that most of his wounded and all his artillery, together with a number of prisoners, were carried off. The British retired to Camden, and the Americans encamped about five miles from their former position. Their loss was between two and three hundred. Soon after this action, General Greene, knowing that the British garrison could not subsist long in Camden without fresh supplies from Charleston or the country, took such positions as were most likely to prevent their getting any.

Lord Rawdon received a reinforcement of four or five hundred men by the arrival [May 7] of Colonel Watson from Pedee. With this increase of strength, he attempted, on the next day, to compel General Greene to another action, but found it to be impracticable. Failing in this design, he returned to Camden and burned the jail, mills, many private houses, and a great deal of his own baggage. He then evacuated the post, and retired to the southward of Santee. His lordship discovered as much prudence in evacuating Camden as he had shown bravery in its defence. The fall of Fort Watson broke the chain of communication with Charleston, and the position of the American army, in a great measure, intercepted supplies from the adjacent country. The British in South Carolina, now cut off from all communication with Lord Cornwallis, would have hazarded the capital, by keeping large detachments in their distant outposts. They therefore resolved to contract their limits by retiring within the Santee. This measure animated the friends of Congress in the extremities of the state, and disposed them to co-operate with the American army. While Greene lay in the neighbourhood of Camden, he hung in one day eight soldiers, who had deserted from his army. This had such effect afterwards, that there was no desertion for three months. On the day after the evacuation of Camden, [May 11,] the post at Orangeburg, consisting of seventy British militia and twelve regulars, surrendered to General Sumter. On the next day, [May 12,] Fort Motte capitulated. This was situated above the fork on the south side of the Congaree. The



MRS. MOTTE PRESENTING THE ARROWS.

British had built their works round Mrs. Motte's dwelling-house. She, with great cheerfulness, furnished the Americans with arrows for firing her own house. These, being thrown by them on its roof, soon kindled into flame. The firing of the house, which was in the centre of the British works, compelled the garrison, consisting of one hundred and sixty-five men, to surrender at discretion.

[May 14.] In two days more the British evacuated their post at Nelson's Ferry, and destroyed a great part of their stores. On the day following, Fort Granby, garrisoned by three hundred and fifty-two men, mostly royal militia, surrendered to Lieutenant-colonel Lee. Very advantageous terms were given them, from an apprehension that Lord Rawdon was marching to their relief.

Their baggage was secured, in which was included an immense quantity of plunder. The American militia were much disgusted at the terms allowed the garrison, and discovered a disposition to break the capitulation and kill the prisoners; but Greene restrained them, by declaring, in the most peremptory manner, that he would instantly put to death any one who should offer violence to those who, by surrendering, were under his protection.

General Marion, with a party of militia, marched, about this time, to Georgetown, and began regular approaches against the British post in that place. On the first night after his men had broken ground, their adversaries evacuated their works, and retreated to Charleston; shortly after,

one Manson, an inhabitant of South Carolina, who had joined the British, appeared in an armed vessel, and demanded permission to land his men in the town. This being refused, he sent a few of them ashore, and set fire to it. Upwards of forty houses were speedily reduced to ashes.

In the rapid manner just related, the British lost six posts, and abandoned all the north-eastern extremities of South Carolina. They still retained possession of Augusta and Ninety-Six, in addition to their posts near the seacoast. Immediately after the surrender of Fort Granby, Lieutenant-colonel Lee began his march for Augusta, and in four days completed it.

[May 21.] The British post at Silver Bluff, with a field-piece and considerable stores, surrendered to a detachment of Lee's legion, commanded by Captain Rudolph. Lee, on his arrival at Augusta, joined Pickens, who, with a body of militia, had for some time past taken post in the vicinity. They jointly carried on their approaches against Fort Cornwallis, at Augusta, in which Colonel Brown commanded. Two batteries were erected within thirty yards of the parapet, which overlooked the fort. From these eminences the American riflemen shot into the inside of the works with success: the garrison buried themselves, in a great measure, under ground, and obstinately refused to capitulate, till the necessity was so pressing, that every man who attempted to fire on the besiegers was immediately shot down. [June 5th.] At length, when farther resistance would have been madness, the fort, with about three hundred men, surrendered on honourable terms of capitulation. The Americans, during the siege, had about forty men killed and wounded. After the surrender, Lieutenant-colonel Grierson, of the British militia, was shot by the Americans. A reward of a hundred guineas was offered, but in vain, for the perpetrator of the perfidious deed. Lieutenant-colonel Brown would probably have shared the same fate, had not his conquerors furnished him with an escort to the royal garrison in Savannah. Individuals whose passions were inflamed by injuries, and exasperated with personal animosity, were eager to gratify revenge in violation of the laws of war. Murders had produced murders. Plundering, assassinations, and house-burnings had become common. Zeal for the king or the Congress were the ostensible motives of action; but in several of both sides, the love of plunder, private pique, and a savageness of disposition, led to actions which were disgraceful to human nature. Such was the state of parties in the vicinity of Savannah river, and such the exasperation of Whigs against Tories, and of Tories against Whigs; and so much had they suffered from and inflicted on each other, that the laws of war, and the precepts of humanity, afforded but a feeble security for the observance of capitulations on either side. The American officers exerted themselves to procure to their prisoners that safety which many of the

inhabitants, influenced by a remembrance of the sufferings of themselves and of their friends, were unwilling to allow them.

While operations were carrying on against the small posts, Greene proceeded with his main army and laid siege to Ninety-Six, in which Lieutenant-colonel Cruger, with upwards of five hundred men, was advantageously posted. On the left of the besiegers was a work erected in the form of a star. On the right was a strong blockade fort, with two block-houses in it. The town was also picketed in with strong pickets, and surrounded with a ditch and a bank, near the height of a common parapet. The besiegers were more numerous than the besieged, but the disparity was not great.

[May 25.] The siege was prosecuted with indefatigable industry. The garrison defended themselves with spirit and address. On the morning after the siege began, a party sallied from the garrison, and drove the advance of the besiegers from their works. The next night, two strong block batteries were erected at the distance of three hundred and fifty yards. Another battery, twenty feet high, was erected within two hundred and twenty yards, and soon after a fourth one was erected within one hundred yards of the main fort, and lastly, a rifle battery was erected, thirty feet high, within thirty yards of the ditch; from all of which, the besiegers fired into the British works. The abattis was turned, and a mine and two trenches were so far extended as to be within six feet of the ditch. At that interesting moment, intelligence was conveyed into the garrison, that Lord Rawdon was near at hand, with about two thousand men for their relief. These had arrived in Charleston, from Ireland, after the siege began, and were marched for Ninety-Six, on the seventh day after they landed. [June 18.] In these circumstances, General Greene had no alternative but to raise the siege or attempt the reduction of the place by assault. The latter was attempted. Though the assailants displayed great resolution, they failed of success. On this, General Greene raised the siege, and retreated over the Saluda. His loss in the assault and previous conflicts was about a hundred and fifty men. Lieutenant-colonel Cruger deservedly gained great reputation by this successful defence. He was particularly indebted to Major Greene, who had bravely and judiciously defended that redoubt, for the reduction of which the greatest exertions had been made. Truly distressing was the situation of the American army. When they were nearly masters of the whole country, they were compelled to seek safety by retreating to its utmost extremity. In this gloomy situation, Greene was advised to retire, with his remaining force, to Virginia. To suggestions of this kind he nobly replied, "I will recover South Carolina, or die in the attempt." This distinguished officer, whose genius was most vigorous in those perilous extremities when feeble minds abandon themselves to despair, adopted the only



KOSCIUSKO.

expedient now left him, that of avoiding an engagement till the British force should be divided. Lord Rawdon, who, by rapid marches, was near Ninety-Six at the time of the assault, pursued the Americans as far as the Enoree river, but without overtaking them. Desisting from this fruitless pursuit, he drew off a part of his force from Ninety-Six, and fixed a detachment at the Congaree.

At the siege of Ninety-Six, the Polish general, Kosciusko, was present, serving in the cause of American liberty.

General Greene, on hearing that the British force was divided, faced about to give them battle. Lord Rawdon, no less surprised than alarmed at this unexpected movement of his lately retreating foe, abandoned the

Congaree in two days after he had reached it, and marched to Orangeburgh. [July 12.] General Greene in his turn pursued and offered him battle. His lordship would not venture out, and his adversary was too weak to attack him in his encampment, with any prospect of success.

Reasons similar to those which induced the British to evacuate Camden, weighed with them about this time, to withdraw their troops from Ninety-Six. While the American army lay near Orangeburgh, Lieutenant-colonel Cruger, having evacuated the post he had gallantly defended, was marching with the troops of that garrison, through the forks of Edisto, to join Lord Rawdon at Orangeburgh. General Greene being unable to prevent their junction, and still less so to stand before their combined force, retired to the high hills of Santee. The evacuation of Camden having been effected by striking at the posts below it, the same manœuvre was now attempted to induce the British to leave Orangeburgh. With this view, Generals Sumter and Marion, with their brigades, and the legion cavalry, were detached to Monk's Corner and Dorchester. They moved down different roads, and commenced separate and successful attacks, on convoys and detachments in the vicinity of Charleston. In this manner was the war carried on. While the British kept their forces compact, they could not cover the country, and the American general had the prudence to avoid fighting. When they divided their army, their detachments were attacked and defeated. While they were in the upper country, light parties of Americans annoyed their small posts in the lower settlements. The people soon found that the late conquerors were not able to afford them their promised protection. The spirit of revolt became general, and the royal interest declined daily.

The British having evacuated all their posts to the northward of Santee and Congaree, and to the westward of Edisto, conceived themselves able to hold all that fertile country which is in a great measure enclosed by these rivers. They therefore once more resumed their station, near the junction of the Wateree and Congaree. This induced General Greene to concert farther measures for forcing them down towards Charleston. He therefore crossed the Wateree and Congaree, and collected his whole force on the south side of the latter, intending to act offensively. On his approach the British retired about forty miles nearer Charleston, and took post at the Eutaw Springs. General Greene advanced with two thousand men, to attack them in their encampment at this place. His force was drawn up in two lines: The first was composed of militia, and the second of continental troops. As the Americans advanced they fell in with two parties of the British, three or four miles ahead of their main army. These, being briskly attacked, soon retired. The militia continued to pursue and fire, till the action became general, and till they were obliged to give way. They were well supported by the continental troops. In the hottest of

the action, Colonel O. Williams and Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, with the Maryland and Virginia continentals, charged with trailed arms. Nothing could surpass the intrepidity of both officers and men on this occasion. They rushed on in good order through a heavy cannonade and a shower of musketry, with such unshaken resolution, that they bore down all before them. Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, while bravely leading his men on to that successful charge, received a mortal wound. After he had fallen he inquired who gave way, and being informed that the British were fleeing in all quarters, replied, "I die contented," and immediately expired. The British were vigorously pursued, and upwards of five hundred of them were taken prisoners. On their retreat they took post in a strong brick house, and in a picketted garden. From these advantageous positions they renewed the action. Four six-pounders were ordered up before the house from under cover of which the British were firing. The Americans were compelled to leave these pieces and retire, but they left a strong picket on the field of battle, and only retreated to the nearest water in their rear. In the evening of the next day, Lieutenant-colonel Stuart, who commanded the British on this occasion, left seventy of his wounded men and a thousand stand of arms, and moved from the Eutaws towards Charleston. The loss of the British, inclusive of prisoners, was upwards of eleven hundred men; that of the Americans above five hundred, in which number were sixty officers. Congress honoured General Greene, for his good conduct in this action, with a British standard and a golden medal. They also voted their thanks to the different corps and their commanders.

Soon after this engagement, the Americans retired to their former position on the high hills of Santee, and the British took post in the vicinity of Monk's Corner. In the close of the year, General Greene moved down into the lower country, and about the same time the British abandoned their outposts, and retired with their whole force to the quarter-house on Charleston Neck. The defence of the country was given up, and the conquerors, who had lately carried their arms to the extremities of the state, seldom aimed at any thing more than to secure themselves in the vicinity of the capital. The crops, which had been planted in the spring of the year under British auspices, and with the expectation of affording them supplies, fell into the hands of the Americans and administered to them a seasonable relief. The battle of Eutaw may be considered as closing the national war in South Carolina. A few excursions were afterwards made by the British, and sundry small enterprises were executed, but nothing of more general consequence than the loss of property and of individual lives. Thus ended the campaign of 1781, in South Carolina. At its commencement the British were in force over all the state; at its close they durst not, but with great precaution, venture twenty miles from Charleston.

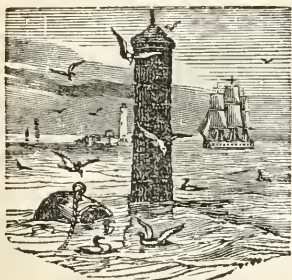
History affords but few instances of commanders, who have achieved so much with equal means, as was done by General Greene in the short space of a twelvemonth. He opened the campaign with gloomy prospects, but closed it with glory. His unpaid and half-naked army had to contend with veteran soldiers, supplied with every thing that the wealth of Britain or the plunder of Carolina could procure. Under all these disadvantages, he compelled superior numbers to retire from the extremity of the state, and confine themselves in the capital and its vicinity. Had not his mind been of the firmest texture, he would have been discouraged ; but his enemies found him as formidable on the evening of a defeat, as on the morning after a victory.





GEORGE THE THIRD.

CAMPAIGN OF 1781—OPERATIONS IN VIRGINIA—CORNWALLIS CAPTURED—NEW LONDON DESTROYED.

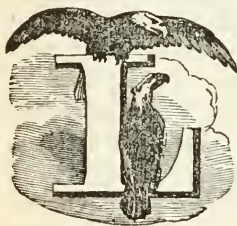


It has already been mentioned that Lord Cornwallis, soon after the battle of Guilford, marched to Wilmington, in North Carolina. When he had completed that march, various plans of operation were presented to his view. It was said in favour of his proceeding southwardly, that the country between Wilmington and Camden was barren and of difficult passage—that an embarkation for Charleston would be both tedious and disgraceful—that a junction with the royal forces in Virginia, and the prosecution of solid operations in that quarter, would be the most effectual

plan for effecting and securing the submission of the more southern states. Other arguments, of apparently equal force, urged his return to South Carolina. Previous to his departure for Virginia, he had received information that General Greene had begun his march for Camden, and he had reason from past experience to fear that if he did not follow him, the inhabitants, by a second revolt, would give the American army a superiority over the small force left under Lord Rawdon. Though his lordship was very apprehensive of danger from that quarter, he hoped either that Lord Rawdon would be able to stand his ground, or that General Greene would follow the royal army to Virginia, or in the most unfavourable event he flattered himself, that, by the conquest of Virginia, the recovery of South Carolina would be at any time practicable. His lordship having too much pride to turn back, and preferring the extensive scale of operations which Virginia presented, to the narrow one of preserving past conquests, determined to leave Carolina to its fate. [April 25.] Before the end of April, he therefore proceeded on his march, from Wilmington towards Virginia. To favour the passage of the many rivers with which the country is intersected, two boats were mounted on carriages and taken along with his army. The king's troops proceeded several days without opposition, and almost without intelligence. The Americans made an attempt at Swift creek, and afterwards at Fishing creek, to stop their progress, but without any effect. The British took the shortest road to Halifax, and on their arrival there defeated several parties of the Americans, and took some stores, with very little loss on their side. The Roanoke, the Meherrin, and the Nottaway rivers were successively crossed by the royal army, and with little or no opposition from the dispersed inhabitants. [May 20.] In less than a month, the march from Wilmington to Petersburg was completed. The latter had been fixed upon as the place of rendezvous, in a private correspondence with General Phillips. By this combination of the royal force previously employed in Virginia, with the troops which had marched from Wilmington, Lord Cornwallis was at the head of a very powerful army. This junction was scarcely completed, when Lord Cornwallis received Lord Rawdon's report of the advantage he had gained over General Greene, on the 25th of the preceding month. About the same time he received information that three British regiments had sailed from Cork for Charleston.

These two events eased his mind of all anxiety for South Carolina, and inspired him with brilliant hopes of a glorious campaign. He considered himself as having already subdued both the Carolinas, and as being in a fair way to increase his military fame, by the addition of Virginia to the list of his conquests. By the late combination of the royal forces under Phillips and Cornwallis, and by the recent arrival of a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men directly from New York, Virginia became the princi-

pal theatre of operations for the remainder of the campaign. The formidable force, thus collected in one body, called for the vigorous exertions of the friends of independence. The defensive operations, in opposition to it, were principally intrusted to the Marquis de Lafayette. Early in the year he had been detached from the main American army on an expedition, the object of which was a co-operation with the French fleet in capturing General Arnold. On the failure of this, the marquis marched back as far as the head of Elk. There he received an order to return to Virginia to oppose the British forces, which had become more formidable by the arrival of a considerable reinforcement, under General Phillips. He proceeded without delay to Richmond, and arrived there the day before the British reached Manchester, on the opposite side of James river. Thus was the capital of Virginia, at that time filled with almost all the military stores of the state, saved from imminent danger. So great was the superiority of numbers on the side of the British, that the marquis had before him a labour of the greatest difficulty, and was pressed with many embarrassments. In the first moments of the rising tempest, and till he could provide against its utmost rage, he began to retire with his little army, which consisted only of about one thousand regulars, two thousand militia, and sixty dragoons.



ORD CORNWALLIS advanced from Petersburg to James river, which he crossed at Westown, and thence marching through Hanover county, crossed the South Anna or Pamunkey river. The marquis followed his motions, but at a guarded distance. The superiority of the British army, especially of their cavalry, which they easily supplied with good horses from the stables and pastures of

private gentlemen in Virginia, enabled them to traverse the country in all directions. Two distant expeditions were therefore undertaken. The one was to Charlotteville, with the view of capturing the governor and Assembly of the state. The other to Point of Fork, to destroy stores. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, to whom the first was committed, succeeded so far as to disperse the Assembly, capture seven of its members, and to destroy a great quantity of stores at and near Charlotteville. The other expedition, which was committed to Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, was only in part successful, for the Americans had previously removed the most of their stores from Point of Fork. In the course of these marches and counter-marches, immense quantities of property were destroyed, and sundry unimportant skirmishes took place. The British made many partial conquests, but these were seldom of longer duration than their encampments. The young marquis, with a degree of prudence that would have done honour to an old soldier, acted so cautiously on the defensive and made

so judicious a choice of posts, and showed so much vigour and design in his movements, as to prevent any advantage being taken of his weakness. In his circumstances, not to be destroyed was triumph. He effected a junction at Racoonford with General Wayne, who was at the head of eight hundred Pennsylvanians. While this junction was forming, the British got between the American army and its stores, which had been removed from Richmond to Albemarle old court-house. The possession of these was an object with both armies. The marquis by forced marches got within a few miles of the British army, when they were two days' march from Albemarle old court-house. The British general considered himself as sure of his adversary, for he knew that the stores was his object; and he conceived it impracticable for the marquis to get between him and the stores, but by a road in passing which he might be attacked to advantage. The marquis had the address to extricate himself from this difficulty, by opening in the night a nearer road to Albemarle old court-house, which had been long disused and was much embarrassed. [June 18.] To the surprise of Lord Cornwallis, the marquis fixed himself the next day between the British army and the American stores. Lord Cornwallis, finding his schemes frustrated, fell back to Richmond. About this time the marquis's army was reinforced by Steuben's troops, and by militia from the parts adjacent. He followed Lord Cornwallis, and had the address to impress him with an idea that the American army was much greater than it really was. His lordship therefore retreated to Williamsburg. [June 26.] The day after the main body of the British army arrived there, their rear was attacked by an American light corps under Colonel Butler, and sustained a considerable loss.

About the time Lord Cornwallis reached Williamsburg, he received intelligence from New York, setting forth the danger to which the royal army in that city was exposed from a combined attack that was said to be threatened by the French and Americans. Sir Henry Clinton therefore required a detachment from Lord Cornwallis, if he was not engaged in any important enterprise, and recommended to him a healthy station, with an ample defensive force, till the danger of New York was dispersed. Lord Cornwallis, thinking it expedient to comply with this requisition, and judging that his command afterwards would not be adequate to maintain his present position at Williamsburg, determined to retire to Portsmouth. For the execution of this project, it was necessary to cross James river. The Marquis de Lafayette, conceiving this to be a favourable opportunity for acting offensively, advanced on the British. General Wayne, relying on the information of a countryman, that the main body of the British had crossed James river, pushed forward with about eight hundred light troops to harass their rear. Contrary to his expectations, he found the whole British army drawn up ready to oppose him. He instantly conceived that

the best mode of extricating himself from his perilous situation would be to assume a bold countenance, and engage his adversaries before he attempted to retreat. [July 6.] He, therefore, pressed on for some time, and urged an attack with spirit before he fell back. Lord Cornwallis, perhaps suspecting an ambuscade, did not pursue. By this bold manœuvre, Wayne got off with but little loss.



N the course of these various movements, the British were joined by few of the inhabitants, and scarcely by any of the natives. The Virginians for the most part either joined the Americans, or, what was much more common, kept out of the way of the British. To purchase safety by submission, was the policy of very few, and these were for the most part natives of Britain. After Earl Cornwallis had crossed James river, he marched for Portsmouth. He had previously taken the necessary steps for complying with the requisition of Sir Henry Clinton, to send a part of his command to New York. But before they sailed, an express arrived from Sir Henry Clinton with a letter, expressing his preference of Williamsburg to Portsmouth for the residence of the army, and his desire that Old Point Comfort, or Hampton Road, should be secured as a station for line-of-battle ships. The commander-in-chief, at the same time, allowed his lordship to detain any part or the whole of the forces under his command, for completing this service. On examination, Hampton Road was not approved of as a station for the navy. It being a principal object of the campaign to fix on a strong permanent post or place of arms in the Chesapeake for the security of both the army and navy, and Portsmouth and Hampton Road having both been pronounced unfit for that purpose, Yorktown and Gloucester Points were considered as most likely to accord with the views of the royal commanders. Portsmouth was, therefore, evacuated, and its garrison transferred to Yorktown. Lord Cornwallis availed himself of Sir Henry Clinton's permission to retain the whole force under his command, and impressed with the necessity of establishing a strong place of arms in the Chesapeake, applied himself with industry to fortify his new posts, so as to render them tenable by his present army, amounting to seven thousand men, against any force that he supposed likely to be brought against them.

At this period, the officers of the British navy expected that their fleet in the West Indies would join them, and that solid operations in Virginia would in a short time re-commence with increased vigour.

[August 30.] While they were indulging these hopes, Count de Grasse, with a French fleet of twenty-eight sail of the line from the West Indies, entered the Chesapeake, and about the same time intelligence arrived, that the French and American armies, which had been lately stationed in the

more northern states, were advancing towards Virginia. Count de Grasse, without loss of time, blocked up York river with three large ships and some frigates, and moored the principal part of his fleet in Lynhaven bay. Three thousand two hundred French troops, brought in this fleet from the West Indies, commanded by the Marquis de St. Simon, were disembarked and soon after formed a junction with the continental troops under the Marquis de Lafayette, and the whole took post at Williamsburg. An attack on this force was intended, but before all the arrangements subservient to its execution were fixed upon, letters of an early date in September were received by Lord Cornwallis from Sir Henry Clinton, announcing that he would do his utmost to reinforce the royal army in the Chesapeake, or make every diversion in his power, and that Admiral Digby was hourly expected on the coast. On the receipt of this intelligence, Earl Cornwallis, not thinking himself justified in hazarding an engagement, abandoned the resolution of attacking the combined force of Lafayette and St. Simon. It is the province of history to relate what has happened, and not to indulge conjectures in the boundless field of contingencies; otherwise it might be added that Earl Cornwallis, by this change of opinion, lost a favourable opportunity of extricating himself from a combination of hostile force, which by farther concentration soon became irresistible. On the other hand, if an attack had been made, and that had proved unsuccessful, he would have been charged with rashness in not waiting for the promised co-operation. On the same uncertain ground of conjecturing what ought to have been done, it might be said that the knowledge Earl Cornwallis had of public affairs, would have justified him in abandoning Yorktown, in order to return to South Carolina. It seems as though this would have been his wisest plan; but either from an opinion that his instructions to stand his ground were positive, or that effectual relief was probable, his lordship thought proper to risk every thing on the issue of a siege. An attempt was made to burn or dislodge the French ships in the river, but none to evacuate his posts at this early period, when that measure was practicable.

Admiral Greaves, with twenty sail of the line, made an effort for the relief of Lord Cornwallis, but without effecting his purpose. [Sept. 7.] When he appeared off the capes of Virginia, M. de Grasse went out to meet him, and an indecisive engagement took place. The British were willing to renew the action; but De Grasse, for good reasons, declined it. His chief object in coming out of the capes was to cover a French fleet of eight line-of-battle ships, which was expected from Rhode Island. In conformity to a preconcerted plan, Count de Barras, commander of this fleet, had sailed for the Chesapeake, about the same time De Grasse sailed from the West Indies for the same place. To avoid the British fleet, he had taken a circuit by Bermuda. For fear that the British fleet might

intercept him on his approach to the capes of Virginia, De Grasse came out to be at hand for his protection. While Greaves and De Grasse were manœuvring near the mouth of the Chesapeake, Count de Barras passed the former in the night, and got within the capes of Virginia. This gave the fleet of his most Christian majesty a decided superiority. Admiral Greaves soon took his departure, and M. de Grasse re-entered the Chesapeake.

All this time, conformably to the well-digested plan of the campaign, the French and the American forces were marching through the middle states on their way to Yorktown. To understand, in their proper connection, the great events shortly to be described, it is necessary to go back and trace the remote causes which brought on this grand combination of fleets and armies which put a period to the war.

The fall of Charleston, in May, 1780, and the complete route of the American southern army in August following, together with the increasing inability of the Americans to carry on the war, gave a serious alarm to the friends of independence. In this low ebb of their affairs, a pathetic statement of their distresses was made to their illustrious ally, the king of France. To give greater efficacy to their solicitations, Congress appointed Lieutenant-colonel John Laurens their special minister, and directed him, after repairing to the court of Versailles, to urge the necessity of a speedy and effectual succour, and, in particular, to solicit for a loan of money, and the co-operation of a French fleet, in attempting some important enterprise against the common enemy. His great abilities as an officer had been often displayed; but on this occasion, the superior talents of the statesman and negotiator were called forth into action. Animated as he was with the ardour of the warmest patriotism, and feeling most sensibly for the distresses of his country, his whole soul was exerted to interest the court of France in giving a vigorous aid to their allies. His engaging manners and insinuating address procured a favourable reception to his representations. He won the hearts of those who were at the helm of public affairs, and inflamed them with zeal to assist a country whose cause was so ably pleaded, and whose sufferings were so pathetically represented. At this crisis, his most Christian majesty gave his American allies a subsidy of six millions of livres, and became their security for ten millions more, borrowed for their use in the United Netherlands. A naval co-operation was promised, and a conjunct expedition against their common foes was projected.

The American war was now so far involved in the consequences of naval operations, that a superior French fleet seemed to be the only hinge on which it was likely soon to take a favourable turn. The British army being parcelled in the different seaports of the United States, any division of it, blocked up by a French fleet, could not long resist the superior combined force which might be brought to operate against it. The Marquis

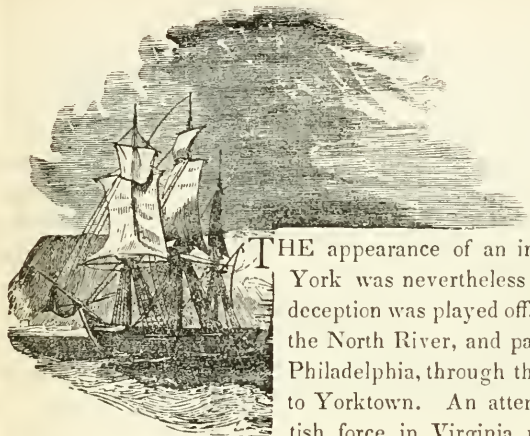
de Castries, who directed the marine of France, with great precision calculated the naval force which the British could concentrate on the coast of the United States, and disposed his own in such a manner as insured him a superiority. In conformity to these principles, and in subserviency to the design of the campaign, M. de Grasse sailed in March, 1781, from Brest, with twenty-five sail of the line, several thousand land forces, and a large convoy amounting to more than two hundred ships. A small part of this force was destined for the East Indies, but M. de Grasse, with the greater part, sailed for Martinique. The British fleet then in the West Indies had been previously weakened by the departure of a squadron for the protection of the ships which were employed in carrying to England the booty which had been taken at St. Eustatius. The British admirals, Hood and Drake, were detached to intercept the outward-bound French fleet, commanded by M. de Grasse, but a junction between his force and eight ships of the line, and one of fifty guns, which were previously at Martinique and St. Domingo, was, nevertheless, effected. By this combination of fresh ships from Europe, with the French fleet previously in the West Indies, they had a decided superiority. M. de Grasse having finished his business in the West Indies, sailed in the beginning of August with a prodigious convoy. After seeing this out of danger, he directed his course for the Chesapeake, and arrived there, as has been related, on the 30th of the same month. Five days before his arrival in the Chesapeake, the French fleet in Rhode Island sailed for the same place. These fleets, notwithstanding their original distance from the scene of action and from each other, coincided in their operations in an extraordinary manner, far beyond the reach of military calculation. They all tended to one object, and at one and the same time, and that object was neither known nor suspected by the British, till the proper season for counter-action was elapsed. This coincidence of favourable circumstances extended to the marches of the French and American land forces. The plan of operations had been so well digested, and was so faithfully executed by the different commanders, that General Washington and Count Rochambeau had passed the British head-quarters in New York, and were considerably advanced in their way to Yorktown, before Count de Grasse had reached the American coast. This was effected in the following manner. [May 6.] Monsieur de Barras, appointed to the command of the French squadron at Newport, arrived at Boston with despatches for Count Rochambeau. An interview soon after took place at Wethersfield, between General Washington, Knox, and Du Portail, on the part of the Americans, and Count de Rochambeau and the Chevalier Chastelleux, on the part of the French. At this interview, an eventual plan of the whole campaign was fixed. This was to lay siege to New York, in concert with a French fleet which was to arrive on the coast in the month of August. It was agreed

that the French troops should march toward the North River Letters were addressed by General Washington, to the executive officers of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Jersey, requiring them to fill up their battalions, and to have their quotas, six thousand two hundred militia, in readiness, within a week of the time they might be called for. Conformably to these outlines of the campaign, the French troops marched from Rhode Island in June, and early in the following month joined the American army. About the time this junction took place, General Washington marched his army from their winter encampment, near Peekskill, to the vicinity of Kingsbridge. General Lincoln fell down the North River with a detachment in boats, and took possession of the ground where Fort Independence formerly stood. An attack was made upon him, but was soon discontinued. The British, about this time, retired with almost the whole of their force to York Island. General Washington hoped to be able to commence operations against New York, about the middle, or, at farthest, the latter end of July. Flat-bottomed boats, sufficient to transport five thousand men, were built near Albany, and brought down the Hudson river to the neighbourhood of the American army before New York. Ovens were erected opposite to Staten Island, for the use of the French troops. Every movement was made which was introductory to the commencement of the siege. It was not a little mortifying to General Washington, to find himself on the 2d of August to be only a few hundreds stronger than he was on the day his army first moved from their winter quarters. To have fixed on a plan of operations, with a foreign officer, at the head of a respectable force: to have brought that force from a considerable distance, in confident expectation of reinforcements sufficiently large to commence effective operations against the common enemy, and at the same time to have engagements in behalf of the state violated in direct opposition to their own interest, and in a manner derogatory to his personal honour, was enough to have excited storms and tempests in any mind less calm than that of General Washington. He bore this hard trial with his usual magnanimity, and contented himself with repeating his requisitions to the states, and at the same time urged them by every tie, to enable him to fulfil engagements entered into on their account, with the commander of the French troops.

The tardiness of the states, which at other times had brought them near the brink of ruin, was now the accidental cause of real service. Had they sent forward their recruits for the regular army, and their quotas of militia, as was expected, the siege of New York would have commenced in the latter end of July or early in August. While the season was wasting away in expectation of these reinforcements, Lord Cornwallis, as has been mentioned, fixed himself near the capes of Virginia. His situation there, the arrival of a reinforcement of three thousand Germans from Europe to New

York, the superior strength of that garrison, the failure of the states in filling up their battalions and embodying their militia, and especially recent intelli-

gence from Count de Grasse, that his destination was fixed to the Chesapeake, concurred about the middle of August to make a total change of the plan of the campaign.



THE appearance of an intention to attack New York was nevertheless kept up. While this deception was played off, the allied army crossed the North River, and passed on by the way of Philadelphia, through the intermediate country to Yorktown. An attempt to reduce the British force in Virginia promised success with more expedition, and to secure an object of nearly equal importance as the reduction of New York. No one can undertake to say what would have been the consequence, if the allied forces had persevered in their original plan; but it is evident from the event, that no success could have been greater, or more conducive to the establishment of their schemes, than what resulted from their operations in Virginia.

While the attack of New York was in serious contemplation, a letter from General Washington, detailing the particulars of the intended operations of the campaign, being intercepted, fell into the hands of Sir Henry Clinton. After the plan was changed, the royal commander was so much under the impression of the intelligence contained in the intercepted letter, that he believed every movement towards Virginia to be a feint, calculated to draw off his attention from the defence of New York. Under the influence of this opinion, he bent his whole force to strengthen that post, and suffered the French and American armies to pass him without any molestation. When the best opportunity of striking at them was elapsed, then for the first time he was brought to believe that the allies had fixed on Virginia for the theatre of their combined operations. As truth may be made to answer the purposes of deception, so no feint of attacking New York could have been more successful than the real intention.

In the latter end of August the American army began their march to Virginia, from the neighbourhood of New York. General Washington had advanced as far as Chester before he received the news of the arrival of the fleet, commanded by Monsieur de Grasse. The French troops marched at the same time, and for the same place. In the course of this summer they passed through all the extensive settlements which lie

between Newport and Yorktown. It seldom, if ever, happened before, that an army led through a foreign country, at so great a distance from their own, among a people of different principles, customs, language, and religion, behaved with so much regularity. In their march to Yorktown they had passed through five hundred miles of a country abounding in fruit, and at a time when the most delicious productions of nature, growing on and near the public highways, presented both opportunity and temptation to gratify their appetites. Yet so complete was their discipline, that in this long march scarce an instance could be produced of a peach or an apple being taken without the consent of the inhabitants. General Washington and Count Rochambeau reached Williamsburg on the 14th of September. They, with General Chastelleux, Du Portail, and Knox, proceeded to visit Count de Grasse, on board his ship, the *Ville de Paris*, and agreed on a plan of operations.

The count afterwards wrote to Washington, that in case a British fleet appeared, "he conceived that he ought to go out and meet them at sea, instead of risking an engagement in a confined situation." This alarmed the general. He sent the Marquis de Lafayette, with a letter to dissuade him from the dangerous measure. This letter, and the persuasions of the marquis, had the desired effect.

The combined forces proceeded on their way to Yorktown, partly by land, and partly down the Chesapeake. The whole, together with a body of Virginia militia, under the command of General Nelson, amounting in the aggregate to twelve thousand men, rendezvoused at Williamsburg, on the 25th of September, and in five days after, moved down to the investiture of Yorktown. The French fleet at the same time moved to the mouth of York river, and took a position which was calculated to prevent Lord Cornwallis either from retreating, or receiving succour by water. Previously to the march from Williamsburg to Yorktown, Washington gave out in general orders as follows: "If the enemy should be tempted to meet the army on its march, the general particularly enjoins the troops to place their principal reliance on the bayonet, that they may prove the vanity of the boast, which the British make of their peculiar prowess, in deciding battles with that weapon."



HE combined army halted in the evening, about two miles from Yorktown, and lay on their arms all night. On the next day, Colonel Scammell, an officer of uncommon merit, and of the most amiable manners, in approaching the outer works of the British, was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. About this time, Earl Cornwallis received a letter from Sir Henry Clinton, announcing the arrival of Admiral Digby, with three ships of the line from Europe, and the determination of the general and flag officers in New York to embark five thousand men in a fleet, which would probably



CAPTURE OF THE REDOUBTS.

sail on the 5th of October—that this fleet consisted of twenty-three sail of the line, and that joint exertions of the navy and army would be made for his relief. On the night after the receipt of this intelligence, Earl Cornwallis quitted his outward position, and retired to one more inward.

The works erected for the security of Yorktown on the right, were redoubts and batteries, with a line of stockade in the rear. A marshy ravine lay in front of the right, over which was placed a large redoubt. The morass extended along the centre, which was defended by a line of stockade, and by batteries: on the left of the centre was a hornwork with a ditch, a row of fraize and an abattis. Two redoubts were advanced before the left. The combined forces advanced and took possession of the ground from which the British had retired. About this time, the legion cavalry and mounted infantry passed over the river to Gloucester. General de Choisy invested the British post on that side so fully, as to cut off all communication between it and the country. In the mean time the royal army was straining every nerve to strengthen their works, and their artillery was constantly employed in impeding the operations of the combined army. On the 9th and 10th of October, the French and Americans opened their batteries. They kept up a brisk and well-directed fire from heavy cannon, from mortars, and howitzers. The shells of the besiegers reached the ships in the harbour; the Charon of forty-four guns, and a

transport ship, were burned. On the 10th, a messenger arrived with a despatch from Sir Henry Clinton to Earl Cornwallis, dated on the 30th of September, which stated various circumstances tending to lessen the probability of relief being obtained, by a direct movement from New York. Earl Cornwallis was at this juncture advised to evacuate Yorktown, and after passing over to Gloucester, to force his way into the country. Whether this movement would have been successful, no one can with certainty pronounce, but it could not have produced any consequences more injurious to the royal interest than those which resulted from declining the attempt. On the other hand, had this movement been made, and the royal army been defeated or captured in the interior country, and in the mean time had Sir Henry Clinton, with the promised relief, reached Yorktown, the precipitancy of the noble earl would have been, perhaps, more the subject of censure, than his resolution of standing his ground and resisting to the last extremity. From this uncertain ground of conjectures, I proceed to relate real events. [October 11.] The besiegers commenced their second parallel two hundred yards from the works of the besieged. Two redoubts which were advanced on the left of the British greatly impeded the progress of the combined armies. It was, therefore, proposed to carry them by storm. To excite a spirit of emulation, the reduction of the one was committed to the French, of the other to the Americans. The assailants marched to the assault with unloaded arms; having passed the abatis and palisades, they attacked on all sides, and carried the redoubt in a few minutes, with the loss of eight killed, and twenty-eight wounded. Lieutenant-colonel Laurens personally took the commanding officer prisoner. His humanity, and that of his associates, so overcame their resentments, that they spared the British, though they were charged when they went to the assault, to remember New London, (the massacres at which place shall be hereafter related,) and to retaliate by putting the men in the redoubt to the sword. Being asked why they had disobeyed orders by bringing them off as prisoners, they answered, "We could not put them to death, when they begged for their lives." About five of the British were killed, and the rest were captured. Colonel Hamilton, who conducted the enterprise, in his report to the Marquis de Lafayette, mentioned, to the honour of his detachment, "that incapable of imitating examples of barbarity, and forgetting recent provocations, they spared every man who ceased to resist."

The French were equally successful on their part. They carried the redoubt assigned to them with rapidity, but lost a considerable number of men. These two redoubts were included in the second parallel, and facilitated the subsequent operations of the besiegers. The British could not with propriety risk repeated sallies. One was projected at this time, [Oct. 16,] consisting of four hundred men, commanded by Lieutenant-



SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS.

colonel Abercrombie. He proceeded so far as to force two redoubts, and to spike eleven pieces of cannon. Though the officers and soldiers displayed great bravery in this enterprise, yet their success produced no essential advantage. The cannon were soon unspiked and rendered fit for service.

By this time the batteries of the besiegers were covered with nearly a hundred pieces of heavy ordnance, and the works of the besieged were so damaged, that they could scarcely show a single gun. Lord Cornwallis had now no hope left but from offering terms of capitulation or attempting an escape. He determined on the latter. This, though less practicable than when first proposed, was not altogether hopeless. Boats were prepared to receive the troops in the night, and to transport them to Gloucester-Point. After one whole embarkation had crossed, a violent storm of wind and rain dispersed the boats employed on this business, and frustrated the whole scheme. The royal army, thus weakened by division, was exposed to increased danger.

Orders were sent to those who had passed, to re-cross the river to Yorktown. With the failure of this scheme the last hope of the British army

expired. Longer resistance could answer no good purpose, and might occasion the loss of many valuable lives. Lord Cornwallis therefore wrote a letter to General Washington, requesting a cessation of arms for twenty-four hours, and that commissioners might be appointed to digest terms of capitulation. It is remarkable, while Lieutenant-colonel Laurens, the officer employed by General Washington on this occasion, was drawing up these articles, that his father was closely confined in the tower of London, of which Earl Cornwallis was constable. By this singular combination of circumstances, his lordship became a prisoner to the son of his own prisoner.

[Oct. 19.] The posts of York and Gloucester were surrendered by a capitulation, the principal articles of which were as follows: The troops to be prisoners of war to Congress, and the naval force to France. The officers to retain their side-arms, and private property of every kind; but all property, obviously belonging to the inhabitants of the United States, to be subject to be reclaimed. The soldiers to be kept in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, and to be supplied with the same rations as are allowed to soldiers in the service of Congress. A proportion of the officers to march into the country with the prisoners; the rest to be allowed to proceed on parole to Europe, to New York, or to any other American maritime post in possession of the British. The honour of marching out with colours flying, which had been refused to General Lincoln on his giving up Charleston, was now refused to Earl Cornwallis; and General Lincoln was appointed to receive the submission of the royal army at Yorktown precisely in the same way his own had been conducted, about eighteen months before. Lord Cornwallis endeavoured to obtain permission for the British and German troops to return to their respective countries, under no other restrictions than an engagement not to serve against France or America. He also tried to obtain an indemnity for those of the inhabitants who had joined him; but he was obliged to recede from the former, and also to consent that the loyalists in his camp should be given up to the unconditional mercy of their countrymen. His lordship nevertheless obtained permission for the *Bonetta* sloop of war to pass unexamined to New York. This gave an opportunity of screening such of them as were most obnoxious to the Americans.

The regular troops of France and America, employed in this siege, consisted of about seven thousand of the former, and five thousand five hundred of the latter; and they were assisted by about four thousand militia. On the part of the combined army, about three hundred were killed or wounded. On the part of the British, about five hundred; and seventy were taken in the redoubts, which were carried by assault on the 14th of October. The troops of every kind that surrendered prisoners of war, exceeded seven thousand men; but so great was the number of sick and

wounded, that there were only three thousand eight hundred capable of bearing arms. The French and American engineers and artillery merited and received the highest applause. Brigadier-generals du Portail and Knox were both promoted to the rank of major-generals on account of their meritorious services. Lieutenant-colonel Gouvion and Captain Rochefontaine, of the corps of engineers, respectively received brevets, the former to the rank of a colonel, and the latter to the rank of a major.

Congress honoured General Washington, Count de Rochambeau, Count de Grasse, and the officers of the different corps, and the men under them, with thanks for their services in the reduction of Lord Cornwallis. The whole project was conceived with profound wisdom, and the incidents of it had been combined with singular propriety. It is not therefore wonderful, that, from the remarkable coincidence in all its parts, it was crowned with unvaried success.

A British fleet, and an army of seven thousand men, destined for the relief of Lord Cornwallis, arrived off the Chesapeake on the 21th of October; but on receiving advice of his lordship's surrender, they returned to Sandy Hook and New York. Such was the fate of that general from whose gallantry and previous successes the speedy conquest of the southern states had been so confidently expected. No event during the war bid fairer for oversetting the independence of at least a part of the confederacy, than his complete victory at Camden; but, by the consequences of that action, his lordship became the occasion of rendering that a revolution which, from his previous success, was in danger of terminating in a rebellion. The loss of his army may be considered as the closing scene of the continental war in North America.

The troops under the command of Lord Cornwallis had spread waste and ruin over the face of all the country for four hundred miles on the sea-coast, and for two hundred miles to the westward. Their marches from Charleston to Camden, from Camden to the river Dan, from the Dan, through North Carolina, to Wilmington; from Wilmington to Petersburg, and from Petersburg through many parts of Virginia, till they finally settled in Yorktown, made a route of more than eleven hundred miles. Every place through which they passed in these various marches, experienced the effects of their rapacity. Their numbers enabled them to go whithersoever they pleased; their rage for plunder disposed them to take whatever they had the means of removing; and their animosity to the Americans led them often to the wanton destruction of what they could neither use nor carry off. By their means thousands had been involved in distress. The reduction of such an army occasioned unusual transports of joy in the breasts of the whole body of the people. Well authenticated testimony asserts that the nerves of some were so agitated as to produce convulsions, and that at least one man expired under the tide of pleasure

which flowed upon him when informed of his lordship's surrender.* The people throughout the United States displayed a social triumph and exultation which no private prosperity is ever able fully to inspire. General Washington, on the day after the surrender, ordered "that those who were under arrest should be pardoned and set at liberty." His orders closed as follows: "Divine service shall be performed to-morrow in the different brigades and divisions. The commander-in-chief recommends, that all the troops that are not upon duty do assist at it with a serious deportment, and that sensibility of heart, which the recollection of the surprising and particular interposition of Providence in our favour claims." Congress, on receiving the official account of the great events which had taken place at Yorktown, resolved [Sept. 6] to go in procession to church, and return public thanks to Almighty God for the advantages they had gained. They also issued a proclamation for "religiously observing, through the United States, the 13th of December as a day of thanksgiving and prayer." The singularly interesting event of captivating a second royal army produced strong emotions, which broke out in all the variety of ways with which the most rapturous joy usually displays itself.



WHILE the combined armies were advancing to the siege of Yorktown, an excursion was made from New York, which was attended with no small loss to the Americans. General Arnold, who had lately returned from Virginia, was appointed to conduct an expedition, the object of which was the town of New London in his native country. The troops employed therein were landed in two detachments on each side of the harbour

[Sept. 6.] The one was commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Eyre and the other by General Arnold. The latter met with little opposition. Fort Trumbull and a redoubt which was intended to cover the harbour, not being tenable, were evacuated, and the men crossed the river to Fort Griswold on Groton Hill. This was furiously attacked by Lieutenant-colonel Eyre: the garrison defended themselves with great resolution, but after a severe conflict of forty minutes, the fort was carried by the assailants. The Americans had not more than six or seven men killed, when the British carried their lines, but a severe execution took place afterwards, though resistance had ceased. An officer of the conquering troops inquired on his entering the fort, who commanded. Colonel Ledyard answered, "I did, but you do now," and presented him his sword. The colonel was immediately run through the body and killed. Between thirty and forty

* The doorkeeper of Congress, an aged man, died suddenly, immediately after hearing of the capture of Lord Cornwallis's army. This death was universally ascribed to a violent emotion of political joy.

were wounded, and about forty were carried off prisoners. On the side of the British forty-eight were killed, and one hundred and forty-five wounded; among the latter was Major Montgomery, and among the former was Colonel Eyre. About fifteen vessels, loaded with the effects of the inhabitants, retreated up the river, and four others remained in the harbour unhurt, but all excepting these were burned by the communication of fire from the burning stores. Sixty dwelling-houses and eighty-four stores were reduced to ashes. The loss which the Americans sustained by the destruction of naval stores, of provisions and merchandise, was immense. General Arnold, having completed the object of the expedition, returned in eight days to New York. The Americans lost many valuable men, and much of their possessions, by this incursion, but the cause for which they contended was uninjured. Expeditions which seemed to have no higher object than the destruction of property, alienated their affections still farther from British government. They were not so extensive as to answer the ends of conquest, and the momentary impression resulting from them produced no lasting intimidation. On the other hand, they excited a spirit of revenge against the authors of such accumulated distresses.

The year 1781 terminated, in all parts of the United States, in favour of the Americans. It began with weakness in South Carolina, mutiny in New Jersey, and devastation in Virginia; nevertheless, in its close, the British were confined to their strong-holds in or near New York, Charleston, and Savannah, and their whole army in Virginia was captured. They in the course of the year had acquired much plunder by which individuals were enriched, but their nation was in no respect benefited. The whole campaign passed away on their part without one valuable conquest, or the acquisition of any post or place, from which higher purposes were answered, than destroying public stores or distressing individuals, and enriching the officers and privates of their army and navy. The important services rendered by France to the Americans cemented the union of the two nations with additional ties. The orderly, inoffensive behaviour of the French troops in the United States, contrasted with the havoc of property made by the British in their marches and excursions, was silently turning the current of popular esteem in favour of the former, and working a revolution in the minds of the inhabitants, greatly conducive to the establishment of that which had taken place in the government. The property of the inhabitants of Rhode Island received no damage of any account from the French troops, during their eleven months' residence among them. The soldiers were rather a guard than a nuisance. The citizens met with no interruption when prosecuting their lawful business, either by night or day, and were treated with every mark of attention and respect. While the progress of the British army, in a circuitous march of eleven hundred miles from Charleston to Yorktown, was marked with rapine and desola-

tion, the march of the French troops from Rhode Island to the same place, a distance nearly equal in a right line, was productive of no inconvenience to the intermediate inhabitants. They were welcome guests wherever they came, for they took nothing by fraud and force, but punctually paid for all they wanted with hard money. In a contest where the good will of the people had so powerful an influence on its final issue, such opposite modes of conduct could not fail of producing their natural effects. The moderation and justice of the French met with its reward in the general good will of the people, but the violence and rapine of the British contributed, among other things, to work the final overthrow of all their schemes in America.



On the last day of this year [Dec. 1781] Henry Laurens was released from his long confinement in the Tower of London. He had been committed there, as already related, on the 6th of October, 1780, "On suspicion of high treason," after being examined in the presence of Lord Stormont, Lord George Germaine, Lord Hillsborough, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Justice Addington, and others. The commitment was accompanied with a warrant to the lieutenant of the Tower to receive and confine him. Their lordships' orders were "To confine him a close prisoner; to be locked up every night; to be in the custody of two warders; not to suffer him to be out of their sight one moment, day nor night; to allow him no liberty of speaking to any person, nor to permit any person to speak to him; to deprive him of the use of pen and ink; to suffer no letter to be brought to him, nor any to go from him." Mr. Laurens was then fifty-five years old, and severely afflicted with the gout and other infirmities. In this situation he was conducted to apartments in the Tower, and was shut up in two small rooms which together made about twenty feet square, with a warder for his constant companion, and a fixed bayonet under his window, without any friend to converse with, and without any prospect or even the means of correspondence. Being debarred the use of pen and ink, he procured pencils, which proved a useful substitute. After a month's confinement, he was permitted to walk out on limited ground, but a warder with a sword in his hand followed close behind. This indulgence was occasionally taken for about three weeks, when Lord George Gordon, who was also a prisoner in the Tower, unluckily met and asked Mr. Laurens to walk with him. Mr. Laurens declined the offer, and instantly returned to his apartment. Governor Gore caught at this transgression of orders, and locked him up for thirty-seven days, though the attending warder exculpated him from all blame. At the end of that time the governor relented so far as to permit his prisoner to walk on the parade before the door, but this honour, as coming from him, was refused. General

Vernon, on hearing of what had passed, gave orders that Mr. Laurens should be permitted to walk out, and this exercise was in consequence thereof resumed, after an intermission of two months and a half.

About this time [Feb. 26, 1781] an old friend and mercantile correspondent, having solicited the secretaries of state for Mr. Laurens's enlargement on parole, and having offered his whole fortune as security for his good conduct, sent him the following message: "Their lordships say, if you will point out any thing for the benefit of Great Britain, in the present dispute with the colonies, you shall be enlarged." This proposition filled him with indignation, and provoked a sharp reply, part of which was in the following words: "I perceive from the message you sent me, that if I were a rascal I might presently get out of the Tower, but I am not. You have pledged your word and fortune for my integrity. I will never dishonour you nor myself. I can foresee what will come to pass. Happen to me what may, I fear no possible consequences."

The same friend soon after [March 7] visited Mr. Laurens, and being left alone with him, addressed him as follows: "I converse with you this morning, not particularly as your friend, but as the friend of Great Britain. I have certain propositions to make for obtaining your liberty, which I advise you should take time to consider." Mr. Laurens desired to know what they were, and added, "That an honest man required no time to give an answer, in a case where his honour was concerned. If," said he, "the secretaries of state will enlarge me upon parole, I will strictly conform to my engagement to do nothing directly or indirectly to the hurt of this kingdom. I will return to America, or remain in any part of England which may be assigned, and surrender myself when demanded." It was answered, "No, sir, you must stay in London among your friends: the ministers will often have occasion to send for and consult you: you can write two or three lines to the ministers, and barely say you are sorry for what is past. A pardon will be granted: every man has been wrong, at some time or other of his life, and should not be ashamed to acknowledge it." Mr. Laurens replied, "I will never subscribe to my own infamy, and to the dishonour of my children." He was then told of long and painful confinement, and hints were thrown out of the possible consequences of his refusal: to which he replied, "I am afraid of no consequences but such as would flow from dishonourable acts."

In about a week after this interview, Major-general James Grant, who had long been acquainted with Mr. Laurens, and had served with him near twenty years before, on an expedition against the Cherokee Indians, visited him in the Tower, and talked much of the inconveniences of his situation, and then addressed him thus: "Colonel Laurens, I have brought paper and pencil to take down any propositions you have to make to the administration, and I will deliver them myself." Mr. Laurens replied, "I have

pencil and paper, but not one proposition, beyond repeating a request to be enlarged on parole. I had well weighed what consequences might follow before I entered into the present dispute. I took the path of justice and honour, and no personal evils can cause me to shrink."

About this time, Lieutenant-colonel Laurens, the eldest son of Henry Laurens, arrived in France, as the special minister of Congress. The father was requested to write to the son to withdraw himself from the court of France, and assurances were given that it would operate in his favour. To these requests he replied, "My son is of age, and has a will of his own; if I should write to him in the terms you request, it would have no effect: he would only conclude, that confinement and persuasion had softened me. I know him to be a man of honour; he loves me dearly, and would lay down his life to save mine; but I am sure he would not sacrifice his honour to save my life, and I applaud him."

[June 29.] Mr. Laurens penciled an address to the secretaries of state for the use of pen and ink, to draw a bill of exchange on a merchant in London who was in his debt, for money to answer his immediate exigencies, and to request that his youngest son might be permitted to visit him, for the purpose of concerting a plan for his farther education and conduct in life. This was delivered to their lordships; but they, though they had made no provision for the support of their prisoner, returned no answer. Mr. Laurens was thus left to languish in confinement under many infirmities, and without the means of applying his own resources on the spot, for his immediate support.

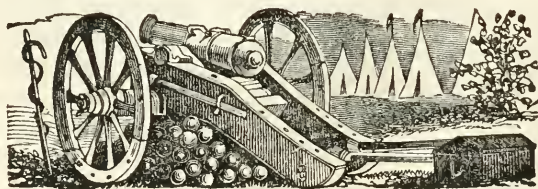
As soon as Mr. Laurens had completed a year in the Tower, he was called upon to pay nine pounds seven shillings and ten pence sterling to the two warders for attending on him. To which he replied, "I was sent to the Tower by the secretaries of state without money (for aught they knew)—their lordships have never supplied me with any thing—it is now upwards of three months since I informed their lordships that the fund I had hitherto subsisted upon was nearly exhausted, and prayed for leave to draw a bill on Mr. John Nutt, who was in my debt, which they have been pleased to refuse by the most grating of all denials, a total silence, and now a demand is made for nine pounds seven shillings and ten pence. If their lordships will permit me to draw money where it is due to me, I will continue to pay my own expenses, but I will not pay the warders whom I never employed, and whose attendance I shall be glad to dispense with."

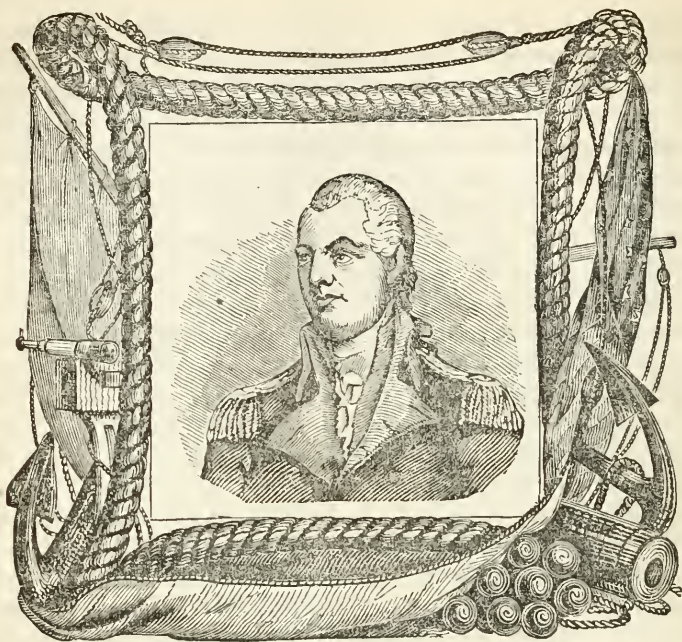
Three weeks after, the secretaries of state consented that Mr. Laurens should have the use of pen and ink, for the purpose of drawing a bill of exchange, but they were taken away the moment that business was done.

About this time, Henry Laurens, jun., wrote an humble request to Lord Hillsborough, for permission to see his father, which his lordship refused

to grant. He had at first been permitted to visit his father and converse with him for a short time; but these interviews were no longer permitted. They nevertheless occasionally met on the lines and saluted each other, but durst not exchange a single word, lest it might occasion a second confinement, similar to that to which Lord George Gordon had been accessary.

As the year 1781 drew near a close, Mr. Laurens's sufferings in the Tower became generally known, and excited compassion in his favour, and odium against the authors of his confinement. It had been also found, by the inefficacy of many attempts, that no concessions could be obtained from him. It was, therefore, resolved to release him, but difficulties arose about the mode. Mr. Laurens would not consent to any act, which implied that he was a British subject, and he had been committed as such, on charge of high treason. Ministers, to extricate themselves from this difficulty, at length proposed to take bail for his appearance at the court of King's Bench. When the words of the recognisance, "Our sovereign lord the King," were read to Mr. Laurens, he replied in open court, "Not my sovereign," and with this declaration he, with Mr. Oswald and Mr. Anderson as his securities, entered into an obligation for his appearance at the court of King's Bench the next Easter term, and for not departing thence without leave of the court. Thus ended a long and a painful farce. Mr. Laurens was immediately released. When the time of his appearance at court drew near, he was not only discharged from all obligations to attend, but was requested by Lord Shelburne to go to the continent, in subserviency to a scheme for making peace with America. Mr. Laurens, startled at the idea of being released without any equivalent, as he had uniformly held himself to be a prisoner of war, replied, that "He durst not accept himself as a gift, and that as Congress had once offered Lieutenant-general Burgoyne for him, he had no doubt of their now giving Lieutenant-general Earl Cornwallis for the same purpose."





COMMODORE BARRY.

COMMODORE BARRY'S VICTORY.



IN the fall of 1781, orders were received by Commodore Barry to fit the *Alliance* for taking the Marquis de Lafayette and Count de Noailles to France, on public business. On the 25th of December, she sailed from Boston, with them on board.

The *Alliance* left L'Orient in February, 1782, from which time she continued cruising, with great success, till March of the following year; when, shortly after leaving Havanna,

whither she had been ordered, to bring the United States a large quantity of specie, having in company the continental ship *Luzerne*, of twenty guns, Captain Greene, three frigates were discovered right ahead, two leagues distant; the American vessels were hove about; the enemy gave chase. The *Luzerne* not sailing as fast as the *Alliance*, the commodore

Alliance and Atlantia



ordered her captain to throw her guns overboard. A sail was then discovered on her weather-bow, bearing down upon them ; the Alliance hove out a signal, which was answered ; she proved to be a French ship, of fifty guns. Relying upon her for assistance, the commodore concluded to bring the headmost of the enemy's ships to action ; after inspiring his crew by an address, and going from gun to gun, and cautioning his men against too much haste, and not to fire until ordered, he prepared for action. The enemy's ship was of equal size with the Alliance ; a severe engagement followed : it was very soon perceptible that the Alliance was gaining the advantage ; most of the enemy's guns were silenced ; and after an action of fifty minutes, the ship was so severely damaged, that she hoisted a signal of distress, when her consorts joined her. The loss on board the Alliance was very trifling—three killed and eleven wounded. The enemy's loss was severe—thirty-seven killed and fifty wounded. The other English frigates were watching the movements of the French ships ; the captain of which, upon coming up with the Alliance, assigned as a reason for keeping aloof from the action, that he was apprehensive the Alliance had been taken, and that the engagement was only a decoy. Chase was made, but the French ship being unable to keep up with the American, it was given over.

A gentleman of distinguished naval reputation, when in the Mediterranean with the American squadron, was introduced to Captain James Vaughan, now Vice-admiral of the Red, the commander of the British frigate engaged with the Alliance. In the course of the conversation, he made particular inquiry after Captain Barry ; related the circumstances of the action ; and, with the frankness of a generous enemy, confessed that he had never seen a ship so ably fought as the Alliance ; that he had never before, to use his own words, "received such a drubbing, and that he was indebted to the assistance of his consorts."





CAPTAIN BARNEY.

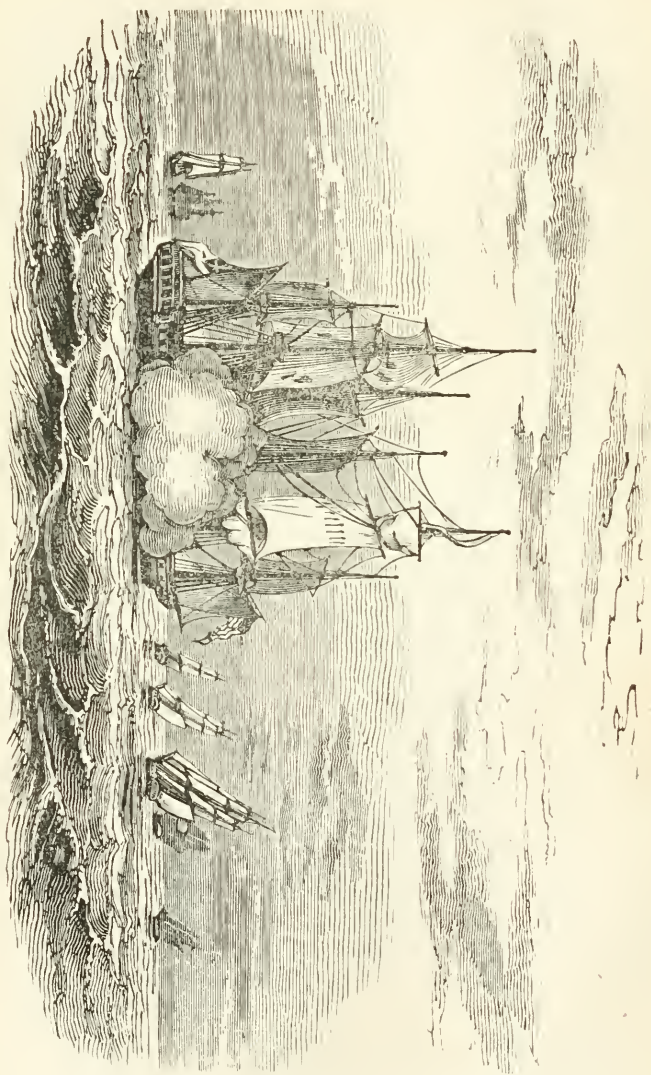
CAPTAIN BARNEY'S VICTORY.



ON the 8th of April, 1782, Captain Barney, in the *Hyder-Ally*, of sixteen guns and a hundred and ten men, sailed from Philadelphia to convoy a fleet of merchantmen to the capes of the Delaware. While the fleet was lying in Cape May road, waiting for a fair wind to take them out to sea, two ships and a brig, a part of the enemy's force, were discovered standing in for them.

Captain Barney immediately made the signal for his convoy to get under way and proceed up the bay, which orders they were not slow in obeying, with the exception of one ship, which had a few guns on board; and her commander very gallantly determined to abide the issue. He was no great help to Barney, for as soon as the action commenced, he, in his haste to get to sea, out of reach of the enemy's balls, ran his ship aground, and escaped with his men, by climbing out to the end of the jib-boom, and jumping ashore, while the ship was taken by the enemy.

Captain Barney kept astern of his convoy, watching the motions of the British vessels with great earnestness. He saw that the brig and one of the ships were following him up the bay through the Cape May channel, while the other ship was manœuvring to run ahead through the other



HYDER-ALLY AND GENERAL MONK.

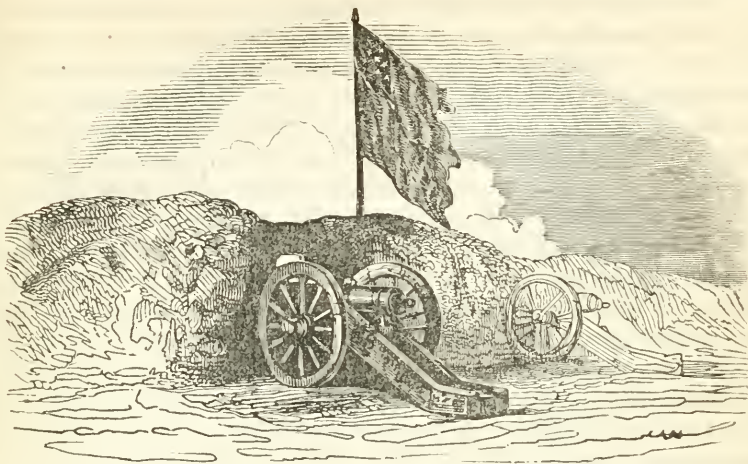
channel, and prevent the convoy from proceeding up the bay. The brig was the first to come up. She gave the *Hyder-Ally* a broadside and passed on; Captain Barney did not return the fire, reserving his shot for the ship, which was coming up rapidly. She advanced within pistol-shot without firing a gun, probably thinking that Barney would not dare to oppose her progress. At this moment, however, the *Hyder-Ally* opened her ports and gave a well-directed broadside, which told her determination in sea-terms, which were not easy to be misunderstood. The enemy then closed in and showed a determination to board; but Barney, perceiving immediately the difficulty of his situation, and knowing that if they succeeded in boarding him, he would have to face a vastly superior force, instantly walked up to the man at the helm and told him to interpret his next order "by the rule of contrary," to do exactly that which is opposed to the command. Soon after, when the enemy was ranging alongside, preparatory to boarding, Captain Barney called out, in a voice intended to be heard on board the adverse ship, "*Hard a-port* your helm—do you want him to run aboard of us?" The seaman immediately understood the order, and put his helm hard *a-starboard*, by which admirable manœuvre the enemy's jib-boom caught in the fore rigging of the *Hyder-Ally*, and there remained entangled during the short but glorious action which followed. The *Hyder-Ally* thus gained a raking position, and such was the terrible quickness and effect of her fire,—having fired *twenty* broadsides in *twenty-six* minutes—that in less than half an hour from the firing of the first broadside, the ship was obliged to strike her colours. But the other ship was now coming rapidly up, and Captain Barney had only time to send on board a lieutenant and thirty-five men, with orders to proceed up immediately after the fleet, while he himself covered the rear. The brig, seeing that the ship had struck, ran aground, to avoid being captured. The ship continued to work her way up the river, as the taking possession of the first was so quick and unexpected that the captain had not time to destroy his book of signals, and Captain Barney having ordered his lieutenant to hoist the British flag on the prize, while he pulled down the American on board the *Hyder-Ally*, the ship thought that the American ship had struck; she, therefore, towards evening, dropped her anchor, making a signal as she did so to the prize-ship, which she did not expect to be under other orders—and believing that she was then working her will among the defenceless convoy.

After the ship had given up the chase, and dropped her anchor for the night, Captain Barney hailed his prize, and inquired what her name, character, and force were. He was answered, "The *General Monk*, of twenty guns, and one hundred and thirty-six men, under the command of Captain Rodgers, of the Royal Navy." The *Hyder-Ally* had only four men killed and eleven wounded; while the *General Monk* had lost twenty

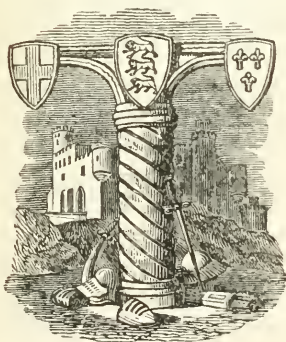
men killed and thirty-three wounded. Among the former, were five of the officers—and among the latter, were Captain Rodgers himself, and every other officer on board, except one midshipman !

The Legislature of Pennsylvania passed a vote of thanks to Captain Barney, and ordered a gold-hilted sword to be prepared for him ; which was soon after presented to him, in the name of the state, by Governor Dickinson.





CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.



HE dreadful catastrophe of Cornwallis, like that of Burgoyne, was felt less by the British from the actual amount of loss sustained, than from the impression which it made upon the public mind of Europe. In Britain, the popular feeling had been raised above former disasters by indignation against the league of the continental powers, and by the brilliant promises which the successes in the southern colonies seemed to afford. During the session of 1780-1781, indeed, Mr. Fox, who now figured as leader

of the opposition, predicted that these would be very ephemeral, and repelled any expectation of finally recovering the lost colonies. Ministers, however, were still confident, and generally supported by the nation. In the course of the year 1781, however, the horizon of Europe assumed a darker aspect. A commercial treaty and other connections formed by Holland with the colonies led to a declaration of war against her, involving a consequent collision with almost the whole naval power of the continent. The Empress of Russia, taking advantage of the state of affairs, placed herself at the head of what was termed the armed neutrality, having in view to limit the right of search hitherto exercised by Great Britain; and though this did not lead to any actual hostility, it rendered the situation of the country still more critical.

When, to the severe pressure thus caused, was added the disastrous intelligence from the new continent, there arose in the nation a cry for peace and for the recognition of American independence, as vehement as formerly for war and supremacy. This was a result, however, for which the cabinet was by no means prepared. On the assembling of parliament, 27th November, 1781, the king's speech still expressed a determination to persevere, and the hope of a finally auspicious issue. Lord North indeed admitted that it was no longer expedient to carry on the war as formerly by marching armies into the interior; his plan was to maintain the present posts, to support the loyalists, and be ready to take advantage of circumstances. Under this view, the estimates were formed on a reduced scale; and an understanding was intimated, that no large reinforcements would be sent out to replace the losses sustained. The opposition members, however, while they traced the disasters to the misconduct of the ministry, urged the folly of Britain continuing to waste her strength in such a hopeless contest. Both the address and estimates, however, were carried by majorities of about two to one, and the recess suspended further discussion.

When the houses reassembled on the 20th January, the unpopularity of government had been aggravated by the capture of Minorca, and of St. Christopher, with several smaller islands in the West Indies. The opposition, led by a phalanx of statesmen of the first rank—Fox, Pitt, Burke, Rockingham, Shelburne—determined to push matters to extremity. They were greatly encouraged by the result of a motion by Mr. Fox concerning the conduct of the naval war, which was negatived by only 205 to 183. It became then evident that the country gentlemen were going over, and that persevering efforts would soon effect the grand object of ejecting the present ministry. A similar motion, on the 19th February, was defeated by only nineteen; and on the 22d, General Conway moved an address, deprecating the continuance of the war in America, and offering aid in a plan of reconciliation. After an animated debate, it was negatived by a majority of only one; when the final issue could not be doubtful. On the 27th, he renewed his motion in another shape; and the minister, though only attempting to parry it by an adjournment, was left in a minority of nineteen. The general then moved, that the house would consider as enemies to their king and country all who should advise or attempt the further prosecution of the war. This was not resisted. Lord North, indeed, while lamenting his lot in holding office under such distressful circumstances, clung to it with extraordinary pertinacity. It was even intimated, that ministers were ready to become instruments in carrying out the measures thus dictated to them by parliament. Lord Germaine, more consistent, had resigned as soon as he saw the cabinet coming round to this conclusion. Nothing could less accord with the views of the opposition than

such an arrangement, which was indeed liable to obvious objections; and seeing that their adversaries would yield only to direct attack, they did not hesitate to employ that course. On the 8th March, 1782, Lord John Cavendish moved a series of resolutions, arraigning the misconduct of ministers, as having caused all the recent disasters. In this extremity however, some of the country gentlemen rallied round the premier, who urged not without reason that every measure now denounced had been sanctioned by large and constant majorities. He obtained in consequence the small one of ten, which however was regarded as an earnest of final triumph to the opposite party. On the 15th a resolution of no-confidence was moved by Sir John Rous. Lord North made a sort of overture to assist in the formation of a coalition cabinet, which was indignantly rejected. His majority was reduced to nine; and to follow up the blow, Mr. Fox announced a similar motion for the 19th; but on that day, Lord Surrey, the intended mover, was anticipated by a declaration that "ministers were no more." The premier made a concluding speech, explaining and defending the policy pursued during his long administration. In a few days, a new cabinet was arranged, having at its head the Marquis of Rockingham, supported by Fox, Burke and others, all advocates of peace, and pledged to obtain it, even by sacrificing dominion over the revolted colonies.

Lord North had already been privately feeling his way towards this object. Even early in 1781, the Empress of Russia had offered her mediation, which Britain had accepted; and at her request, the Emperor of Germany agreed to become a party. France, however, declined acceding, till she could treat along with her transatlantic ally, whom she invited to send plenipotentiaries for that purpose. Congress sent Messrs. Jay, Laurens, and Jefferson to act in concert with Adams, then ambassador at Paris; and they requested Dr. Franklin, though intending to return, that he would remain till this weighty affair was concluded. The powers were almost unlimited, except that they were to agree to nothing short of entire independence, and to make no arrangement without the knowledge and concurrence of the French ministers, by whose advice and opinion they were ultimately to govern themselves. It was agreed that the Congress should be held at Vienna; but difficulties soon arose as to the footing on which it should be conducted. Mr. Adams protested against himself or his associates appearing in any other character than as representatives of an independent state; while the cabinet of London declared that peace could only be made when the league between France and the revolted colonies should be dissolved. This view was even supported by the allied courts, who proposed, indeed, that the two negotiations should be carried on and concluded together, but still as distinct transactions. As the two parties would not recede from these opposite views, the whole mediatory scheme was broken up.

The new ministry, however, made no delay in opening negotiations on a lower basis, and with a thorough desire of bringing them to a favourable conclusion. The agreement was formed, after, it is supposed, considerable objection on the part of the king, and also of Lord Shelburne, to concede to the States their claim of entire independence. Mr. Oswald was sent over to Paris in a private character, to sound both parties. The Count de Vergennes expressed his readiness to enter into negotiation in concert with the American plenipotentiaries, wishing that Paris might be made the theatre. Both these requests were conceded; and on the 7th May, Mr. Grenville went over with full powers. In his first interview, he intimated the expectation, that on the acknowledgment of American independence, the object for which France had entered into the war, she would restore the conquests made during its progress; but Vergennes decidedly refused to admit such a stipulation.

Serious obstacles thus opposed the progress of the treaty; and these were much increased by the death, on the 1st July, of the Marquis of Rockingham, a minister highly esteemed. The place of premier then devolved on Lord Shelburne, who had on former occasions expressed himself very strongly against the grant of independence; and a difference, understood to exist on that subject, induced Fox and Burke to withdraw from the administration. Encouragement to take higher ground might be derived from the state of helplessness and exhaustion into which the United States government had fallen, as it was found impossible to draw from its separate members funds at all adequate to the maintenance of the army, which was thus incapable of undertaking any important enterprise. It is even asserted that Clinton undertook, if supplied with a reinforcement of ten thousand men, to reconquer all the colonies. He had, however, been recalled by the new ministry, and his place supplied by Sir Guy Carleton.

These surmises proved to rest on a very slender foundation. According to Mr. Fox's own explanation, the only difference of opinion was, whether the independence should be at once recognised, or should be reserved as an article of the treaty of peace. The negotiation proceeded as before, except that Mr. Fitzherbert, who enjoyed the confidence of the new ministry, took the place of Mr. Grenville; but Mr. Oswald still continued to conduct the American treaty. It appears, indeed, that Mr. Jones, afterwards celebrated as Sir William Jones, went to Paris, and submitted to Dr. Franklin an imaginary fragment of Polybius, respecting the dissensions between Athens and her colonies. Its tenor was to sound him respecting a continued union, on a completely equal footing, between Britain and the American states; but it does not appear that any direct notice was taken of this kind of overture. Congress, in October, 1782, published a resolution not to accept of any thing short of entire independence, nor to

separate from France. The negotiation went on smoothly. Mr. Oswald's commission had been to treat with the *colonies* or *plantations* in America, terms to which Mr. Jay strongly objected; and though both Vergennes and Franklin were satisfied, yet on a representation being made, a new one was sent over on the 21st September, altering the expression to United States of America. Oswald appears to have been a good easy man, earnestly desirous of bringing the negotiation to a favourable conclusion. The great satisfaction which both Franklin and Adams express, in the temper with which he carried on the discussion, justifies seemingly the suspicion, that he was scarcely a match for the veteran and energetic negotiators against whom he was pitched.

There remained no longer any question as to the grant of independence; but there were still three subjects of warm discussion: 1. The western boundary, which the British wished to be formed by the Ohio, while the states demanded its extension to the lakes. 2. Their requisition of a share in the rich fisheries of Newfoundland, and other northern American coasts. 3. The compensation demanded by the British for the loyalists, who, adhering to the mother-country, had been driven out of the colonies. On all these points the Americans were prepared to make a most resolute stand; but they had soon the mortification to find, that the allied cabinet was disposed, respecting them all, to take a cold and even unfriendly part. This they were found to express, not only to themselves, but even to the British negotiators, particularly in respect to the loyalist compensation. Mr. Adams assigns several reasons for this disposition, which seem rather fanciful. Probably in this monarchical cabinet, amid all the force of political interest, there was a strong feeling in favour of loyalty. The French ministers, too, aiming at extensive objects of their own, felt that the more the Americans gained, the less share could they themselves expect of what England might be willing to cede.

The commissioners now found themselves in a peculiar situation. Mr. Oswald's earnest desire of peace, and also of concluding one separate from France, afforded every assurance of gaining from him the objects considered essential. On the other hand, their instructions bound them strictly to act in concert with the French king; a course to which the States really lay under strong obligations. It was determined, however, under the prompting of Adams, to discard that consideration, and to conclude with all possible speed a separate preliminary treaty with Mr. Oswald. They succeeded almost to their most sanguine hopes. The river St. Lawrence and the lakes were fixed as the leading boundaries, thereby extending their frontier at least to the Mississippi. They were allowed to take fish on the great bank, and within three leagues of the shores of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, and to dry them on any of the unsettled coasts. With regard to compensation for the loyalists, they contrived to satisfy the English by

a stipulation, that Congress would recommend it to the individual states; and they knew too well the degree of attention paid to such recommendations, to suppose that they had committed themselves very deeply by this article. The treaty was signed on the 30th November, 1782.

It became soon necessary to communicate this intelligence to Vergennes, who wrote on the occasion an indignant letter to Dr. Franklin, accusing him of having violated at once his instructions from Congress and his obligations to the French king, and demanding an explanation. That statesman, who had really nothing to say in vindication, thought it best to plead guilty. He only urged, that his offence amounted merely to an indiscretion, a failure of *bienséance*, which he trusted would not interrupt their present happy union. He made lavish protestations of respect and gratitude to the French monarch, promising that nothing should be concluded without his concurrence. Vergennes probably saw that his compunction was not very deep; and in fact Adams at the same time wrote a letter to Mr. Livingstone, foreign minister, strenuously justifying his conduct and that of his colleagues. At such a distance, and in untried circumstances, some discretion was necessary; and they would have been much to blame if, by following instructions issued in ignorance of important facts, they had thrown away great advantages that were within their reach. It does not appear in fact that any censure was ever passed on their having, contrary to orders, secured valuable benefits to their country.

The French cabinet do not seem to have been impelled by resentment to any serious breach. They had moved at first slowly, standing on very high ground; but the victory of Rodney, the signal repulse of the allied armaments before Gibraltar, and the dilapidated state of their finances, which led in a few years to so fatal a crisis, made them very much in earnest on the subject. On the 20th January, 1783, the preliminary treaty was signed between France, Spain, and Great Britain; and on the 3d September, the definitive treaties of all the powers were signed together. That of America was ratified by Congress on the 14th January, 1784.

The United States had thus brought this long struggle to a triumphant issue; yet it left them in a state of peculiar distress and exhaustion. They had incurred a debt of forty-two millions of dollars, (above nine million pounds sterling,) besides twenty-four millions incurred by the particular states. The power of Congress to provide for this burden, and generally to execute any of the functions of government, had become almost a nullity. Of eight millions of dollars, which they had demanded in 1782, as absolutely necessary for these purposes, they had received only four hundred and twenty thousand. Much of the territory had been laid waste by the war, while foreign commerce was nearly annihilated, and internal trade greatly obstructed, through restrictions imposed by the separate legislatures, who were wholly disinclined to submit to any general regulation. Hence,

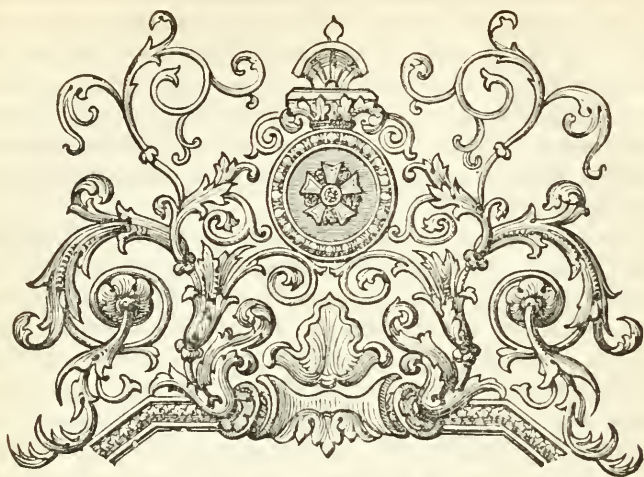
too, it became impossible to enter into any commercial arrangement with foreign nations.

The most urgent pressure arose from the arrears and claims of the army, amounting still to about ten thousand men. During several years they had been almost in a state of starvation, receiving a very small proportion of their pay, and in depreciated currency. They had been flattered by promises of ample liquidation as soon as the contest should terminate; but on seeing the near approach of this event, and of their own consequent dissolution, they began deeply to speculate how and by whom these promises were to be fulfilled. Congress was manifestly incapable of doing more than hand them over to the states, with a favourable recommendation, the efficacy of which long experience had taught them to estimate. The officers in 1780 had received the promise of half-pay; but many states had expressed strong scruples against this measure as unconstitutional and aristocratic, and seemed little inclined to burden at once their consciences and their purses by its fulfilment. Amid these considerations, a disposition arose among the troops to use the arms which they held in their hands as the means of obtaining justice. A colonel, respectable from age and services, wrote to Washington in the name of a number of his brother officers, pointing out the deplorable state of the country, the manifest inefficiency of a republican constitution, and the necessity of adopting a mixed government, in which the power and even the name of king might not be omitted. It was evident at whom he hinted; and Washington had certainly a very fair prospect of being able to assume the sovereign authority. That patriotic commander, however, indignantly repelled the idea, expressing a painful regret that it should have arisen among any part of the army.

This proposal was not renewed; but as the prospects of peace became brighter, the anxieties of the army deepened. In December, 1783, the officers intrusted a committee of their number with a memorial to Congress, representing their distressing situation, complaining that the promises hitherto made had produced only shadows, and demanding their substantial execution. They offered, since objections had been made to the half-pay, to commute it for a certain number of years of the full amount. Some of the members strongly supported their claim, proposing five full years as a fair compensation; but as the consent of nine states could not be obtained, the consideration of the affair dropped. The committee reported this result to the officers, among whom the ferment soon became extreme. On the 10th March, a meeting was called by an anonymous notice, accompanied with a letter, written, as was afterwards ascertained, by Major Armstrong. It complained in glowing terms of their hardships; while their country, instead of rewarding their services, trampled upon their rights, disdained their cries, and insulted their distresses. "Can you," it was said, "consent to be the only sufferers by this revolution; and, retir-

ing from the field, grow old in poverty, wretchedness, and contempt? Can you consent to wade through the vile mire of dependency, and owe the miserable remnant of that life to charity, which has hitherto been spent in honour?—Awake; attend to your situation, and redress yourselves. If the present moment be lost, every future effort is in vain!” He proposed, therefore, instead of a *milk and water memorial*, to send a *remonstrance*, the tenor of which might harmonize with that of the letter. Doubtless the meeting, if held, would have fully responded to these sentiments. Washington, however, was fortunately in the camp, and acted with his usual firmness and prudence. Besides dealing with individuals, he called a general meeting instead of the proposed irregular one. He reprobated the tenor of the letter, and the implied proposal of either deserting their country or turning their arms against her; at the same time expressing the strongest sense of their merits, and pledging himself to use his utmost efforts to obtain their demands. A complete turn was thus given to their feelings;—they unanimously declared full confidence in him, and appointed a committee, who drew up a series of resolutions avowing their abhorrence of the propositions made in the letter, but expressing a desire that the commander would write to the President of Congress, earnestly soliciting a speedy decision. Washington did write in very strong language, which, coupled doubtless with a knowledge of the serious insurrectionary movements, procured an assent of nine states to the terms demanded. There were, however, no funds to make good this vote; and all the address of Washington was necessary to induce the troops to disband upon the mere engagement of Congress. Indeed, a small detachment, which swelled to three hundred, marched to the house of Assembly, and threatened that body, but were soon put down; and the pledges given to the army were, we believe, ultimately fulfilled.

On the 24th March, 1783, a French vessel from Cadiz brought a letter from Lafayette, announcing the signature of the preliminary treaty. Soon after, Sir Guy Carleton gave an official notice of the same tenor. It was not, however, till the 25th November, that—the definitive articles having been concluded—the British army evacuated New York, and the Americans, from West Point, entered. On the 4th December, Washington took a solemn and deeply affecting farewell of his companions in arms, with whom he had passed through so many trying scenes and vicissitudes. On the 23d, he repaired to Annapolis, then the seat of Congress, into whose hands he resigned his commission, and retired, finally, as he believed and wished, into private life.



FORMATION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.



THE Union was delivered from any imminent danger ; yet it lay in a helpless, inert, distracted state, unable to command either tranquillity at home, or respect abroad. The small remnant of regard for the authority of Congress, which had survived while there was any sense of peril, entirely ceased. Its members in vain urged the state assemblies to agree to a common duty on imports and exports, and to such general regulations of trade as might afford a basis for a commercial treaty. The mercantile states imagined that these measures would operate upon them unequally ; and New York, the centre of this interest, absolutely refused its concurrence. Congress had power to make treaties, but not to enforce their observance ; to contract debts, but not to pay them. Early in 1783, they drew up a plan for meeting at least the interest of the national debt ; and Washington hesitated not to write to the several governors, urging, in the strongest terms, its adoption. Some impression was at first made ; but the states soon relapsed into their habitual indifference. During fourteen months, there were paid into the public treasury only four hundred and eighty-two thousand eight hundred and ninety dollars ; and the foreign interest was only defrayed by a fresh loan made in Holland. There was, indeed, a party throughout the confederation, zealous

to support the central authority, and to maintain public credit; but another and powerful one arose, hostile to the former, and indifferent to the latter. They began even to cherish an indisposition to pay any taxes whatever, or to place themselves at all under legal restraint. Conventions were formed, under whose direction mobs broke into the court-houses and dispersed the judges. Hence, not only public securities were reduced to a trifling value, but private property was greatly depreciated, from the uncertainty of protection.

It is remarkable, that the centre of this lawless spirit should have been in New England. It prevailed there among a majority of the active young cultivators, with whom a theory became popular, that, having all contributed to defend the national property, they had all an equal right to its possession. In New Hampshire, a body of malecontents entered Exeter and made prisoners the general Assembly of the state. The citizens, however, rose and crushed the movement in a few hours. A much stronger body in Massachusetts took possession of the court-house, first at Northampton, and then at Worcester. All conciliatory measures having been vainly tried, the governor with difficulty raised funds chiefly among the citizens of Boston, called out four thousand militia, and placed them under General Lincoln. Before his arrival, however, a daring leader, Daniel Shays, with eleven hundred followers, marched to attack the arsenal; but General Sheppard had assembled a force for its defence, and on the approach of the insurgents, being unable to intimidate them either by threats or by firing over their heads, he ordered a real discharge, by which three were killed, when the rest fled precipitately. They continued in arms, however, till Lincoln came up, when they retreated and endeavoured to negotiate for delay. He rejected all their overtures; and, pressing rapidly forward, obliged them to disperse in every direction. Their leaders either fled the territory, or fell into his hands. Fourteen were condemned to death, but afterwards pardoned.

The heads of the Revolution beheld with deep concern this abortive result of so many efforts; their country distracted at home, disgraced abroad. Yet it was difficult to discover any remedy which would be practicable, and consistent with their principles. Chance led them on. Washington had contemplated, with great interest, a plan for uniting the Potomac and the Ohio, and thus connecting the eastern and western waters. He made a journey of six hundred and eighty miles on horseback, taking minute notes of every thing which could be subservient to this project. His influence, and the real importance of the design, induced the legislatures of Virginia and Maryland to send commissioners to Alexandria to deliberate on the subject. They met in March, 1785, and having spent some time at Mount Vernon, determined to recommend another commission, which might establish a general tariff on imports. The Virginian legislature not

only agreed, but invited the other states to send deputies to meet at Annapolis. In September, 1786, they had arrived from five only, and with too limited powers. A number of able statesmen, however, were thus assembled, who, feeling deeply the depressed and distracted state of the country, became sensible that something on a much greater scale was necessary to raise her to prosperity, and give her a due place among the nations. They drew up a report and address to all the provincial Assemblies, strongly representing the inefficiency of the present federal government, and earnestly urging them to send delegates to meet at Philadelphia in May, 1787. Congress, in February, passed resolutions recommending this measure, of which, however, they did not perhaps anticipate all the results.

The states very readily responded to this call; and at the appointed time, the delegates from all except one had assembled. Never perhaps had any body of men combined for so great a purpose—to form a constitution which was to rule so numerous a people, and probably during so many ages. The members, consisting of the ablest men in America, were not unworthy of, nor unfit for, so great a trust. Washington, who appeared at the head of the Virginian deputation, was unanimously elected president of the whole. They had been appointed merely to revise the articles of confederation; yet they had not deliberated long, when they determined that the existing Congress must be entirely thrown overboard. The question, however, what was to be substituted in its place, was one of extreme difficulty.

On the 29th May, Edmund Randolph, an eminent Virginian statesman, submitted a series of resolutions, embodying the plan of a new constitution. He proposed to form a general government, which should have a legislature, executive, and judiciary; a revenue, army, and navy, all entirely independent of the states. It was to conduct peace, war, treaties, and all national transactions. This plan met with general favour, yet a considerable body insisted, that it involved too mighty a change; that they were delegated to improve the existing system, not to extinguish it, and substitute one entirely new. Mr. Patterson of New Jersey submitted another, enlarging the powers of Congress, attaching to it an executive and judiciary, yet leaving its resources and supplies to be procured through the medium of the state governments. This was considered as retaining still the feature by which it was rendered necessarily inefficient. Being put to the vote on the 19th June, it was supported, indeed, by New York, New Jersey, and Delaware; but seven states gave a complete negative.

The opposition to Mr. Randolph's resolutions being thus overcome, a committee, composed of himself and four others, was appointed to reduce them into the form of a constitution. On the 6th August, they submitted a draft of one, which was the subject of long deliberation, and underwent



HAMILTON.

many important alterations. In this and the former debate the main contest lay between the great and the small states, the former demanding a weight proportioned to their population and resources, the latter contending that they would be thus overwhelmed and oppressed. The struggle was severe, and matters seemed once at a complete stand, when a committee was appointed, which, in three days, suggested a compromise. The House of Representatives was to be proportioned to the population; but in the Senate each state was to have an equal vote. This was carried by a considerable majority. A difficult question also arose respecting the slaves in the southern states, to whom no vote was allowed; but who, it was contended, formed an essential element in the power and resources of these communities. A compromise was made: three-fourths of them, under the title of "other persons," were to be added to the list upon which the number of representative members was to be apportioned.

On the 8th September, Messrs. Johnson, Hamilton, Morris, Madison, and King, were named a committee "to revise the style, and arrange the articles." It was presented by them on the 12th; yet the convention continued making amendments to the very last day. The result was, on the whole, very different from that originally contemplated. Having arisen,

however, out of collision and compromise between all the different interests that divided the country, it had probably been rendered more safe and practicable.

On the 17th September, this grand question came finally under decision. The Constitution was then signed by thirty-nine of the fifty-five members, being more than two-thirds of the whole number. It was next submitted to Congress, and by them transmitted to the provincial legislatures, who were invited to call conventions to take it into consideration. The stipulation was, that it should come into operation as soon as the ratification of nine states had been obtained ; but this was an object of considerable difficulty. In 1787, it was adopted in conventions, unanimously, by Georgia, New Jersey, and Delaware, and by large majorities in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Maryland, and South Carolina. Two, however, were still wanting before it could be acted on, whence the Massachusetts convention, which met in the beginning of 1788, was viewed with intense interest. Its fate there appeared doubtful, from local feelings and recent discontents. Hancock, who had been so conspicuous through the revolution, strenuously opposed it, without the admission of certain proposed amendments, by which state rights might be more fully guarded. It was supported with the utmost eloquence by Fisher Ames, and finally carried by the small majority of 187 to 168. In New Hampshire, the greater number of delegates came instructed to vote against it ; but after an adjournment, a majority of eleven was at last procured.

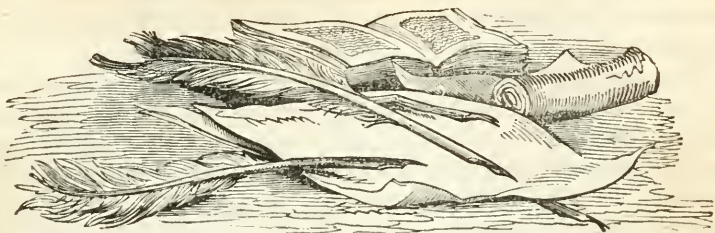
The requisite number of nine had thus been obtained ; yet there were still wanting the important states of Virginia, New York, and North Carolina, without which it could scarcely be brought into action. In the first, the contest was long and fervid, and the displays of oratory are said to have been the most splendid ever yet made in America. Randolph and Madison took the lead in support of the measure, while Patrick Henry assailed it with eloquence almost unrivalled. He denounced it as a revolution more radical than that which had separated America from Britain. The convention had been delegated solely to amend the old federation, instead of which they had formed a great consolidated government, vesting in it the whole prerogative, and leaving to the states merely the poor laws, roads, bridges, and other trifling concerns. In the warmth of debate, he seemed to threaten resistance if the motion were carried ; yet at last declared that even then he would remain a peaceful citizen, only devoting his head, his hand, his heart, to obtain redress in a constitutional manner. The measure was finally carried by eighty-eight to eighty. New York, thus left nearly alone, could only persevere at the cost of throwing herself entirely out of the Union. Yet, though the measure was supported by Jay, Hamilton, and Livingston, statesmen of the highest character, it was carried only by a majority of five and with the demand of most extensive amendments.

Ample ground was now afforded for putting the new constitution in movement, and the question arose, who was first to act as chief magistrate. All its friends agreed in looking to Washington as the individual whose weight of character and reputation would unite all suffrages, and whose steady judgment would guide the vessel amid the difficulties in which it must for some time be involved. Of this general feeling he was soon apprized; yet he seems to have felt the most deep and unfeigned reluctance to undertake the task. He even declared, in a letter to General Lincoln, that it would be the greatest sacrifice of personal feelings and wishes that he had ever been called upon to make. He cherished a strong partiality for a life of rural retirement, and could hope no higher reputation than that already attained, which would even be endangered by placing himself in a new and untried situation. Having publicly renounced political life, he dreaded the reproach of inconsistency, and doubted not that, while making a reluctant sacrifice, he would be supposed to act from the mere impulse of vulgar ambition. His friends, however, urged that he could not possibly resist the general call. Colonel Hamilton, a statesman of the highest character, wrote a series of letters, representing that his aid was indispensable—without it the new system could have no fair trial; that having gone so far in its support, he was pledged and could not recede without dishonour; in short, that no option was left. After this correspondence, though not giving an absolute consent, he seems never to have seriously hesitated.









WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION.



WING to various delays, the House of Representatives did not meet till the 20th March, 1789, nor the Senate till the 6th April following. In that body, the votes for the President being examined, were found all, without a single exception, to have been given in favour of Washington. There was something peculiarly grand in this unanimous consent of a great nation in favour of a man distinguished only by solid merit, without the brilliant qualities which usually attract popular admiration. The possession of one whose merit crushed all dissent, was referred to by Adams, who had been named Vice President, as a special blessing of Providence on this first opening of the Union. A messenger was immediately despatched to Washington at Mount Vernon, and having probably formed his resolution, he at once accepted the high office. Yet in an address to the citizens of Alexandria, he declared himself unable to describe his painful emotions on the occasion, and to a confidential friend compared them to those of a culprit going to execution. His progress to Philadelphia, however, resembled a triumph. He was escorted by parties of militia, and welcomed by crowds of spectators. The bridge over the Schuylkill was studiously decorated, an arch of laurel formed for him to pass under, a civic crown was dropped on his head, and at night the city was illuminated.

On the 30th April, the new President, with considerable pomp, and in presence of a vast concourse of people, took the oath of office. He then proceeded to the Senate, and, in a sensible and pious address, without specifying any particular measure, explained the general principles that were to guide his conduct. He intimated, as formerly, his intention to decline the emoluments of the office, limiting himself to the repayment of his necessary expenses. The Senate made a most cordial reply, in which

they said—"In you all parties confide; in you all interests unite; and we have no doubt that your past services, great as they have been, will be equalled by your future exertions." The answer of the House of Representatives was in a tone equally gratifying.

The most urgent consideration in Congress was the raising of a revenue by duties on imported goods. The necessity of this measure had been fully agreed upon by a majority of the states; yet there arose many opinions and conflicting interests as to the articles and the amount. The proposition to make a difference between those in foreign and native bottoms was objected to as favouring the shipping in preference to the agricultural interest. It was, however, carried to a certain extent; but another, for a distinction in favour of those powers which had concluded commercial treaties with the states, after being passed in the lower House, was negatived in the Senate.

Another very urgent object was the organization and filling of the public departments. It was determined that there should be three,—of the Treasury, of War, and of Foreign Affairs, with a secretary at the head of each. The Constitution had provided that the nomination should rest with the President, subject to the approbation of the Senate; but in the course of debate, a question arose, whether the former, by his single power, should be able to remove these officers. It was strongly urged that such a prerogative would raise his power to an exorbitant height, and enable him to do great injustice to deserving individuals. It was answered, that the person raised by the people to so high a station could not reasonably be supposed capable of such misconduct; and that, in thus acting, he would expose himself to impeachment. The motion was carried in the lower House by a majority of 34 to 20, but in the Senate only by the casting vote of the Vice President. The personal confidence placed in Washington is supposed to have been the chief cause of this privilege being intrusted to the chief magistrate; and the predictions of its never being used for political purposes, or with hardship to individuals, have not been fulfilled, nor have the expected remedies ever been applied.

The President, thus empowered to form a cabinet, proceeded to that delicate task with his usual strict integrity and simple regard for the public good. He had refused to give any pledge in answer to numerous applications on the subject, and thus reserved himself perfectly unbiassed. The Treasury, the department of most immediate importance, was intrusted to Colonel Hamilton. This choice was founded upon a long intimacy with that eminent statesman, and was fully justified by his performance of its duties; yet it proved a somewhat troublous one, as respected the President himself. Hamilton had embraced with ardour those opinions which might be termed ultra-federal, being believed to have desired a stronger government, and one more nearly approximating to the British, than the other



GENERAL KNOX

framers would consent to; he is even supposed to have desired a Senate and President for life. Disappointed in these views, he lent himself frankly and cordially to promote the working of the adopted system; yet his measures bore always a stamp of his real sentiments; and as the public feeling soon began to run in an opposite direction, he became more and more unpopular. The next step was to give the department of Foreign Affairs to Mr. Jefferson, who had been absent five years on diplomatic missions, in which he had highly distinguished himself, and proved indeed eminently qualified to conduct this department. But he embraced, to an extent not then known, or probably fully developed, the political system most opposite to that of Hamilton. Becoming always more attached to it, he acquired thereby a large share of popular favour, but introduced violent dissensions into the cabinet. General Knox was continued at the head of the War Department, which he had previously held. These three officers were understood to form a cabinet, whose opinion, either verbal or written,

the President could require upon any subject ; but they were allowed no control over his decision.

The next object of consideration for Congress was the amendments proposed by New York and Virginia. These states attached to them such importance, that they had given their reluctant consent to the Constitution only in the hope of their adoption. Mr. Madison accordingly brought forward twelve ; but which were in fact rather evasions than fulfilments of the demands of his constituents. They consisted chiefly in provisions for the security of personal rights ; the only one having the desired tendency being a stipulation that every power not expressly delegated to the united government was reserved to the states. The advocates of the amendments treated with the utmost indignation this virtual rejection of their claims, and the refusal to call a convention to deliberate upon the subject. Even while admitting Mr. Madison's proposals to be so far good, they opposed their adoption as a mere opiate to divert the public mind from the call for more substantial benefits. It was therefore through the exertions of the federal party itself, that the articles, as the Constitution required, were referred to the states. The latter were very ill satisfied ; but the popularity of the united government was so strong and growing, that they were obliged to smother their chagrin, and give up any farther resistance.

After a course of proceedings generally approved by the nation, Congress rose on the 29th September. The second session met in January, 1790, and was distinguished by a grand financial plan submitted by Hamilton. The public debt of the Union was stated at fifty-four millions of dollars, of which eleven and three quarters were foreign, chiefly due to France and Holland ; and there were besides twenty-five millions owing by the different states. It was proposed to fund this whole amount, and make provision for the payment of the interest, with a sinking fund for its gradual liquidation. This plan, in its successive provisions, met with the most pertinacious opposition. The system was altogether objected to by some as giving to the debt a more permanent character, and as having involved the governments of the Old World in deep embarrassment. It was easy to show that, funded or unfunded, the debt must be paid, while in the former shape it could be dealt with much more easily, and on better terms. Many, however, contended that a reduction ought to be made on its amount. Through the low state of public credit, it had mostly passed from the original holders to speculative purchasers, who had obtained it at a very low rate, (even of 2*s.* 6*d.* in the pound,) and would make an exorbitant profit, if, beyond expectation, they should receive payment in full. It was urged on the other side that the value had been received, that the national honour was pledged, and its credit was gone if it refused fulfilment. Mr. Madison, however, made a motion which met with great favour, that the purchasers should receive the highest price which govern-

ment paper had borne in the market, and the difference be paid to the original lender. It was admitted by his opponents that the latter had suffered severe hardship ; yet the original contract, making the money payable to assignees or bearer, would thus be violated. The very principle of the issue was to be transferable ; it would be both impracticable and ruinous to public credit for government to open afresh transactions between individuals. The motion was lost by a great majority.

The most strenuous contest, however, arose respecting the assumption by the general government of the debts contracted by the particular states. These, it was argued, had been incurred to defray the expense of the great contest which was common to all ; chiefly too by those on whose soil the military operations had been waged, and who in other respects had thereby suffered. Massachusetts, in particular, had borne the first brunt of the war, and had provided the necessary resources before any congress was recognised to which she could look for aid. The consequence however was, that the distribution was very unequal, and those states whose amount was small, were not much inclined to assume an equal share of the general burden. One or two, as Virginia, which by great efforts had paid off a considerable part, seemed to have particular ground of complaint. After a long and animated debate of several days, it was carried in the representatives, but by a very narrow majority. Immediately after, North Carolina having acceded to the Union, her deputies came in and turned the scale. By a majority of two voices, the resolution was recommitted, and afterwards negatived. Its advocates, however, continued the struggle, and a compromise was at last effected, by which the amount was reduced to twenty-one millions, and assumed in specific proportions from the different states. The claims of Massachusetts and South Carolina, which amounted to more than ten millions and a half, were thus reduced to four millions each. In this shape it at length passed both houses by very small majorities. The whole of Hamilton's plan was thus carried with some slight modification, and is now generally acknowledged to have been wise and politic ; indeed, its good effects were speedily evident. Yet all its provisions were in the interest of the central government ; and it required an extent of impost to which the Americans were not well prepared to submit. Having indeed undertaken the war with a special view to escape taxation, they could not but severely feel the result of being obliged to pay ten times the amount ever demanded by the mother-country. Virginia passed resolutions strongly censuring the measure ; the first step of that nature taken by any state legislature.

Undismayed by this opposition, Hamilton proceeded, in the third session, to complete the circle of his financial operations. The most delicate part still remained, of imposing new taxes to defray the interest of the debt. A general assent had been given ; yet when the specific objects came to be

fixed, they pressed painfully upon various interests. Additional duties on imported goods were admitted as following of course ; but they would not yield the requisite amount without an addition of two hundred thousand pounds, proposed to be levied on distilled spirits. The tax was unexceptionable, and any other would in fact have been more odious ; yet it could be branded with the hateful title of excise, and affected an indulgence to which the western settlers especially were strongly addicted. The states, too, viewed with much jealousy this intrusion into their internal concerns of a power considered almost as foreign. Four, in the course of its discussion, passed resolutions against it. This did not prevent its being passed by a large majority ; yet a military force was in some places necessary to carry it into execution.

Hamilton followed it up with the plan of a national bank for aiding the operations of government. The contest upon this subject in the legislature was still more severe. Such an institution was said not only to be of doubtful utility, but to be beyond the powers granted by the Constitution to the general government. In fact no mention had been made of a right to vest peculiar privileges in this or indeed any corporation. In reply, it was represented as promising the greatest advantages, while, being necessary, or at least highly useful in relation to other powers specially granted, it might be considered as implied in them. The measure was carried by nineteen votes ; yet being presented to the President for his sanction, he found his cabinet completely divided, Hamilton and Knox advising him to approve, Jefferson and Randolph to exercise his veto. He called for written opinions from them ; and those of Hamilton and Jefferson on opposite sides are considered as having exhausted the subject. After full consideration, he decided on giving his sanction to the bill.

Hamilton had thus carried all his measures, yet not without exposing himself to considerable odium. Two parties had now been regularly formed, and worked up to great mutual exasperation. The original opposition to the Union had nearly ceased ; its advantages both to the dignity and interests of the nation were generally admitted. Even the terms of the Constitution were no longer arraigned ; but wherever they left room for any doubt, each faction eagerly urged its own interpretation. What made this contest strongly felt, was its raging in the heart of the cabinet, the two leading members of which, politically and personally opposed, accused each other, one as an advocate of high prerogative and even of monarchy, the other as a democrat and anarchist. The mind of Washington moved in a sphere generally superior to party. While sanctioning the measures of Hamilton, he blamed his violence, and being unwilling to part with his antagonist, whose official conduct was meritorious, he earnestly, but vainly, remonstrated with both, seeking to soften their extreme hostility. Upon the whole, he himself, being considered justly as not mixing in the strife

of faction, incurred little odium, and was still looked up to with veneration by both parties.

In March, 1791, the first Congress terminated, and another was elected, in which the federal party still maintained a majority. The opening session was chiefly distinguished by Washington's first exercise of the veto. A census having been taken in 1790, by which the population appeared to be nearly four millions, Congress were called upon to apportion accordingly the number of deputies. They made such a distribution, that in some cases the proportion fixed by the Constitution of one in thirty thousand was exceeded. Here, too, the cabinet was divided; but the President, now following Jefferson's advice, objected to the measure, and the houses acquiesced. Next session, it was necessary to impose some new taxes, and the question arose, whether those appropriated to the national debt should be permanent, as recommended by the secretary to the Treasury, or should require an annual vote. The latter course was strongly supported by the popular interest, and lost only by the casting vote of the speaker. The same body afterwards brought forward a series of charges against Hamilton's official conduct, to which the press fiercely responded; yet they were successfully refuted, and negatived by large majorities.

Early in 1793, the critical period arrived of the close of Washington's first term of office. He seems to have felt, as before, an unfeigned anxiety to return into private life; but all the leading men, even Jefferson among the foremost, urged in the strongest terms the duty of remaining. The tendencies to anarchy appeared still so strong as to be checked only by the weight of his character and influence. A unanimous re-election indicated that the feelings of the people towards him had undergone no change. Adams, however, as vice-president, was opposed by Governor Clinton, of New York, and gained the appointment only by seventy-seven votes to fifty. Besides the violent internal conflict, a formidable Indian war had for some time been raging, and in the negotiations with the European powers difficulties had arisen, aggravated by the breaking out of the revolution in France. We must now look back to take a connected view of these important objects.

It is painful to observe that the Indians always regarded the "Big Knives," or, as they afterwards termed them, the "Thirteen United Fires," with the bitterest enmity. In the last war they had taken a decided part with the British, who incurred thereby reproaches not unmerited. The general government, indeed, appears to have desired to treat them with justice and humanity; but they could not control the numerous and fierce body of back-settlers, who took the lead in the new states of Kentucky and Georgia. General Knox admits that the intercourse between those of the former state and the Indians was one of reciprocal outrage, demanding "a critical investigation to discover on which side the greatest wrongs

were committed." The regular system seems to have been, whenever any settlers were killed, for a party to set out and slay the first Indians they met, without any inquiry whether they were of the guilty tribe. Knox mentions a party of Kentuckians who made an inroad into the Wabash territory, and killed a number of Piankeshaws, a tribe who prided themselves on their attachment to the United States; but he observes that all bearing the name of Indians were objects of aversion. Afterwards, when fair prospects of peace had arisen, they were interrupted by Captain Beard crossing the Tennessee and killing a number of friendly Indians; but the report states such a *prejudice* to exist on the frontier, that the deed must be left unpunished. In other quarters, two men having been slain and scalped by a body of Creeks, the militia set out, overtook, and killed twelve Indians, but presently discovered that they belonged to a different tribe from the murderers. Yet, when its chief demanded the leader of the expedition, the reporter declares that his blood "runs warm in his veins" at the idea, and calls rather for further chastisement. Hence we cannot disbelieve the Indian complaint, that one after another of their best families was killed, and no punishment ever followed. A letter appears from the Tennessee chiefs, Cornplanter, New-Arrow, and Big-tree, to General Knox, complaining that several of their best and perfectly innocent countrymen had been murdered by Captain Brady of the States service. They add: "We hope you will not suffer all the good people to be killed; but your people are killing them as fast as they can." They complain elsewhere of the bitter hatred with which they are regarded, and of being considered as "animals fit only to be exterminated." Indeed, we find Washington at a later period candidly stating as "an important truth, which continually receives new confirmations, that the provisions heretofore made with a view to the protection of the Indians from the violence of the lawless part of our frontier inhabitants are insufficient. It is demonstrated that these violences can now be perpetrated with impunity." There is no doubt that they, too, were often the aggressors, and that their retaliation was terrible; yet we find several parties of commissioners stating, that they discovered a disposition to cultivate amicable relations, which prudent measures might have rendered effectual. Another grievous circumstance to them was the loss of their lands, which they were induced by present temptations to agree to, but afterwards bitterly felt and repented. A Cherokee chief complains that whenever an interview was asked, under whatever pretext, this was always the real object. They must part with no more hunting-grounds—they must perish to a man in their defence. Cornplanter complains that he and others incurred this reproach, being asked: "Brothers of our fathers, where is the place which you have reserved for us to lie down upon?" and he adds: "We must know from you whether you mean to leave us and our children any land to till." The

government sanctioned no means of acquisition except purchase; yet it is admitted that many of its subjects unjustly extended their surveys, and hunted in the very heart of the Indian territory.

The general government was doubtless thus placed in a very painful condition—unable to control the violence of the border militia, yet in a manner obliged to aid in the protection of its people. The Indians were encouraged by their former alliance with the British, who still retained their western posts, though disavowing, seemingly with truth, that they now fomented any hostile movement. The Spaniards also, indignant at the loss of the Mississippi territory, carried on secret intrigues among them. Yet they seem to have been overawed by the formation of the “Thirteen United Fires;” and in 1788 a negotiation was opened with the northern tribes. In October, Mr. Wynn held a friendly conference with their great chiefs; and on the 9th January, 1789, a treaty was concluded at Fort Harmar, embracing the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Sacs, and Pottawatomies. On the 7th August, 1790, another was entered into with the southern nation of the Creeks. They were by these treaties secured in the possession of their present lands, only engaging not to sell them to any other nation except the States; they were even allowed, if no injury was done, to hunt on grounds belonging to the latter. Mutual wrongs were to be redressed, not by retaliation, but by appeal to the proper authorities. There remained, however, fierce tribes on the Miami and the Wabash, between whom and the Kentuckians there had long raged “war to the knife,” from which little prospect appeared of either party desisting. In these circumstances, General Knox, while admitting the wrongs to be quite mutual, very coolly lays down the alternative of either extirpating or making peace with these tribes. Happily the motives of justice and humanity were reinforced by those of national character, and by the still more cogent one that there did not exist means of effecting the extirpation. The Union had only six hundred regular troops, and the finances would not support above two thousand five hundred of every description, a number inadequate to the object. Orders were therefore sent to stop, if possible, the inroads of the Kentuckians, and to make overtures to the savages. Both attempts having proved abortive, no alternative remained but to make war with the best means in their power.

In September, 1790, General Harmar was sent forward with three hundred and twenty regulars, who, being reinforced by the militia of Pennsylvania and Kentucky, formed a corps of fourteen hundred and fifty-three men. The Indians on his approach set fire to their villages; but this was nothing, unless they could be brought to an engagement. Harmar, however, instead of advancing himself with the main body, sent forward Colonel Harden, with two hundred and ten men, of whom only thirty were regulars. They were attacked; the militia fled; the others were nearly cut

off, including a gallant youth, son to General Scott. The general then sent forward Harden with three hundred and sixty men, who speedily encountered another large body. After a brave contest, in which this party lost nearly half their number, they retreated on the main body. Harmar claimed the victory—on what ground Marshall owns it is difficult to discern. His conduct in keeping behind and encountering the enemy with these small detachments seems most unaccountable; yet, on being tried by a court-martial, he was acquitted.

To retrieve this failure, Washington obtained authority to raise two thousand men for six months' service; not likely to constitute a very efficient force. From various difficulties it could not be forwarded till the end of 1791, when it was placed under General St. Clair, governor of the western territory. The object was to destroy the settlements on the Miami, and expel the natives from that district. St. Clair, with fourteen hundred men, advanced on the 3d of November to the vicinity of these villages, where he took post to await reinforcements. Before sunrise next day the troops were roused by the sound of the Indian war-cry; the enemy were in the camp, and in a few minutes had penetrated throughout, and even to the rear. Invisible death continued to pour in from every side; the assailants, stretched on the ground, or lurking behind trees, were seen only as they sprung from one covert to another. As usual, a number of the militia fled, when the others, with broken ranks, bore the whole brunt, and the officers, who were veteran and brave, became fatally exposed. Several charges were made with the bayonet; but in this scene of confusion they could not be effectively followed up. St. Clair at length saw no alternative but to order a retreat, which was effected in the utmost confusion. His loss amounted to six hundred and thirty-one killed, among whom were General Butler, and thirty-seven other officers, and two hundred and sixty-three wounded. Yet by a committee of inquiry in Congress he was fully acquitted, which we cannot but think another instance of extreme leniency, since it seems impossible to consider him as having taken due precaution against surprise.

This intelligence fell like a thunderbolt upon the government, which had already to struggle against a strong spirit of discontent. It was easy to foresee, what indeed immediately ensued, that all the treaties would be dissolved, and a general savage confederacy formed against the United States. Washington, impressed with the necessity of having some kind of regular force, proposed to raise three regiments of infantry for three years, which, with a squadron of cavalry, would give a total of five thousand. The opposition strongly objected, arraigning the origin of the war, insisting that it should now be purely defensive, and that the border militia were the best fitted for it,—a most delusive idea, when their conduct had been its chief cause. The motion was carried; but such a strong desire



GENERAL WAYNE DEFEATING THE INDIANS.

of peace was manifested, that Washington, though with scarcely a hope of success, sent two distinguished officers with proposals; but both were unhappily murdered by the savages. The Miami and Wabash Indians opened communications with all the tribes that had entered into the treaty at Fort Harmar, and even with part of the Creeks and Cherokees. A meeting was held of sixteen nations, in which it was determined to accept of no terms short of making the Ohio the boundary between them and the States.

Though St. Clair had been acquitted, he was not continued in the command; his place being supplied by General Wayne. That officer, however, could not fully bring forward his strength till the summer of 1794. He then, with two thousand six hundred regulars and one thousand and twenty-nine mounted militia, advanced along the Miami. On the 7th July, Major McMahon, occupying a fortified post, was attacked by a strong body, who were repulsed; yet they rallied, and kept up a fire during the whole day. He lost twenty-two killed and thirty wounded, four of the former being officers. Wayne now pushed forward upon their main fort of Grand Glaize, which he reached on the 8th of August. It had been precipitately abandoned the preceding evening, and, he believes, would have been surprised had not a deserter from his own army given warning. He then advanced upon the main body, drawn up at six miles distance under cover of a British fort. Major Price, commanding his vanguard, was driven back, but the troops soon after came in view of the enemy.

They held a position well fitted for their peculiar warfare, being within a thick wood, encumbered with felled trees; and their line, in three divisions, within supporting distance, extended two miles. Wayne had the sagacity to discover, that against this enemy, so posted, a regular fire in line would be wholly ineffective. He directed his troops to march through the wood with trailed arms, then with the bayonet rouse the enemy from their covert, and when they were up, pour in a close, well-directed fire, followed up by a brisk charge. The cavalry, in two bodies, under General Scott and Captain Campbell, were, by a circuitous route, to come on their right and left flanks. The attack, however, made by the foremost line, according to the above directions, was attended with such immediate success, that the second line and the cavalry only partially came into action. The enemy were dislodged from their position, and driven in confusion through the woods, till they found shelter under the guns of the English fort. The American loss, however, was greater than seems quite to accord with so very easy a victory, amounting to thirty-three killed, and one hundred wounded, of whom eleven died. An angry correspondence followed between Wayne and the British commander; the former complaining that he should hold a fortified position there at all, and afford shelter to the Indians; while the latter replies that he occupied the place by orders of his government, and that Wayne had broken the laws of war by advancing within pistol-fire, when he ought not to have come nearer than cannon-shot.

Wayne now laid waste the country, destroying the villages for fifty miles on each side of the Miami; then returned to Grand Glaize, and began fortifying his positions. Though his triumph deterred many tribes from joining the cause, the main enemy remained in arms, while his own forces were mouldering away, through the unhappy system of temporary enlistment. The militia ought to have remained till the 14th November; but by the middle of October they were seized, he says, with such violent symptoms of home-sickness, that it became necessary to dismiss them. The legion was reduced to a skeleton; and by May next, the period of service for all would expire. The forts were becoming tolerably strong, but were in great danger of being left without garrisons; so that unless extraordinary exertions were made to reinforce the army, it would have fought, bled, and conquered in vain. Secretary Pickering was thus obliged to give to Congress the unwelcome intimation, that an additional force would be necessary, even to maintain a defensive attitude. The Indians, however, appear to have been stunned by the blow, and by seeing, doubtless, that there was a method by which they could be vanquished. A number moved westward, and some even crossed the Mississippi. They were probably finally determined by the evacuation of all the western forts by Britain in June, 1795. On the 16th, four chiefs came and presented the calumet of peace, and were followed, on the 3d July, by a more nume-

rous deputation, all declaring their desire of a treaty with the Fifteen Fires. Their reception was courteous; two forfeited lives of their countrymen were spared; and the negotiation, proceeding with the most favourable disposition, terminated in the treaty of Greenville, in which ten nations were included. A considerable cession of land was required; in other respects, the terms were the same as on former occasions.

About the same time, the Union was agitated by trouble from another quarter. We have already observed, that the duty on distilled spirits had excited strong dissatisfaction, particularly in the border districts. The four western counties of Pennsylvania took the lead, and were then in so rude a state, that the law could be but imperfectly enforced. The disturbance commenced with a strong expression of opinions hostile to the measure, and reprobation of those who accepted any office in the collection of the revenue. At a meeting held on the 23d August, 1791, the acceptors were declared enemies of their country, and resolutions passed to hold no communication with them. On the 7th September, delegates were named to carry on a regular opposition. Several persons employed in the collection, or even letting a house for the purpose, were tarred, feathered, and their hair cut off; nor were they released but on a promise not to repeat such heinous offences. Attempts were made to gain the malcontents by lenient measures, and even by modifications introduced into the act; but they were thus only rendered more daring, and at length organized a regular resistance not only to this law, but to the whole authority of the United States. In the summer of 1794, the marshal, attempting to execute a process, was assailed by an armed party of thirty or forty, and being taken prisoner, was compelled by threats of immediate death to promise never to repeat such a step. In July, a band advanced to the house of Melville, the inspector, and though repulsed, soon came back, reinforced to the amount of five hundred. Having in vain demanded admittance, they attacked the building, and, with the loss of one killed and three wounded, finally carried and set it on fire. The marshal and inspector had fled, and, by a circuitous route down the Ohio, reached Washington. The malcontents next stopped and opened the mails, thus discovering the persons hostile to their views, whom they obliged also to quit the territory. Washington felt extreme distress at these events, being most unwilling to array citizen against citizen, and publish the dishonour of such excesses. The object, too, could only be effected by a call upon the neighbouring states for a large militia force, and considerable doubts were felt as to their obedience. His cabinet agreed, however, that no choice was left; and notice was given for this force to be in readiness, while commissioners endeavoured to treat with the insurgents. They found the men of property and intelligence, though they had kindled the flame, alarmed at the extent to which it had spread, yet unable to control it. Sixty of them formed a

committee of safety; and, after a conference, decided, by a majority of thirty-four to twenty-three, that it was the interest of the people to accept the proposals of government. They durst not, however, make the agreement final without an appeal to the people. Persons of character in each district were named to take the sense of the public. Many, however, were found hostile; Pittsburg alone was quite favourable; and, in Washington, the agreement was made only in confidence of repeal. On the whole, there appeared no prospect of obtaining any regular obedience to the laws. Washington, seeing no alternative, called upon the states of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, and New Jersey, to furnish fifteen thousand militia. Anxiety had been felt as to the result; but these states, though somewhat discontented on this and on other grounds, made scarcely any hesitation in enforcing the authority of the general government. The troops, commanded by the Governor of Virginia, advanced in two columns into the disturbed territory. The number had been made so large, in the hope that, by overpowering all attempts at opposition, it might save bloodshed. This was happily fulfilled; no resistance was attempted; the ring-leaders either fled, or were taken and treated with lenity.

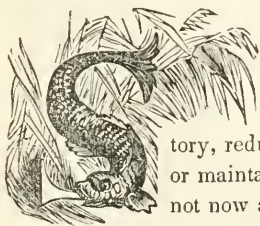


Y this time foreign affairs had become of engrossing importance; and we must here take a considerable retrospect, having reserved the subject to be treated in a consecutive manner. Britain was of course the power whose enmity was most to be dreaded. In fact, there soon arose serious differences as to the execution of several points in the late treaty. The articles relating to the payment of debts and the restitution of

property rested chiefly with the states, who paid no greater regard to the demands of the present Congress than to those of the former. Not only did they neglect the required means of implementing their obligations, but they passed acts of a directly opposite tendency. Britain, in retaliation, withheld the surrender of the western forts—a circumstance peculiarly distressing, from the encouragement it afforded to Indian hostility. John Adams, one of the most eminent statesmen of the Revolution, was therefore sent, in 1785, on a mission to London. He was well received, and introduced to the king, who, in answer to a very courteous speech, declared his desire to cultivate friendship with the United States. “I wish you, sir,” said he, “to believe, and that it may be understood in America, that I have done nothing in the late contest but what I thought myself indispensably bound to do by the duty which I owed to my people. I will be very frank with you. I was the last to conform to the separation; but the separation having been made, and having become inevitable, I have always said, as I say now, that I would be the first to meet the friendship of the

United States as an independent power." When, however, Adams addressed a memorial to Lord Carnarthen, secretary of state, demanding the delivery of the forts, he was met by a statement of infractions committed on the part of the United States, and assured, that when these were redressed, the treaty would be fully executed. Unable to repel the allegations, he could merely undertake to transmit them to Congress. No disposition was shown, as had been hoped, to conclude a commercial treaty, or to send a minister in return. The cabinet seems to have considered the American government as in a disunited state, likely for a long time to be a prey to anarchy, and destitute of political consideration.

This report was made to Congress, who could not deny the charges; but the blame rested with the states, who were earnestly solicited to rescind such of their acts as obstructed the execution of the treaty; but to this request they paid only their usual partial and imperfect attention. The affair thus remained in a precarious state, and irritation continued to ferment in the minds of the people. On the formation of the united government, Washington anxiously contemplated the opening of more regular and satisfactory communications; but unwilling to commit the national dignity by a direct overture, he engaged Gouverneur Morris, in whom he greatly confided, and who happened to be in England on his private affairs, quietly to sound the cabinet. While professing friendly dispositions, however, the British government repeated the former complaints, representing the losses thereby sustained as greater than could now admit of redress, and showing no disposition to surrender the western posts, which they were suspected of desiring to retain with a view to the fur trade. Thus the relation between the two nations continued unsatisfactory and precarious. Not long after, however, Mr. Hammond was sent out as plenipotentiary, and arrived in October, 1791, when Major Pinkney was deputed in the same character to the court of London. A regular diplomatic intercourse was thus established between the two powers.



PAIN, though the ally of America during the great contest, had not since viewed her with an eye altogether friendly. We have seen how the American negotiators eluded the claims of that power on the Mississippi and its territory, reducing her to the necessity of renouncing them or maintaining the contest alone. The Spanish court did not now attempt to press their territorial demand beyond the 31st degree of latitude; but in regard to the boundaries of Florida, which had been ceded to her by the treaty, the two parties entertained widely different views. The Americans likewise anxiously desired the navigation of the Mississippi to the sea, and had introduced an

article to that effect in the English treaty ; but Spain repelled, as foreign to all her views, this intrusion of strangers into the heart of her territory. As Mr. Jay was setting out for Madrid with full powers, he was anticipated by the arrival of Don Diego de Gardoqui, with whom he immediately began to negotiate. That envoy, however, showed the strongest determination upon both the above points, though offering, if they were conceded, some important commercial advantages in exchange. Jay was inclined to have concluded a treaty for twenty-five or thirty years, during which the states should forbear using the navigation without renouncing their right. He urged to Congress that there was little prospect, during that period, of the settlements being so extended as to render the navigation of much value ; while at its close they would probably be better able to assert their claims. The decision of the Senate was, however, necessary : and in that body, seven northern states indeed voted for Mr. Jay's proposal, but five southern against it. As the Constitution required nine to sanction a treaty, this amounted to a negative. Indeed, as soon as the proposition transpired, a complete flame was kindled, which seemed almost to threaten the Union. Resolutions poured in from the western territories, expressing the utmost astonishment and indignation at the idea of sacrificing a right which they deemed inalienable ; and the Virginian Assembly warmly concurred. Congress was obliged to pass a resolution, asserting the right in the most unequivocal terms ; and there remained thus no basis on which the negotiation with Spain could proceed.

That country remained thus in a hostile attitude, the effects of which were somewhat severely felt. The vessels which attempted to descend the Mississippi were seized and forfeited ; agents were employed among the Creeks and other hostile Indians, to whom even arms were forwarded. Yet the position of the question was so hopeless, that no fresh attempt was made till the beginning of 1793, when Spain, being involved in a serious dispute with Britain regarding Nootka Sound, might, it was hoped, be more accommodating. Mr. Carmichael was empowered to open a negotiation at Madrid, and his proposal was well received, but to his dismay he found Gardoqui again the negotiator. That person professed the most cordial readiness to enter on the subject, yet raised many delays ; and when the main points came under discussion, was found as immovable as ever. He declared his government would on no account open the Mississippi navigation, or allow any foreigners to enter her American territory. All that could be listened to would be the fixing of a *depôt* at the frontier, to which the goods could be brought, and conveyed down by Spanish barks. The proposed limits of Florida were stated to be equally inadmissible. In short, the views of the negotiators were found "so widely divergent, that they could not be brought within the circle of negotiation."

The employment of agents among the Indians was at first denied, but on undoubted proofs being produced, was acknowledged and defended.



FRANCE alone, of these powers, professed an ardent attachment to the young republic, of which she considered herself almost a parent. Yet circumstances arose which rendered her friendship more embarrassing than the hostility of the other parties, though no serious inconvenience ensued till the arrival of the important crisis of the Revolution.

This event was at first generally hailed by the Americans as accordant with their political ideas, and likely to draw closer their ties with so great a nation ; but when it advanced with such formidable rapidity—when the monarchy was entirely swept away, and the whole power placed in a convention of the people—wide differences of opinion arose. Many in the nation enthusiastically applauded these changes, desired to fraternize with the new republic, and even to break down those limited checks upon popular power which their own system comprised. More reflecting men, and especially the federal chiefs, viewed it as wanting any principle of stability, and as the harbinger of anarchy and desolation ; an opinion early and boldly avowed by Hamilton, whose unpopularity was thus greatly augmented. Washington viewed the subject with his usual dignified coolness, and chiefly in reference to the conduct which he himself ought to pursue. No doubt was felt as to the propriety of acknowledging any government which the French people might deliberately establish ; but Gouverneur Morris, the ambassador, in witnessing the furious and doubtful conflict of factions, proceeded with a degree of cautious circumspection which gave offence to the extreme republicans both in France and America.

Matters assumed a much more serious aspect when war broke out between France and England, and Genet, an ardent republican, was announced to be coming out as ambassador. The main difficulty was, that the treaty of alliance included a defensive guarantee of the French West Indies, and might thus be construed as obliging America to make common cause with her ally. The President then held long and anxious consultations with his cabinet both by speech and writing ; and their opinions were divided. Hamilton and his party urged, that the French government being entirely changed, and the war offensive on their part, America was in no degree bound to co-operate ; that this ought to be announced at once to the new ambassador, who besides should not be received with the same respect as one from a regular and established power. But Jefferson contended that his reception should be as usual, and that the question of war should be for the present reserved. On the first point Washington concurred ; but after serious deliberation, he determined upon adopting a course of strict neutrality, and ordered a proclamation to th

effect to be prepared and published. This important step, which experience amply justified, was nevertheless at great variance with the present temper of the nation; and his popularity received a severe temporary shock, which however never altered his determined adherence to this course.

Genet was instructed not to demand that the United States should become parties in the war; and a letter which he brought, addressed to the people, stated, that "their immense distance prevented their taking a concern in the glorious regeneration of Europe." Yet he brought with him secret instructions to form if possible a national agreement to guaranty the sovereignty of the people, and punish those powers which still kept up an exclusive commercial and colonial system. As this, however, could not be hoped from the timid and wavering conduct of the executive, it was to the people he was chiefly to look. He landed on the 8th April, not in the Chesapeake, but at the southern port of Charleston, and instead of proceeding to deliver his credentials, began to exercise sovereign functions, commissioning and directing the equipment of privateers against the English trade, and authorizing the consul to hold courts for the condemnation of the prizes. He was encouraged by the enthusiastic applauses of the people, from among whom the crews of these vessels were easily completed. In such occupations, five weeks were spent before he arrived at Philadelphia. His entry there was triumphal; crowds lined his route, and on the following day addresses were presented from numerous societies, expressing the warmest attachment to the French republic.

Being introduced on the 18th at the state-house, he met a much cooler reception. Washington indeed addressed him cordially, expressing strong attachment to his nation, but, it was remarked, made no mention of the Revolution. Genet delivered his message, admitting the neutrality of the States, but strongly urging the immediate payment of the balance of about seventeen millions of francs still due to France, either in money or in convertible bonds or securities; offering as an inducement, that the value should be taken in American merchandise. This application fell to be reported on by Hamilton, the man of all others least inclined to forward it. He observed that the government had paid their instalments regularly, and even somewhat in advance, but only by fresh loans, for which the present disturbed state of Europe was very unfavourable. Their credit being strained to the utmost, could not admit of throwing into circulation a new mass of notes or other securities. Jefferson therefore intimated the impossibility of granting the request. By this time complaints poured in from the English ambassador and other quarters respecting vessels of that nation captured by those fitted out under Genet's commission. Washington again solemnly called for the opinions of his divided cabinet. All agreed that privateers could not be permitted to be equipped in the American ports; but

the doubt was whether government should order the restoration of the ships actually taken. According to Jefferson, it was not responsible for acts done without its sanction, and might leave the question to be decided in the courts; but Hamilton more reasonably urged, that government was responsible for, and bound to redress wrongs done by its subjects to foreign powers. Washington, reserving this point, proceeded at once to intimate to the ambassador and instruct the governors, that this outfit of privateers could not be permitted. Afterwards, upon the opinion of the judges, the restoration of the prizes was ordered. The ambassador, in return, remonstrated on cases of British cruisers taking French goods out of American vessels, but was told that this was according to the old and established law of nations; Britain having never assented to the demand of the armed neutrality, that free bottoms should make free goods. Genet replied in the most insolent terms, such indeed as have scarcely a parallel in the annals of diplomacy. He derided the references to Vattel and to the old law of nations as altogether obsolete and misplaced in this age of renovation. They were not to lower themselves to the level of antiquated politics and diplomatic subtleties. It was not thus that the American people wished him to be treated. He could not suppose—he wished he could disbelieve—that such measures were conceived in the heart of George Washington, that celebrated hero of liberty. In fine, he said: “The French, too confiding, are punished for having believed that the American nation had a flag,—had any regard for its laws,—any consciousness of its strength, or sentiment of its dignity.” He hinted in his letters, and was understood to declare openly in private, his intention of appealing from the government to the people, who continued strongly attached to him and to the French cause. A formidable opposition was organized against Washington’s administration, who were represented as a band of aristocrats attached to England, and leagued with that European confederacy, “transcendent in power, and unparalleled in iniquity, which threatened to subvert the liberties of the world.” The orders respecting the French cruisers were reluctantly and imperfectly obeyed; and they hesitated not in repeated instances to set sail in defiance of them.



UCH conduct it was considered impossible any longer to endure. In August, it was determined by the unanimous opinion of the cabinet, that a letter should be written to Mr. Morris at Paris, detailing the various acts by which Genet had set the government at defiance, and which amounted actually to an attempt to make himself co-sovereign of the country. It was impossible that two separate authorities could exist in one state. His recall was therefore solicited, and, if he persevered, it might become necessary to suspend his functions, even before a successor

could arrive. This letter, being communicated to the ambassador, called forth a most extraordinary and violent reply. He denounced it as the work of aristocrats, friends of monarchy and of England, and consequently enemies to those principles which all good Frenchmen had embraced with religious enthusiasm. Alarmed at the popularity reflected on him by the attachment of the American people, they had united to calumniate him in the eyes of his fellow-citizens. They had excited the president to write this violent diatribe, and to demand his recall,—a step which might pass between despot and despot, but was here entirely misplaced. The American people were more outraged than himself; with them alone and their representatives the decision rested; the president, a mere executive officer, had no right to set aside treaties or to change their meaning. He intimated an intention to print the whole correspondence, that the American people, whose esteem was dearer to him than life, might judge if he were worthy of the paternal reception they had deigned to give him.

After this defiance, he proceeded with unabated activity in his former course. He had organized two expeditions, one from Carolina and Georgia against Florida, the other from Kentucky against New Orleans. The people of this last state, indignant at being still debarred from the navigation of the Mississippi, had ardently embraced the project, and collected a strong force to support it. Washington sent orders to the governor to stop the movements; but his answer was so lukewarm, and expressed so many doubts of his power, that it was judged necessary to order General Wayne to take a position on the Ohio, by which alone the expedition was prevented from descending. That from Georgia was also guarded against; and the French having granted the recall of Genet, his successor Fauchet arrived in February, 1794. They soon after requested in return the recall of Mr. Morris, whose place was supplied by Mr. Monroe, the Virginian senator, ardently attached to free institutions.

Washington's attention had already been turned to the relations of the Union with Great Britain, who still held the western posts, and with whom all the grounds of dispute continued unsettled. These alleged grievances rankled in the minds of the people, and were greatly strengthened by the attachment to France, and enmity to the coalition against her, now so widely diffused. The popular cry for war was shared by the representatives, and opposed by only a very narrow majority in the Senate. Washington, on the contrary, highly deprecated a rupture with the mistress of the seas, and the entire destruction of commerce thence inevitable. He dreaded, moreover, the nation being thrown into the arms of France, and the communication of the tyrannical anarchy which desolated that country, and had too many partisans in America. He determined to brave the popular clamour, and make a great effort to restore peace. John Jay, the supreme judge, who had been much employed in diplomacy, was appointed envoy

extraordinary, a choice which appears to us singular, yet has several times been adopted in America. The House of Representatives were so exasperated, that they carried, by a majority of twenty, a bill for suspending all commercial intercourse with Britain; and it was negatived in the Senate only by the casting vote of the vice-president.

On the envoy's arrival, the court of London, involved in a great continental war, showed itself not indisposed to any reasonable terms for averting an additional enemy. The king gave Jay a very gracious reception, and Lord Grenville showed every disposition to a conciliatory discussion. On the complaints of illegal seizure, the courts were stated to be the proper quarter to seek redress; but the time for doing so would be prolonged. Before the period fixed for the delivery of the western posts, the violations on the part of America had taken place, and were the sole ground of their being retained. A demand for the restoration of negroes could not be acceded to, as they had come in by proclamation, trusting to British honour. After long discussion, and several written counter-propositions, it was agreed that the western posts should be surrendered by 1st June, 1796; and that the United States government should compensate British creditors for losses sustained by impediments to the collection of debts. The amount was to be decided by commissioners, two on each side, with power to choose a fifth; and the sum of six hundred thousand pounds was ultimately awarded. The same arrangement was to be made for deciding upon British illegal captures, and also upon the northern boundary line, which was already a subject of discussion. Jay had been instructed not to regard a commercial treaty as indispensable, but to attempt it, if he saw fair prospects of success. The dispositions of the cabinet were found so favourable, that with little difficulty one was arranged, by which the Americans were placed on the footing of the most favoured neutrals, and even allowed to trade with the West Indies in vessels not exceeding seventy tons. The two treaties were finally incorporated and signed on the 19th November, 1794. Instructions had been given to obtain, if possible, some extension of the rights of neutrals, and relaxation of the laws respecting contraband of war; but upon this subject the English cabinet were found inflexible, and it was not seemingly introduced into any written proposal. There was even an article which appeared to imply that certain commodities not usually contraband might be seized, though not confiscated, but the owners indemnified.

On the 7th March, 1796, Washington received the treaty, and considering it on the whole as favourable as could reasonably be hoped for, he submitted it on the 8th June, to the Senate. Considerable difference of opinion prevailed, and it was approved by the bare constitutional majority of two-thirds. The article respecting the West Indies was not sanctioned, on account of an engagement not to export cotton, as being a

produce of those islands, while Mr. Jay was not aware, that in the United States themselves it was already rising into importance; but this was not likely to be insisted on by Britain. After serious deliberation, therefore, the President determined to affix his signature. The contents, however, had already transpired, and had kindled among the popular party, and the partisans of France, the most violent indignation. They exclaimed, that the interests of the nation were not only neglected, but sold; that its honour was tarnished, and the long much-valued alliance with France completely renounced. Resolutions to this effect, beginning in Boston, spread through all the great cities, and thence over the Union. A number took a more sober view of the matter, but were nearly overborne by the general clamour. At the next meeting of Congress, the subject came before the representatives, among whom a decided majority shared this sentiment; but they were met by a serious constitutional question. According to the Federals, as soon as a treaty was ratified by the President and Senate, it became the supreme law of the land; the other house could not obstruct, but were bound to concur in its execution. The Democrats held this as an exorbitant power lodged in these parties, who might thus carry any measure they pleased, by merely inserting it in a foreign treaty. None, it was said, could be accounted final till consented to by the Representatives, nor could they be called upon to aid in the execution of one which they disapproved. Their only step, however, was, on the motion of Mr. Livingston, to address the President for copies of Mr. Jay's instructions, and other documents connected with the negotiation; but Washington, in a long reply, declined this as both unconstitutional and inexpedient. This decision surprised the house, and was very ill received; yet ultimately, the necessity of fulfilling the required provisions was carried by fifty-one to forty-eight.

The cloud of unpopularity which, from these causes, hung over the closing career of Washington was very painful to him, yet it never seems to have shaken his determination to pursue that line which appeared to him right. He says, in his plain way, "there is but one straight course in those things, and that is, to seek truth and pursue it steadily." In fact, he saw, even in his lifetime, this gloom dispersed; and American writers generally allow, that on no occasion did he render to his country more signal services. Never, perhaps, was the benefit more conspicuous, of the duration given to the tenure both of the Senate and the Executive, since elections made during the interval of the Gallic phrensy would almost certainly have precipitated the nation into a long and ruinous war.

The concluding years of his administration were also troubled by the resignation of the leading members of his cabinet. Indeed, there never perhaps had been one composed in so peculiar a manner, of men holding the most opposite extremes of political opinion, and cherishing, besides,

a personal antipathy. Jefferson employed, as translating clerk in his office, one Freneau, who edited a journal, of which the President complained that there was not an act of his government which it did not fiercely attack. But the secretary, who generally concurred in its sentiments, would not interpose. He complains, indeed, but without sufficient reason, that he produced his opinions in the council only to see them suffer martyrdom. Washington, though much harassed by this position, was still willing to have the opposite opinions pleaded before him, and to decide on them as a judge. Though, leaning strongly towards Hamilton, he was reluctant to be left under his influence without a check. He urged Jefferson to remain, and when, in December, 1793, the resignation was insisted on, he supplied his place by Randolph, who entertained similar sentiments. In the beginning of 1795, Hamilton followed the example, partly from private motives, and partly, no doubt, from his increasing unpopularity. He was succeeded, on his own recommendation, by Wolcott.

In the beginning of 1796, the second term of Washington's presidency was to terminate; and, notwithstanding the late popular clamours, it is believed that had he agreed to stand a third time, the choice would have been decided, and even again unanimous. His determination, however, to retire into private life, was now immovable. The two houses drew up addresses, strongly expressing their high estimation of his character, and of the conduct of his administration. That of the Senate passed unanimously; but in the other house, Giles, the popular leader, concurring in the applause of his character, would not extend it to his system of government, or even express regret at his retirement. He was supported by only a few, and the address was carried by a large majority. Washington, at the same time, published an address to the people, exposing the principles on which their public conduct ought to be guided. It is written with great ability, and has ever since been regarded as almost a second constitutional charter. To adhere strongly to the Union, and shun the sectional distinctions of Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western—to avoid the extremes of party spirit—to venerate religion and morality as the main pillars of public welfare—to cultivate friendship with all nations, without a passionate attachment to any—these are the leading objects of exhortation. The composition is said to have employed four months, and to have been chiefly prepared by Hamilton; but it breathes nothing of that monarchical spirit of which he has been so much accused.

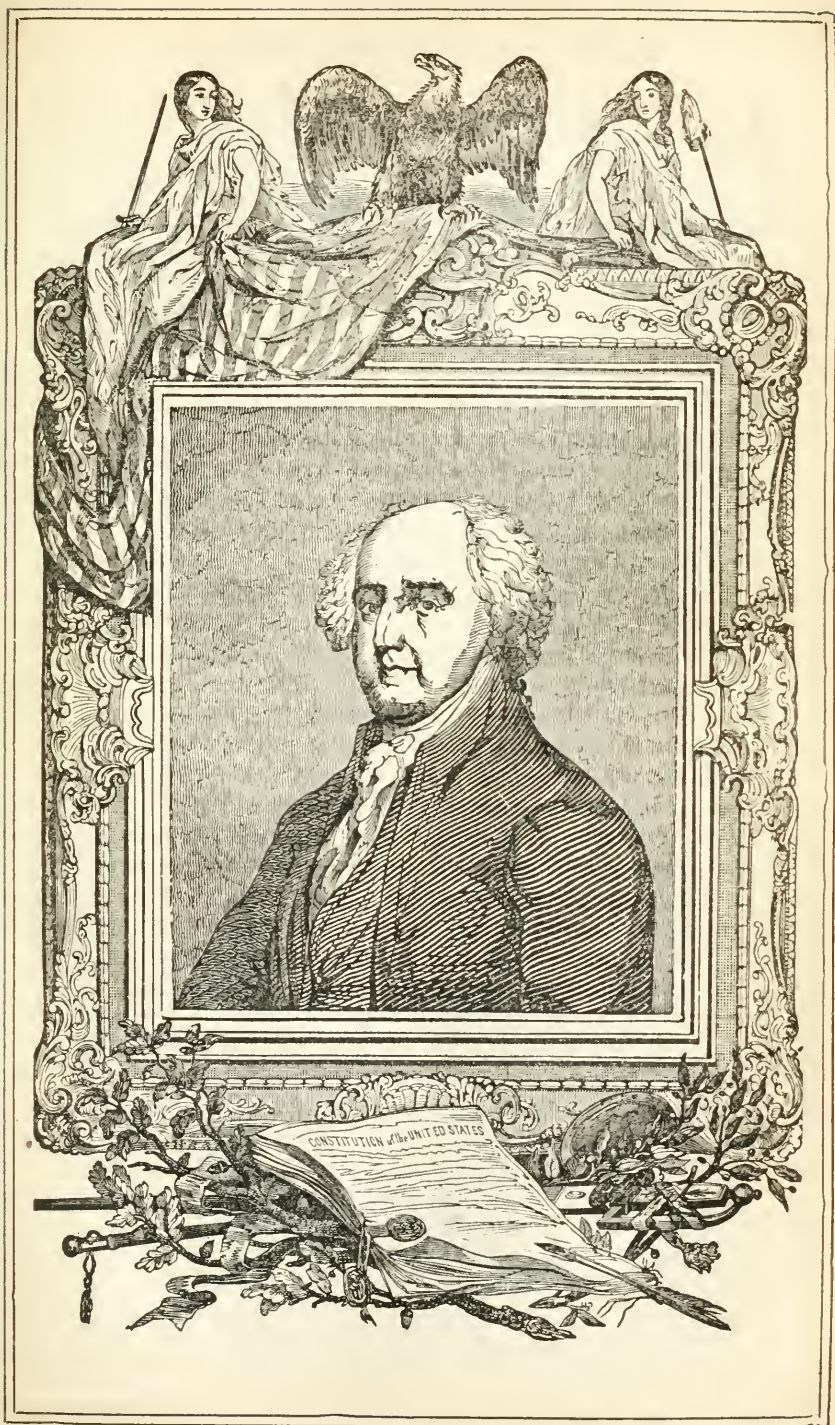


ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN ADAMS.



HE election of a new president tested the strength of parties. The Democrats nominated Jefferson in spite of his professed reluctance, while the Federals, afraid to propose Hamilton, supported John Adams. After a severe struggle, the small majority of seventy-one to sixty-eight appeared in favour of the latter, the result of which, according to the curious arrangement of the Constitution, was to make his opponent vice-president. This union of conflicting elements was the less embarrassing, as the latter officer has no active functions assigned to him, and remains merely in reserve. The two statesmen, during the revolutionary struggle, had been united in the closest friendship; and though its changes had brought them to opposite sides of the political wheel, great personal regard was still professed. Overtures of co-operation were even made, but without being followed up; and Jefferson became as before a violent adversary to the government of which he ostensibly formed a member.

The attention of the new President was immediately called to the critical state of the national relations with France. When the Directory agreed to the recall of Genet, and requested that of Morris, Washington, anxious to conciliate them, selected Monroe, an able man, and imbued with an enthusiastic admiration of the French republic. The President's impartiality seems to have here carried him too far, making him choose a representative whose views so little harmonized with his own. Monroe's first despatches show him to have been one of those who ardently desired to identify the cause and interest of the two republics. He arrived when France had newly emerged from the reign of blood under Robespierre; but this he represents as a mere temporary interruption to the auspicious career



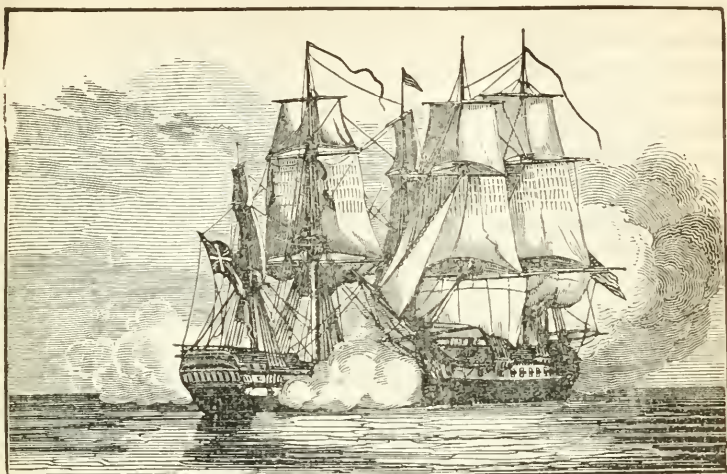


of liberty. Even the Mountain party had, he thought, been useful till the overthrow of monarchy; and having then attempted to establish a tyranny of their own, they had justly fallen. That system was at an end; the guillotine would never again be erected, and the republic was advancing in a happy career of freedom. The French government, being apprized of these sentiments, gave him the most distinguished reception: he was publicly presented to the Convention, and in answer to their address of welcome, expressed the strong sympathy and attachment felt by America towards France, saying: "Republics should draw near each other." Being warned from home that this language was not in accordance with his instructions, which had enjoined the strictest neutrality, he still defended himself, and continued the same course. It clearly transpires, that he had held communications tending to a co-operation of the two powers against Britain and Spain. Amid this intercourse, he was struck as by a thunder-bolt with the intelligence of Jay's treaty with the former power; and the indignant disappointment then expressed by the French government would doubtless be faintly repelled by one who shared it. On learning, however, the doubts as to its ratification, his hopes revived; he represented to his government the triumphant position of France, her anxiety for a close alliance, and that there was no object which America might not in that case obtain through her aid. Washington, to whom these views were wholly foreign, disregarded them, and signed the treaty.

The rage felt on this occasion by the French government was doubtless aggravated by the opposite hopes with which they had been inspired. Fauchet, their ambassador, declared that they considered the States as having thus "knowingly and evidently sacrificed their connections with the republic." Orders were issued for the capture of vessels carrying provisions to any British port, and extensive depredations were in consequence committed. Washington, clearly perceiving that no redress could be expected through the agency of the present ambassador, determined to send another, and chose Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina, a known friend of liberty, and who had not appeared in any of the measures complained of by France. That government, however, considered the recall of Monroe as the climax of its wrongs; and when he and the new minister waited on La Croix with their letters of recall and credence, they were treated with marked coldness. Before parting, they were led to suppose that Pinckney would be acknowledged; but two days after, Monroe received a letter intimating that this could not take place till the French grievances were redressed. Pinckney complained in vain of not being allowed even to explain his mission; nay, he was refused letters of hospitality, without which, at that time, no stranger was permitted to remain in Paris, and was warned that his next accounts would probably be from the lieutenant-general of police. He determined, however, not to leave Paris without a written order; and

the government seemed reluctant to go so far as either to issue one or throw him into prison. In this precarious position he remained several weeks, when, on intelligence being received of Napoleon's successes in Italy, the mandate to depart was sent, and he repaired to the Hague. Monroe, who had just before been somewhat coolly treated, now met with the most marked attention; and in the parting address, deep regret at his recall was mingled with a direct appeal to the people of America against their government. The Directory also sent a message to the council of Five Hundred, recommending that all vessels laden in whole or part with English goods should be declared lawful prizes.

When these tidings arrived in America, Adams, who had succeeded as President, called an extraordinary meeting of Congress. In a message of 16th May, 1797, he exposed, with indignant comments, the conduct of the French government, and recommended an augmentation both of the naval and military force; yet he intimated the design to make a fresh attempt at negotiation, for which purpose Marshall and Gerry were joined in a commission with Pinckney. They were comparatively well received by Talleyrand, now foreign minister, and though their character was not publicly acknowledged, they obtained cards of hospitality. He warned them that the Directory were greatly exasperated at the President's speech, and a private agent from him, named in the despatches X, soon visited them, and expatiated strongly on this subject. He intimated, however, that there was one way by which this wrath might be softened, and the whole matter adjusted; this was by money. Provided a loan of one million two hundred thousand pounds were made to the government, and a *douceur* of fifty thousand pounds paid to Talleyrand for his own use, and that of the Directory, he would guaranty that every thing should be well arranged. They replied, that they had brought no instructions to treat on such a subject, and could do nothing without reference to America. Being afterwards pressed to say simply Yes or No, they gave a decided negative. Yet X with two coadjutors, Y (Mr. Bellamy, of Hamburg) and Z, (M. Hauteval,) continued to urge the point in every possible manner; and boasts were even made of the triumphant progress of the French arms, and the humiliating peace imposed on Austria. Venice had fallen; England would soon follow; and America might dread the same fate. The consent of their government might be necessary for the loan; but for the fifty thousand pounds, their own powers were sufficient; there was a banker ready to honour their draft. They were asked if they had not been aware that at Paris nothing could be obtained without money; and having declared a total want of suspicion of this fact, were told that any American in the city could have informed them. When they expatiated on the claims of their country to good treatment, the agent showed extreme impatience, and at the first interval said: all this was very fine, but he did not come to



CAPTURE OF L'INSURGENTE.

listen to speeches; it was Yes or No—the fifty thousand pounds. “Gentlemen,” said he at another time, “you do not come to the point; it is money—you must offer money.” Although Talleyrand did not personally treat, they met these agents at his house, where the discussions were partly carried on. They at length drew up a lengthened statement of their claims and grievances, intimating, that unless they were attended to, there could be no object in their remaining longer. Marshall and Pinckney were welcomed and even urged to depart; but Gerry, by threats of immediate war, was induced to remain; a concession of which his government disapproved. On the 18th of January, 1798, a law was passed subjecting to capture every vessel which should contain any article of British fabric or produce.

The report of these transactions, when conveyed to America, kindled a feeling of unanimous and indignant resistance. The French party, which had appeared almost dominant, was suddenly reduced to a small minority. Those who attempted to argue that it would be cheaper to submit than to resist, were considered as betraying the honour of their country. “Millions for defence, not a cent for tribute!” was the general cry. The envoys made a kind of triumphal entry into Philadelphia; and Jefferson complains, that from being nearly in the front of popular favour, he was thrown far into the background. Congress readily authorized an augmentation both of the naval and military force, and to defray the expense, a considerable amount even of internal taxes, hitherto so odious, including one on land, was imposed. Washington consented to come forth from his

retirement, and assume the command of the army, in which he appointed Hamilton his second. Hostilities were even commenced by sea. Commodore Truxtun, with the frigate *Constellation* of thirty-eight guns, captured the French *L'Insurgente* of forty. He had also obliged another, the *Vengeance* of fifty guns, to strike her colours; but she escaped during the night.

The French government do not seem to have ever seriously intended war, but only hoped by the threat to make America yield to their terms. Finding her immovable, and being ashamed of the exposures made by the negotiators, Talleyrand now disavowed his agents, and expressed to Gerry the strongest wish for peace, without any demand of loans or pecuniary terms. Even when that minister had been recalled, he sent after him to Havre a new decree, professedly mitigating those formerly complained of, though it did not contain any important provision. He took the stronger step of communicating through Pichon, ambassador at the Hague, to Mr. Murray, American resident there, his wish for peace, which he pretended even having always done every thing in his power to promote. Adams, on receiving these overtures, did not certainly display that anti-gallican spirit so strongly alleged by the opposite party. He immediately prepared a new commission, and to give it the greater weight, solicited the venerable Patrick Henry, who had lately been governor of Virginia, to place himself at its head. As he declined on account of his age, Oliver Ellsworth, chief justice, was substituted, and was combined with Mr. Murray. A pledge was only required, that the embassy should be treated according to the usage of civilized nations; and this was promptly accorded. On their arrival at Paris, a complete revolution had taken place; Napoleon, returning from Egypt, had grasped with an iron hand the reins of power. He had been in no degree mixed up with the late transactions, and seems to have been desirous, at least in the first instance, to make his administration proceed smoothly. Every facility was, therefore, given to the negotiation, which, on the 31st July, 1801, ended in a satisfactory treaty. The injurious decrees were repealed, and a liberal compensation stipulated for the depredations committed under them.

Before this satisfactory result, Washington was no more. Though suffering under some infirmities, he had enjoyed general good health till the 13th December, 1799, when, in consequence of severe exposure to cold, he was seized with an inflammation of the windpipe. On the 14th, it terminated in death, which he met with exemplary calmness and fortitude. When the tidings were conveyed to Congress, then sitting, a deep and general mourning ensued, and all party feelings were for the moment hushed. The Assembly at once broke up; an imposing funeral procession was arranged, and numerous attended. Many orations in honour of his memory were pronounced there and in different parts of the Union.

It was even decreed that a marble monument should be erected in the capital, and his body deposited under it; but through party spirit and extreme economy, this was never carried into execution, and his remains still repose at Mount Vernon.

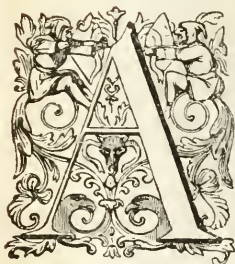
During the first strong impression produced by the outrages on the part of France, Adams and his ministry had carried all before them. But when the cloud of war, which had seemingly impended, was dispersed, and it appeared even probable that she had never intended such a measure, a great reaction took place. Her votaries derided what they termed the X Y Z negotiation, representing, though seemingly without reason, these agents as having acted without any authority. But the severest trial was when the new taxes, the necessity for which was no longer felt, came to be levied. They encountered general discontent, and in some cases open resistance. Amid the first excitement, no difficulty had been found in inducing Congress to pass an alien act, with very stringent provisions: also another, imposing restrictions upon the press; but these measures, being quite new, and foreign to the national habits and ideas, soon became odious.



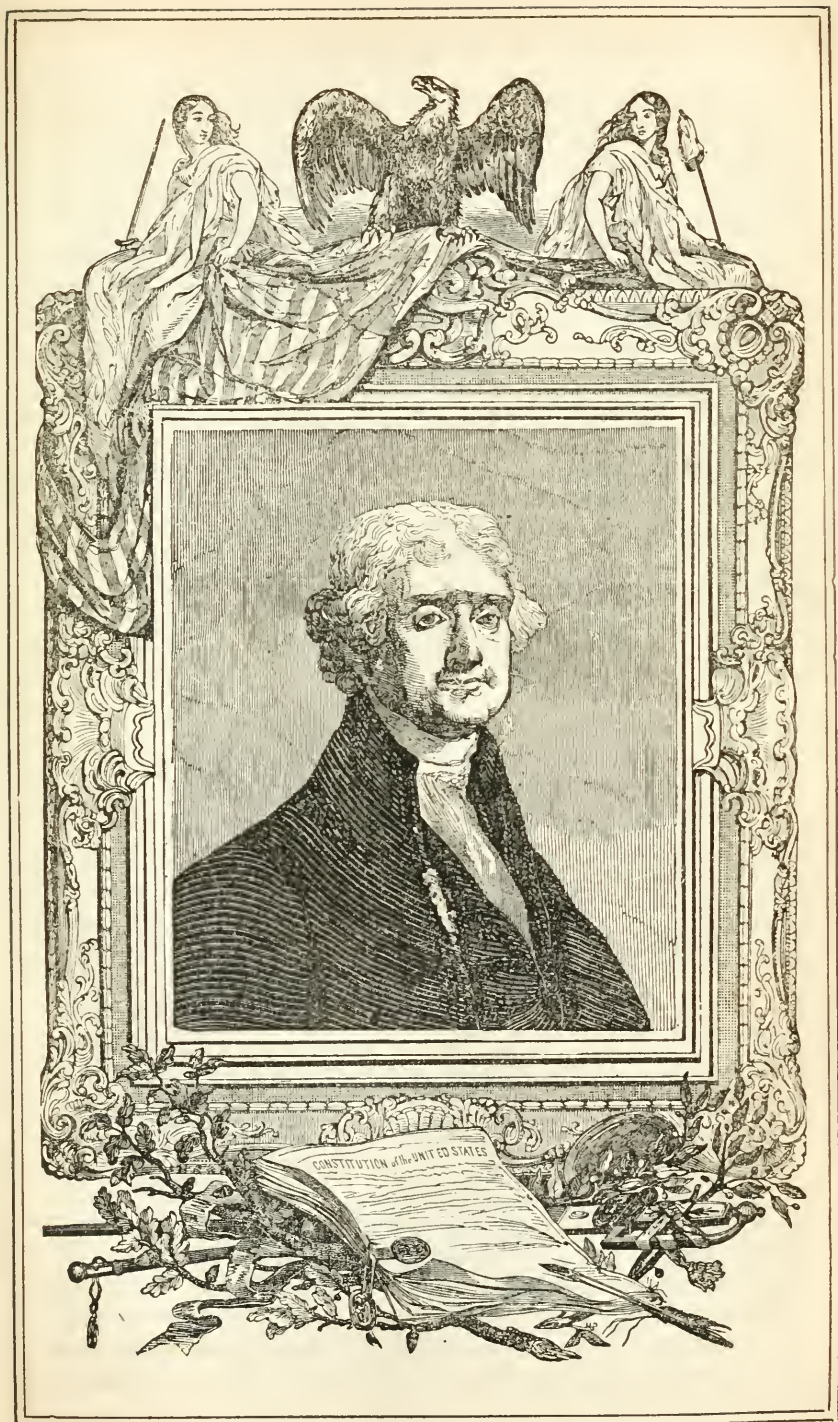


GENERAL EATON.

JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION.



NEW presidential election having come on in 1801, it soon appeared that the democratic interest was in the ascendant. Jefferson, its head, being again opposed by Adams, obtained a majority of seventy-three to sixty-five; yet his success was checked by a singular incident. Aaron Burr, a bustling adventurer of doubtful character, had made himself generally acceptable to the Democrats, who voted for him in the view that he might become vice-president. The votes happened to be exactly equal; in which case the Constitution had provided that the House of Representatives should decide. Here, however, the Federals, viewing Jefferson as their arch-enemy, threw themselves into the interest of Burr, and produced there too an exact equality. No remedy had been provided for this double contingency; and the machine of government seemed to



have run down. The votes were taken again and again, and always with the same result. A proposition was made, and received with some favour, that the House itself should appoint a provisional government. This the Democrats most fiercely resisted, threatening a convention of the people, or even an insurrection. At length, after thirty-five equal ballotings, one individual went over, and placed Jefferson in the presidential chair.

This statesman was not unworthy of the eminence to which he had risen. He possessed a wider range of knowledge and information than Washington, whom he equalled in talent, perhaps even in honesty of purpose. Yet he had not that greatness of character which raised the other so high above all his contemporaries. His mind moved in a lower sphere. He was completely a partisan, not only adopting extreme political opinions, but viewing his opponents with severe personal bitterness. We find him collecting speeches that escaped them at table, and on other familiar occasions, thence inferring, probably without reason, a design to overthrow the Constitution. Yet he did not himself propose any alterations upon the republican side, and professed an attachment to the federal branch almost as decided as that of Washington. His primary object was the reduction of the large military and naval establishment formed by his predecessor, and thus removing the additional taxes imposed by him. This was a popular measure, and afforded, of course, immediate relief; yet afterwards, in the hour of need, it appeared to have been carried to an extreme. He first introduced the practice, since adopted to a vast extent, of removing officers, even in subordinate situations, whose political opinions were adverse to those of the President. He professes to have taken this course with great reluctance, and mostly where the appointments had been made by Adams from political motives, and even after being aware that his own election was hopeless. Yet it is remarkable, that this stretch of a doubtful executive power has been made almost wholly by presidents professing principles of the highest democracy.

The new chief magistrate was soon involved in a transaction of very great importance. Intelligence was received that Napoleon had extorted from Spain the cession of Louisiana, granting in compensation the succession of the Duke of Parma, a Spanish prince, to the grand-duchy of Tuscany. That court had, however, yielded with much reluctance, and only from being overawed by the superior power of France. This intelligence excited great alarm in the American cabinet. The possession of this territory by Spain, a weak and sluggish power, had been sufficiently harassing; what then might be expected on its transference to the most stirring and active nation in Europe? The first and very painful result was the withdrawal of the right of deposit hitherto granted to New Orleans. An attempt to resist was doubtful as to right, and still more so as to the means of execution. Jefferson, however, knowing the French government to be



N A P O L E O N .

embarrassed as to funds, conceived the hope, that, for a large sum, they might be induced to part with the territory ; and, viewing the object as of the deepest importance, he was disposed not to be sparing in the amount.

Livingston, Pinckney, and Monroe were appointed a commission for carrying on this delicate negotiation. On arriving at Paris, they found their republican profession in bad odour with Napoleon, who, having determined to establish absolute power, regarded them with dislike as demagogues and anarchists. They did not scruple to obviate this by declaring that they considered the present system the most desirable for France after her severe recent agitations. They found the acquisition of Louisiana disapproved in the political circles, yet a favourite object with the First Consul himself. He looked to it as a great colonial possession, which might rival those of England ; as a new Egypt—a place of reward for meritorious officers, and of exile for those he suspected. Mr. King, the ambassador to England, endeavoured to stir that court against it ; but though dissatisfaction was expressed, no right was there felt to interfere. An expedition of five to seven thousand men was prepared, and Bernadotte appointed to command it. As, however, the First Consul began to contemplate hostile relations with Britain, his mind opened to the American proposals. He could not hope to maintain this transatlantic possession against her supe-

rior navy ; while a large sum of money would be extremely convenient. King, indeed, was warned by Mr. Addington, that the British government would, in that event, take possession of the country. This was a new ground of alarm ; but he gave assurance, that they sought only to keep it from France, and would be quite satisfied with its acquisition by the United States. As hostilities became certain, Napoleon began seriously to negotiate on the subject. The treaty had been opened only with respect to New Orleans, and the territory west of the Mississippi ; but he intimated that the eastern must also be included, which, indeed, by itself could be of little value to him. This proposal being unexpected, the envoys were unprovided with any instructions ; yet, rightly appreciating the great advantage of possessing both banks, they readily consented—a conduct highly approved by the President. After a good deal of discussion, the price was fixed at sixty millions of francs, (£2,500,000,) and the States were besides to pay twenty millions of francs (£800,000) of indemnity stipulated to its subjects for injurious captures ; making in all £3,300,000. The sum, though considerable, bore little proportion to the vast advantages which have since been reaped from the acquisition.

Jefferson, although gratified by this arrangement, felt a good deal embarrassed in laying it before Congress. No power to conclude such a treaty was conveyed by the Constitution, and he was one who specially deprecated the general government going a step beyond its assigned functions. Congress, however, with the exception of a small minority, showed too much satisfaction at the event to be at all disposed to criticise its legality. Spain only, who still held possession of the country, and had certainly been treated with very little ceremony, made a strong remonstrance, that she had ceded it under the engagement of its never being alienated, and that the terms even had not been strictly fulfilled. She gave in afterwards a solemn protest to the same effect. The American government turned a deaf ear to such representations, and even prepared to assert the claim by arms. Napoleon, on hearing of this dispute, intimated, that unless the Spanish government yielded, he would join America in compulsory measures. This was enough for that court, who, on the 10th February, 1804, intimated, through her minister, Don Pedro Cevallos, that her opposition was withdrawn.

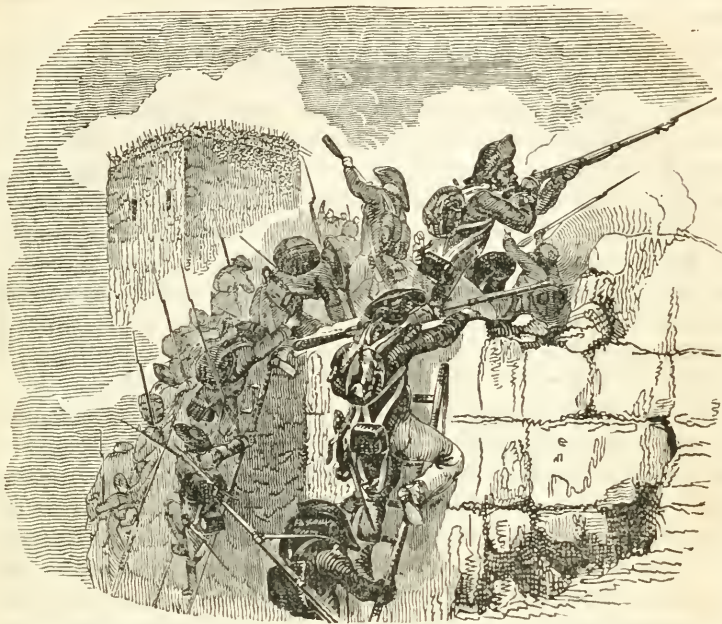
Public attention was now called to another subject, which had long caused uneasiness and irritation. The piratical states of Barbary, whose career had hitherto encountered no serious check, had been committing extensive depredations on American commerce. They had even intimated an intention not to discontinue them without a tribute, to which the nation was little inclined. As Tripoli had been particularly active, Commodore Preble, in 1803, was sent against it with a fleet of seven sail. On his arrival, Captain Bainbridge, with the frigate Philadelphia, was employed



COMMODORE PREBLE.

to reconnoitre the harbour; but proceeding too far, his vessel grounded, and fell into the hands of the enemy. He and his crew were made prisoners, and treated with the usual barbarity.

The expedition was thus at a full stand, when Captain Eaton, consul at Tunis, intimated that the throne of Tripoli was disputed by Hamet Carra-malli, a brother of the bashaw, who had found refuge and been well received in Egypt. He proposed and was permitted to join this prince, commanding the co-operation of the fleet. Eaton soon obtained Hamet's concurrence, and, early in 1805, was invested with the command of a body of troops which the latter had succeeded in raising. He marched across the desert of Marmorica, summoned the frontier fortress of Derne, and, though the commander made the defying reply, "My head or yours," overpowered him after a few hours of desperate fighting. On the 8th May, the reigning bashaw came up with a strong force, and attempted to recover the place, but was repulsed; and on the 10th June he sustained another defeat. Immediately after, the American fleet was reinforced by the frigate *Constitution*. While affairs thus wore a triumphant aspect, and the capital was in alarm of immediate attack, Colonel Lear, the consul.



CAPTURE OF DERNÉ.

thought it most prudent to listen to overtures from the enemy and conclude a peace. It comprehended the delivery of the prisoners on both sides ; there being a balance of two hundred in favour of the bashaw, for which sixty thousand dollars were to be paid. All co-operation was to be withdrawn from Hamet, in whose favour it was only stipulated, that his wife and children should be released. That prince made loud complaints, under which Jefferson evidently felt considerable uneasiness. He urged, indeed, that no pledge had been given for his restoration to power ; and that his force, though so far successful, was not adequate to that achievement. Concerted movements may take place against a common enemy without any mutual guarantee of each other's objects ; yet, where both have effectively co-operated, each seemingly may claim a share of the advantage ; and that of Hamet, on the present occasion, appears exceedingly slender.

In the end of 1804, Jefferson's first term of office expired. His conduct having been altogether approved, and the democratic spirit being still predominant, he was re-elected by one hundred and sixty-two votes out of one hundred and seventy-six. Burr, who had disgusted the ruling party by his conduct at the last election, was thrown out, and Clinton of

New York, a Democrat so decided that he had even opposed the formation of the Union, was elected in his place.

Burr, disappointed in this quarter, sought compensation by standing candidate for the government of New York. He was supported by a large body of the Federals ; but Hamilton, a man of high and honourable mind, despising him as a reckless adventurer, opposed and defeated his election. The disappointed candidate, taking advantage of some violent language said to have been used by his opponent, sent him a challenge. The Americans, while rejecting the feudality of Europe, have retained in full action this its barbarous remnant. The parties met, and at the first fire Hamilton fell. No event ever excited a more general feeling of regret throughout the States, where, in the party most adverse to him, his high bearing, splendid talents, and political consistency, commanded general respect.

Burr, however, restlessly sought some means of attaining distinction and power. In September and October, 1806, Jefferson learned that mysterious operations were proceeding along the Ohio ; boats preparing, stores of provisions collecting, and a number of suspicious characters in movement. A confidential agent sent to the spot warned the President that Burr was the prime mover ; and General Wilkinson, who commanded near New Orleans, intimated that propositions of a daring and dangerous import had been transmitted to him by that personage. The ostensible pretext was, the settlement of a tract of country said to have been purchased on the Washita, a tributary of the Mississippi ; but the various preparations, the engagement for six months only, the provision of muskets and bayonets, pointed to something altogether distinct. It was either the formation of the western territory into a separate government, or an expedition against Mexico, sought to be justified by a boundary difference that had arisen with Spain, whose troops had actually crossed the Sabine. The former project, if entertained, was given up, no encouragement being found in the disposition of the people ; and Burr's views were then confined to the seizure of New Orleans, and collecting there as large a force as possible for his ulterior design. His partisans abstained from all violence, and made their designs known only by mysterious conversations ; so that, on being apprehended and brought to trial in Kentucky, he obtained a verdict of acquittal. The governor of Ohio, however, seized a quantity of boats and stores ; and strict watch was kept along the whole line. Burr was only able, on the 25th of December, to assemble at the mouth of the Cumberland river, from sixty to a hundred men, with whom he sailed down the Mississippi. General Wilkinson had been instructed to settle the Spanish difference as soon as possible, and direct all his attention to securing New Orleans, and suppressing this enterprise. Burr, therefore, finding no support in the country, was unable to resist the force prepared

against him ; his followers dispersed, and he himself, endeavouring to escape, was arrested on his way to Mobile. He was tried on a charge of treason ; but the chief justice was of opinion that, though Blannerhasset, his coadjutor, had openly announced the project of attempting the separation of the states, there was no sufficient proof that Burr himself contemplated more than the Mexican expedition, which amounted only to the levying of war against a power with whom the country was at peace. He was thus acquitted of the main charge : yet Jefferson expresses himself much dissatisfied with the sentence, declaring his conviction of Burr's guilt in every particular. The acquittal appeared to him to have been prompted by that ultra-federal spirit with which he always charges the Supreme Court. Burr went to Europe, and never again appeared on the political theatre of the states.

About this time arose discussions that led to a long series of troubles. The contest which had arisen between France and England spread over the Continent, and was attended, on the part of Napoleon, with such signal triumphs, as rendered him virtually its master. But, while all Europe bent beneath his sway, he was goaded to madness by seeing Britain stand erect and defying, while not a vessel could leave one of his own ports without almost a certainty of capture. A struggle now ensued, very different from that hitherto waged between European kingdoms, when some exterior provinces or appendages only were disputed. It was a question of empire on one side and existence on the other ; and each party thought itself entitled to employ extreme means, and to pass the limits hitherto sanctioned by the practice and public law of Europe. Napoleon, viewing his mighty rival as resting solely upon commerce, imagined, that if he could exclude her merchandise entirely from the continent, the root of her power would wither, and she would fall an easy victim. His adversary, on the other hand, conceived the hope, that by depriving the countries under his sway of all the benefits of trade, a spirit of discontent would be roused that might prove fatal to his dominion. Both parties inflicted on themselves and on each other severe sufferings ; and the hopes of both proved finally abortive. Britain remained mistress of the seas, and Europe lay still at the feet of Napoleon. Yet each persevered, in the hope that the desired result was in silent operation, and that by a continuance of effective means it might at last arrive.

America had at first derived extraordinary advantages from this warlike attitude of Europe. The most active, and finally almost the only maritime neutral power, she had reaped a rich harvest by engaging in the commerce between the ports of the belligerent states, and kept an extensive shipping employed in this carrying trade. But a severe reverse was felt under these new measures, when her vessels could not appear in any of the seas of Europe without being liable to capture by one nation or the

other. The proclamations of both were equally rigorous ; but Britain possessed so much more ample means of carrying hers into execution, that they were the most severely felt. Another grievance was endured from the same quarter. The great extension of the American shipping interest offered ample employment to British seamen, who, by entering this service, obtained higher wages and escaped the hardship of serving by impressment in ships of war. Britain therefore claimed and exercised the right of searching American vessels for these deserters, and, wherever grounds of suspicion appeared, of calling upon them for proofs of American origin. She contended that the desertion, if unchecked, would proceed on so vast a scale, that the navy, her grand means of defence, would be entirely crippled. The other party complained, that not only was the national flag thus violated, but American citizens were, under this pretext, seized and carried to distant ports, where they could not procure proofs of their origin, and those actually produced were not duly regarded. In a report to Congress, it is stated, that the number impressed since the beginning of the war had been four thousand two hundred and twenty-eight, of whom nine hundred and thirty-six had been discharged. It was alleged, that by far the greater proportion of these were native Americans, and that in six hundred and ninety-seven recent cases, only twenty-three were British and one hundred and five doubtful ; but to these statements it seems impossible not to demur.

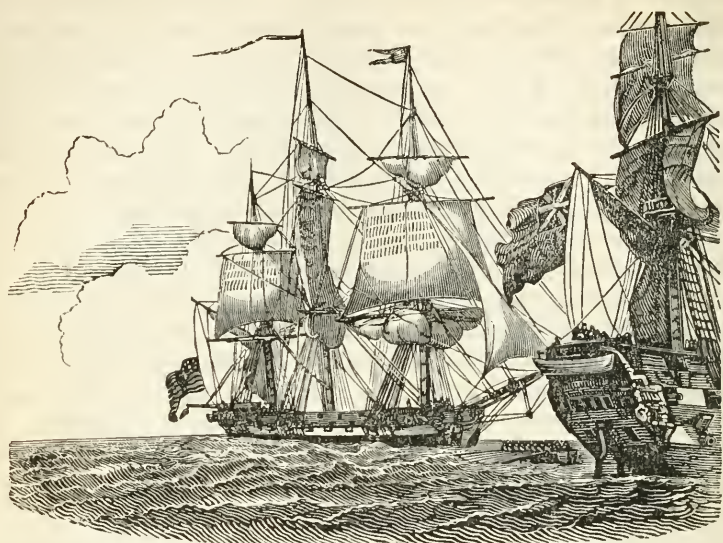


THE first encroachment on the liberty of commerce was directed against the transportation of the produce of the French West Indies to the mother-country. It was maintained by Britain, that the Americans, having been formerly excluded from this employment, and admitted to it only in consequence of the war, could not complain of losing a branch which they had never enjoyed ; while they urged, that the war had conferred on Britain no new right to interpose. They entertained hopes of gaining their object in consequence of Mr. Fox's accession to power, in 1806. That statesman even told Monroe, then ambassador, that he had ordered the practice of impressment to be suspended, but was not prepared to yield up the right. Jefferson, encouraged by this intelligence, added Pinckney to the embassy, with the view of concluding a final arrangement. On his arrival, however, Fox had been seized with that illness which terminated in his death. The commission were received by Lord Grenville, to whom the subject was new, and who was pressed by the duties of other departments. Soon, however, Lords Holland and Auckland being named commissioners to

carry on the negotiation, expressed the most conciliatory disposition, but stated, that as all the law officers were in favour of the right of impressment, it could not be formally conceded, but would be exercised with the greatest caution. It had been so, in fact, for some time, and no fresh ground of complaint had arisen; an informal assurance was even given that the same lenient course would still be pursued. The Americans had been instructed to make this point a *sine qua non*; but finding more than the above unattainable, while terms that appeared satisfactory could be secured on other subjects, they, at length, agreed to sign the treaty. On its being transmitted to Jefferson, however, he at once determined on refusing to ratify it, without even the usual course of submitting it to the Senate. This, he conceived, when his own mind was completely made up, would have been an empty form. He, therefore, sent it back, with instructions that an attempt should be made to obtain at least a partial abolition, and also stating modifications which he considered necessary in several of the other articles. He continued the same negotiators, and did every thing in his power to sooth Monroe, hitherto his favourite diplomatist, who could but feel deeply wounded on this occasion.

The estrangement caused by this step was aggravated by a tragical incident. Admiral Berkeley, then commanding on the coast, having learned that several men belonging to his squadron were on board the United States frigate Chesapeake, gave directions for their seizure by Captain Humphreys, of the Leopard. That officer came up to the American vessel soon after it had sailed from Hampton roads, Virginia, and sent a boat's crew on board, asking permission to search for the British deserters; Barron, the commander, replied, that he could not allow his men to be mustered by any other than himself. The boat returned, when a fire was opened from the Leopard, which the American, being totally unprepared for, was unable to return. In the course of twenty or thirty minutes, he endeavoured to fit his vessel for action, but not having succeeded, and three of his men being killed and eighteen wounded, he struck. To a British officer, who then came on board, he offered his vessel as a prize; but the other disclaimed any such view, and delivered a letter from Humphreys, deploring a loss which might have been avoided by amicable adjustment. He then took out four men, three of whom were alleged to be Americans, and departed. Berkeley had committed a gross error in authorizing such a proceeding against a government armed vessel, respecting which the right of search had never been claimed. A loud and general clamour, in which all parties joined, was raised throughout the country; and Jefferson issued a proclamation, excluding British ships of war from all the waters of the United States.

When Monroe and Pinckney received these difficult matters to adjust, a change deemed unfavourable had taken place in the British cabinet. The



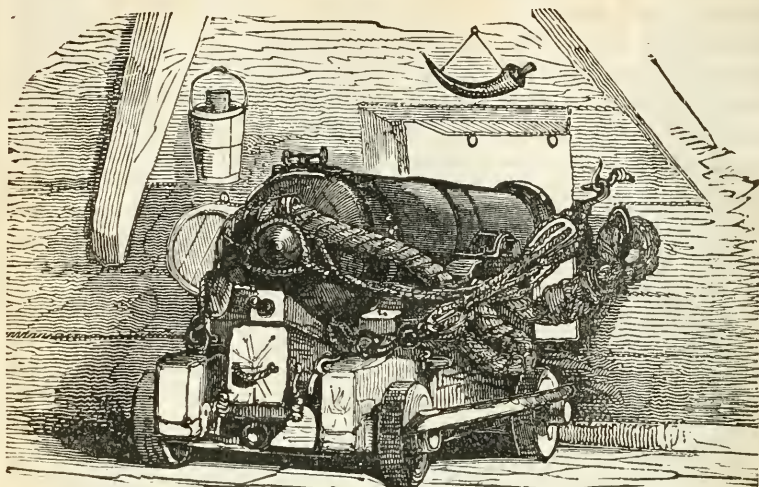
AFFAIR OF THE CHESAPEAKE.

Whig ministry had been displaced in favour of the opposite party, supposed to be more decided both in hostility to France, and in the assertion of British rights. Mr. Canning, however, the new foreign minister, treated them with courtesy, when they presented the treaty unratified, and with the proposed alterations. After some consideration, he intimated, that since the rejection of a solemn deed, signed by the plenipotentiaries of the States, a new negotiation on the same basis was inadmissible. In adjusting a treaty, one party is supposed to have made concessions in order to obtain similar ones from the other; and when the first were withdrawn, the last could be no longer binding. It was agreed, however, that the relations of the two powers might remain for the present in a friendly though informal position. In regard to the Chesapeake, he complained that a violent measure of retaliation should have been adopted before any attempt to seek redress by negotiation. He had no hesitation in disavowing the action of Admiral Berkeley, and was ready to treat for ample compensation. The Americans, however, had been instructed to decline entering on the subject, unless in combination with a general arrangement for relieving their vessels from impressment. This Mr. Canning considered as a question standing on entirely different ground, which could by no means be mixed up with the other; and since they could not treat it separately, a special mission would be sent out on the subject. Mr. Rose was therefore despatched, and, on his arrival at Washington, intimated to

Madison that he was ready to offer compensation, which would be ample, and he trusted satisfactory. He was informed, however, that the subject could not be entertained, unless in combination with a security against future impressment. Rose replied that he had no authority to treat on any topic but that of the Chesapeake ; and this being refused, his mission terminated. This repeated rejection of a compensation offered and pressed could not but expose the President to the suspicion of unwillingness to lose hold of the excitement which the event had created. He seems to have felt that this manœuvre could not be long continued, and some time after wrote through Madison to Pinckney, that the offer, if again urged, might be accepted.

Affairs in Europe, meantime, were assuming a still more serious aspect. Napoleon, after his victory at Jena, and entry into Berlin, which placed him in a most triumphant position on the continent, became still more eager to crush the only power that still defied him. In November, 1806, he issued a decree, declaring the British isles in a state of blockade ; this was retaliated by an order in council on the 2d January, 1807, prohibiting the trade by neutrals from any port under his sway to another. On the 11th of November, a fresh order declared, that all these countries were to be considered in a state of blockade ; but some mitigations were afterwards admitted in regard to vessels willing to trade through the British ports, after paying a certain duty. These terms, however, were repelled by America, as a levying of tribute, and as altogether inconsistent with the independence of her flag. Enraged at this farther measure, Napoleon, on the 17th December, 1807, issued, at Milan, another decree, subjecting to confiscation every vessel which should have submitted to the conditions imposed by England.

America was thus placed certainly in a hard situation, being unable to send out a vessel to sea, which was not liable to capture by either belligerent. She might have been fully justified in imposing severe restrictions on the shipping and commerce of the offending parties ; but instead of this, Jefferson proposed and was supported by his party in carrying the measure of an embargo, to be laid for an indefinite period on all vessels within the ports of America. This step was marked by that violent and extreme disposition to which democratic bodies are liable. It is singular, as being carried by the interior and agricultural states, against the most violent opposition from the northern and commercial ones, though the latter were almost the exclusive sufferers. They were told, indeed, that the object was to procure for them redress, and that their vessels, thus detained in port, would be saved from capture and confiscation. They thought, however, that they might have been consulted as to their own interests, and not have had a remedy imposed which was deemed by them ten times worse than the evil.



MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION.



IN 1809, the second term of Mr. Jefferson's office expired, and he rejected all propositions for being put a third time in nomination. The Federalists, including now nearly the whole mercantile interest, proposed Pinckney, but were outvoted by a large majority, Madison being elected President, and Clinton again Vice-president. The former had been distinguished as a federal leader, having taken an active part in framing the Constitution, and overcoming the resistance encountered by it in Virginia. Afterwards, he was active in defeating the amendments proposed by that and other states. When, however, a modified opposition was formed, seeking to limit its interpretation, and generally supporting the democratic interest, he decidedly espoused that side, and became identified with Jefferson, its head, under whom he long acted as secretary. His government was thus a virtual continuation of the former, though his party feelings, and in particular his enmity to Britain, were generally supposed to be less violent.

The first step certainly bore somewhat of this appearance. The absurd embargo law had produced ever-increasing irritation and even resistance; and it evidently could continue to be enforced only by arms. It was, in consequence, exchanged for one doubtless of a less irrational nature, which merely prescribed non-intercourse with both the offend-



ing governments; and the President was empowered immediately to remove it with regard to either of them which should repeal its hostile decrees.

Soon after, a prospect seemed to open of a favourable termination. Mr. Erskine, the English minister, received a paper, intimating that his cabinet were ready to repeal the orders in council, on the understanding that the non-intercourse act should continue in operation against France, and on condition that the British navy should be allowed to enforce it, without which it would be nugatory; also, that America should abstain from any commerce with the French colonies not enjoyed by her during peace. He was authorized to show these written propositions to the American minister; but unaccountably, instead of doing so, he announced simply, and without any condition, the intention of his court to repeal the orders. Madison certainly met the announcement very promptly, stating it to the House of Representatives, and issuing a proclamation for the renewal of intercourse in June, 1809. He was surprised, however, to receive a despatch from Mr. Pinckney, mentioning the two annexed conditions; when, Mr. Erskine being asked for an explanation, showed his original instructions, actually containing these terms, which certainly changed greatly the character of the offer, and were declared altogether inadmissible. The British cabinet then, of course, disavowed their minister's original communication, and recalled him. The Americans showed, on this occasion, an extreme irritation, to which they seem little entitled, considering that they themselves had recently done the very same thing respecting a treaty signed by a more formal and accredited mission, and that having seen the actual instructions, they could not doubt of the error resting solely with the ambassador. That Mr. Madison, therefore, should consider this non-ratification as a proof of rooted enmity to the States, seems wholly unreasonable. In this state of affairs, Mr. Jackson, sent out from Britain on a special mission, was received with great coldness, and all communication refused except by writing. The ambassador was offended by this treatment, and wrote in a tone not very conciliatory. In the course of communication, he referred to the American government as having seen Mr. Erskine's instructions, apparently with a view of showing that blame did not rest with the British cabinet. Madison, understanding the assertion to be, that he had seen them previous to revoking the non-intercourse act, and had thus acted very inconsistently, denied the statement. Jackson, doubtless under the same misunderstanding, repeated it, referring even to their own admission. The other treated this as giving him the lie, and refused to hold any further intercourse with the British negotiator.

The President, however, authorized Mr. Pinckney to continue the negotiation, even adding Mr. Monroe to the embassy, who does not, however.

appear to have arrived. The complaints against Mr. Jackson were by no means fully admitted by Marquis Wellesley, now foreign minister, who observed that he had disavowed any offensive intention; but as a mark of friendly disposition, another plenipotentiary would be sent. Meantime, the non-intercourse law having expired in May, 1810, the American government gave notice, that if either party would repeal its obnoxious decrees, this measure would be renewed against the other. Hopes even of war seem to have been held out. Napoleon, determining to avail himself of this prospect of annoying his adversary, issued, in August, a proclamation revoking the decrees from 1st November following, under the full understanding that Britain was to withdraw her orders in council, or America make her rights be respected. Pinckney immediately called upon Marquis Wellesley to meet this overture. The latter, while declaring the high satisfaction with which he would relinquish the orders in the event of actual repeal, could not do it upon this sort of conditional one, which, requiring that of Britain to be antecedent, was not, therefore, in real operation. Though a new plenipotentiary to America was promised, none was appointed; but the delay was explained, as solely owing to the difficulty of finding one who would possess sufficient weight, and be acceptable to the American government. Pinckney, however, on this ground, in the beginning of 1811, withdrew, leaving Mr. Russell to act as *chargé d'affaires*.

Soon after, however, Mr. Foster came out as plenipotentiary. He again brought offers of compensation for the Chesapeake, which, being found ample, were at length accepted. Respecting the orders in council, very lengthy discussions ensued. Notwithstanding the alleged revocation, American vessels continued to be seized under the decrees; but it was answered, that on complaint and remonstrance, they had been mostly liberated. Reference was made by Foster to French proclamations, in which the decrees were declared and gloried in, as still in full force. This, the Americans said, was only in regard to European neutrals, and when they were satisfied as to themselves, it was unreasonable to demand that they should compel France to follow a certain course towards other nations, or to receive British goods into her own dominions. Mr. Foster denied any idea of such compulsion; yet they seem to have extorted from him the admission, that a general revocation of the decrees must precede the repeal of the British orders.

In these circumstances, the American government determined upon making preparations for war; being assured of support from a majority in Congress. Mr. Madison, in his message of 5th November, 1811, enumerated the wrongs sustained from Britain, and proposed an augmentation of taxes, and of the naval and military force. Authority was given to enlarge the army to thirty-five thousand men, to increase the navy, to raise eleven millions of dollars, by doubling the duties of customs, and even

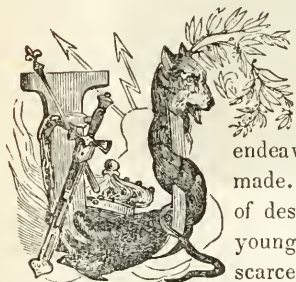
imposing internal duties, hitherto so much deprecated. In February, 1812, the public were excited by the publication of the correspondence of a Mr. Henry, represented as having, three years before, attempted to stir up disaffection in the Northern States. His instructions, it appears, were merely to ascertain the state of public feeling, and if any individual wished to open a communication with the British government, to offer himself as a medium. He was employed altogether by General Craig, governor of Canada, and his services were not recognised in Britain; upon which he came and gave the information to the adverse power





COUNCIL OF VINCENNES.

COUNCIL OF VINCENNES.



P to the year 1811, Tecumseh and his brother were engaged in constant intrigues against the United States. They had disturbed all the councils that were held, and endeavoured to prevent every treaty that was made. Surrounded by a lawless band, composed of desperate renegadoes from various tribes, by the young and hot, the dissolute and dishonest, they scarcely practised even the Punic faith of the Indian code. They asserted that all the lands inhabited by Indians, belonged to the tribes indiscriminately—that no tribe had a right to transfer any soil to the whites, without the assent of all—and that, consequently, all the treaties that had been made were invalid.

In 1808, the Prophet established his principal place of rendezvous on the Wabash, near the mouth of the Tippecanoe—a spot which soon became

known as the Prophet's Town. Here a thousand young warriors, such as we have described, rallied around him ; sallying forth in greater or smaller parties, to commit the most atrocious deeds of depredation and murder, along the whole frontier of Indiana. Vincennes, the seat of government, was often threatened ; and the governor's house was scarcely considered safe from the intrusion of the maddened savages. But the Prophet, while he exercised his priestly function in such a manner as to excite the superstition of his motley crew of followers, was indolent, sensual, and cowardly ; and his mal-administration soon reduced the number of his followers to less than three hundred. Even these were so much impoverished by their excesses and improvidence, that on one occasion they must have starved, had not the benevolence of Governor Harrison induced him to send them a supply of provisions. The return of Tecumseh, who had been absent on a visit to the distant tribes, restored order.

In 1809, Governor Harrison purchased from the Delawares, Miamis, and Potawatamies, a large tract of country on both sides of the Wabash, and extending up that river about sixty miles above Vincennes. Tecumseh was absent, and his brother, not feeling himself interested, made no opposition to the treaty ; but the former, on his return, expressed great dissatisfaction, and threatened some of the chiefs with death, who had made the treaty. Governor Harrison, hearing of his displeasure, despatched a messenger to invite him to come to Vincennes, and to assure him, "that any claims he might have to the lands which had been ceded were not affected by the treaty ; that he might come to Vincennes and exhibit his pretensions, and if they were found to be valid, the land would be either given up, or an ample compensation be made for it."

Having no confidence in the faith of Tecumseh, the governor directed that he should not bring with him more than thirty warriors ; but he came with four hundred completely armed. The people of Vincennes were in great alarm, nor was the governor without apprehension that treachery was intended. This suspicion was not diminished by the conduct of the chief, who, on the morning after his arrival, refused to hold the council at the place appointed, under an affected belief that treachery was intended on our side.

A large portico in front of the governor's house had been prepared for the purpose with seats, as well for the Indians as for the citizens who were expected to attend. When Tecumseh came from his camp with about forty of his warriors, he stood off, and on being invited by the governor, through an interpreter, to take a seat, refused, observing that he wished the council to be held under the shade of some trees in front of the house. When it was objected that it would be troublesome to remove the seats, he replied, "that it would only be necessary to remove those intended for the whites—that the red men were accustomed to sit upon the earth

which was their mother, and that they were always happy to recline upon her bosom."

At this council, held on the 12th of August, 1810, Tecumseh delivered a speech, of which we find the following report, containing the sentiments uttered, but in a language very different from that of the Indian orator:—

"I have made myself what I am; and I would that I could make the red people as great as the conceptions of my mind, when I think of the Great Spirit that rules over all. I would not then come to Governor Harrison to ask him to tear the treaty; but I would say to him, Brother, you have liberty to return to your own country. Once, there was no white man in all this country; then it belonged to red men, children of the same parents, placed on it by the Great Spirit to keep it, to travel over it, to eat its fruits, and fill it with the same race—once a happy race, but now made miserable by the white people, who are never contented, but always encroaching. They have driven us from the great salt water, forced us over the mountains, and would shortly push us into the lakes—but we are determined to go no farther. The only way to stop this evil, is for all the red men to unite in claiming a common and equal right in the land as it was at first, and should be now—for it never was divided, but belongs to all. No tribe has a right to sell, even to each other, much less to strangers who demand all, and will take no less. The white people have no right to take the land from the Indians who had it first—it is theirs. They may sell, but all must join. Any sale not made by all, is not good. The late sale is bad—it was made by a part only. Part do not know how to sell. It requires all to make a bargain for all."

Governor Harrison, in his reply, said, "that the white people, when they arrived upon this continent, had found the Miamis in the occupation of all the country of the Wabash; and at that time the Shawanese were residents of Georgia, from which they had been driven by the Creeks. That the lands had been purchased from the Miamis, who were the true and original owners of it. That it was ridiculous to assert that all the Indians were one nation; for if such had been the intention of the Great Spirit, he would not have put six different tongues into their heads, but would have taught them all to speak one language. That the Miamis had found it for their interest to sell a part of their lands, and receive for them a further annuity, in addition to what they had long enjoyed, and the benefit of which they had experienced, from the punctuality with which the *seventeen fires* complied with their engagements; and that the Shawanese had no right to come from a distant country to control the Miamis in the disposal of their own property."

The interpreter had scarcely finished the explanation of these remarks, when Tecumseh fiercely exclaimed, "It is false!" and giving a signal to his warriors, they sprang upon their feet, from the green grass on which



FIRMNESS OF HARRISON.

they were sitting, and seized their war-clubs. The governor and the small train which surrounded him were now in imminent danger. He was attended by a few citizens, who were unarmed. A military guard of twelve men, who had been stationed near him, and whose presence was considered rather as an honorary than a defensive measure,—being exposed, as it was thought unnecessarily, to the heat of the sun in a sultry August day, had been humanely directed by the governor to remove to a shaded spot at some distance. But the governor, retaining his presence of mind, rose and placed his hand upon his sword, at the same time directing those of his friends and suit who were about him, to stand upon their guard. Tecumseh addressed the Indians in a passionate tone, and with violent gesticulations. Major G. R. C. Floyd, of the United States army, who stood near the governor, drew his dirk; Winnemak, a friendly chief, cocked his pistol, and Mr. Winans, a Methodist preacher, ran to the governor's house, seized a gun, and placed himself in the door to defend the family. For a few moments, all expected a bloody rencounter. The guard was ordered up, and would instantly have fired upon the Indians, had it not been for the coolness of Governor Harrison, who restrained

them. He then calmly, but authoritatively, told Tecumseh, that "he was a bad man—that he would have no further talk with him—that he must return now to his camp, and take his departure from the settlements immediately."

The next morning, Tecumseh having reflected on the impropriety of his conduct, and finding that he had to deal with a man as bold and vigilant as himself, who was not to be daunted by his audacious turbulence, nor circumvented by his specious manœuvres, apologized for the affront he had offered, and begged that the council might be renewed. To this the governor consented, suppressing any feeling of resentment which he might naturally have felt, and determined to leave no exertion untried, to carry into effect the pacific views of the government. It was agreed that each party should have the same attendance as on the previous day; but the governor took the precaution to place himself in an attitude to command respect, and to protect the inhabitants of Vincennes from violence, by ordering two companies of militia to be placed on duty within the village.

Tecumseh presented himself with the same undaunted bearing which always marked him as a superior man; but he was now dignified and collected, and showed no disposition to resume his former insolent deportment. He disclaimed having entertained any intention of attacking the governor, but said he had been advised by white men to do as he had done. Two white men—British emissaries undoubtedly—had visited him at his place of residence, had told him that half the white people were opposed to the governor, and willing to relinquish the land, and urged him to advise the tribes not to receive pay for it, alleging that the governor would soon be recalled and a good man put in his place, who would give up the land to the Indians. The governor inquired whether he would forcibly oppose the survey of the purchase. He replied, that he was determined to adhere to the *old boundary*. Then arose a Wyandot, a Kikapoo, a Potawatamie, an Ottawa, and a Winnebago chief, each declaring his intention to stand by Tecumseh. The governor then said that the words of Tecumseh should be reported to the President, who would take measures to enforce the treaty; and the council ended.

The governor, still anxious to conciliate the haughty savage, paid him a visit next day at his own camp. He was received with kindness and attention; his uniform courtesy and inflexible firmness having won the respect of the rude warriors of the forest. They conversed for some time, but Tecumseh obstinately adhered to all his former positions; and when Governor Harrison told him that he was sure the President would not yield to his pretensions, the chief replied, "Well, as the great chief is to determine the matter, I hope the Great Spirit will put sense enough into his head to induce him to direct you to give up this land. It is true, he

is so far off, he will not be injured by the war. He may sit still in his town, and drink his wine, while you and I will have to fight it out."

This is an accurate account of an interesting council, the proceedings of which have been much misrepresented. A love for the romantic and the marvellous has induced speeches to be written for Tecumseh, which were never delivered. His conduct was distinguished on this occasion by violence, not by eloquence; his art was displayed in attempts to intimidate the Americans, and to create an affray by stirring up the vindictive feelings of his followers, and not by any display of argument.*

* Hall's Life of Harrison.





GENERAL HARRISON.

BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE.



S this engagement has been well described by McAfee, a gallant and accomplished Kentuckian, we shall follow his account, making some slight corrections from other authorities.

“On the evening of the 5th of November, the army encamped at the distance of nine or ten miles from the Prophet’s Town. It was ascertained that the approach of the army had been discovered before it reached Pine Creek. The

traces of reconnoitering parties were very often seen, but no Indians were discovered until the troops arrived within five or six miles of the town, on the 6th of November. The interpreters were then placed with the advanced guard, to endeavour to open a communication with them. The Indians would, however, return no answer to the invitations that were made

to them for that purpose, but continued to insult our people by their gestures. Within about three miles of the town, the ground became broken by ravines and covered with timber. The utmost precaution became necessary, and every difficult pass was examined by the mounted riflemen before the army was permitted to enter it. The ground being unfit for the operation of the squadron of dragoons, they were thrown in the rear. Through the whole march the precaution had been used of changing the disposition of the different corps, that each might have the ground best suited to its operations. Within about two miles of the town, the path descended a steep hill, at the bottom of which was a small creek running through a narrow wet prairie, and beyond this a level plain partially covered with oak timber, and without underbrush. Before the crossing of the creek, the woods were very thick and intersected by deep ravines. No place could be better calculated for the savages to attack with a prospect of success, and the governor apprehended, that the moment the troops descended into the hollow they would be attacked. A disposition was therefore made of the infantry to receive the enemy on the left and rear. A company of mounted riflemen was advanced a considerable distance from the left flank to check the approach of the enemy; and the other two companies were directed to turn the enemy's flanks, should he attack in that direction. The dragoons were ordered to move rapidly from the rear, and occupy the plain in advance of the creek, to cover the crossing of the army from an attack in front. In this order, the troops were passed over; the dragoons were made to advance to give room to the infantry, and the latter having crossed the creek, were formed to receive the enemy in front in one line, with a reserve of three companies—the dragoons, flanked by mounted riflemen, forming the first line. During all this time, Indians were frequently seen in front and on the flanks. The interpreters endeavoured, in vain, to bring them to a parley. Though sufficiently near to hear what was said to them, they would return no answer, but continued by gestures to menace and insult those who addressed them. Being now arrived within a mile and a half of the town, and the situation being favourable for an encampment, the governor determined to remain there and fortify his camp, until he could hear from the friendly chiefs, whom he had despatched from Fort Harrison, on the day he had left it, for the purpose of making another attempt to prevent the recurrence of hostilities. These chiefs were to have met him on the way, but no intelligence was yet received from them. Whilst he was engaged in tracing out the lines of encampment, Major Daviess, and several other field-officers, approached him, and urged the propriety of immediately marching upon the town. The governor answered that his instructions would not justify his attacking the Indians as long as there was a probability of their complying with the demands of the government, and that he still hoped to hear

something, in the course of the evening, from the friendly Indians, whom he had despatched from Fort Harrison.

“To this it was observed, that as the Indians seen hovering about the army had been frequently invited to a parley by the interpreters, who had proceeded some distance from the lines for the purpose; and as these overtures had universally been answered by menace and insult, it was very evident that it was their intention to fight; that the troops were in high spirits and full of confidence; and that advantage ought to be taken of their ardour, to lead them immediately to the enemy. To this, the governor answered, that he was fully sensible of the eagerness of the troops; and admitting the determined hostility of the Indians, and that their insolence was full evidence of their intention to fight, yet he knew them too well to believe that they would ever do this but by surprise, or on ground which was entirely favourable to their mode of fighting. He was, therefore, determined not to advance with the troops, until he knew precisely the situation of the town and the ground adjacent to it, particularly that which intervened between it and the place where the army then was—that it was their duty to fight when they came in contact with the enemy—it was his to take care that they should not engage in a situation where their valour would be useless, and where a corps upon which he placed great reliance would be unable to act—that the experience of the last two hours ought to convince every officer, that no reliance should be placed upon the guides, as to the topography of the country—that, relying on their information, the troops had been led into a situation so unfavourable, that, but for the celerity with which they changed their position, a few Indians might have destroyed them; he was, therefore, determined not to advance to the town, until he had previously reconnoitered, either in person, or by some one on whose judgment he could rely. Major Daviess immediately replied, that from the right of the position of the dragoons, which was still in front, the openings made by the low grounds of the Wabash could be seen; that with his adjutant, D. Floyd, he had advanced to the bank which descends to the low grounds, and had a fair view of the cultivated fields and the houses of the town; and that the open woods, in which the troops then were, continued without interruption to the town. Upon this information, the governor said he would advance, provided he could get any proper person to go to the town with a flag. Captain T. Dubois, of Vincennes, having offered his services, he was despatched with an interpreter to the Prophet, desiring to know whether he would now comply with the terms that had been so often proposed to him. The army was moved slowly after, in order of battle. In a few moments, a messenger came from Captain Dubois, informing the governor that the Indians were near him in considerable numbers, but that they would return no answer to the interpreter, although they were sufficiently near to hear

what was said to them, and that, upon his advancing, they constantly endeavoured to cut him off from the army. Governor Harrison, deeming this last effort to open a negotiation sufficient to show his wish for an accommodation, resolved no longer to hesitate treating the Indians as enemies. He, therefore, recalled Captain Dubois, and moved on with a determination to attack them. He had not proceeded far, however, before he was met by three Indians, one of them a principal counsellor to the Prophet. They were sent, they said, to know why the army was advancing upon them—that the Prophet wished, if possible, to avoid hostilities; that he had sent a pacific message by the Miami and Potawatamie chiefs, who had come to him on the part of the governor—and that those chiefs had unfortunately gone down on the south side of the Wabash.



SUSPENSION of hostilities was accordingly agreed upon; and a meeting was to take place the next day between Harrison and the chiefs, to agree upon the terms of peace. The governor further informed them that he would go on to the Wabash, and encamp there for the night. Upon marching a short distance farther, he came in view of the town, which was seen at some distance up the river, upon a commanding eminence.

Major Daviess and Adjutant Floyd had mistaken some scattering houses in the fields below, for the town itself. The ground below the town being unfavourable for an encampment, the army marched on in the direction of the town, with a view to obtain a better situation beyond it. The troops were in an order of march, calculated, by a single conversion of companies, to form the order of battle which it had last assumed, the dragoons being in front. This corps, however, soon became entangled in ground covered with brush and tops of fallen trees. A halt was ordered, and Major Daviess directed to change position with Spencer's rifle corps, which occupied the open fields adjacent to the river. the Indians seeing this manœuvre, at the approach of the troops towards the town, supposed they intended to attack it, and immediately prepared for defence. Some of them sallied out, and called to the advance corps to halt. The governor, upon this, rode forward, and requested some of the Indians to come to him, assured them that nothing was farther from his thoughts than to attack them—that the ground below the town, on the river, was not calculated for an encampment, and that it was his intention to search for a better one above. He asked if there was any other water convenient besides that which the river afforded; and an Indian, with whom he was well acquainted, answered, that the creek which had been crossed two miles back, ran through the prairie to the north of the village.

A halt was then ordered, and some officers sent back to examine the creek, as well as the river above the town. In half an hour, Brigade-major Marston Clarke and Major Waller Taylor returned, and reported that they had found on the creek every thing that could be desirable in an encampment—an elevated spot, nearly surrounded by an open prairie, with water convenient, and a sufficiency of wood for fuel.

“An idea was propagated by the enemies of Governor Harrison, after the battle of Tippecanoe, that the Indians had forced him to encamp on a place chosen by them as suitable for the attack they intended. The place, however, was chosen by Majors Taylor and Clarke, after examining all the environs of the town; and when the army of General Hopkins was there in the following year, they all united in the opinion, that a better spot to resist Indians was not to be found in the whole country.

“The army now marched to the place selected, and encamped, late in the evening, on a dry piece of ground, which rose about ten feet above the level of a marshy prairie in front towards the town, and about twice as high above a similar prairie in the rear; through which, near the bank, ran a small stream, clothed with willows and brushwood. On the left of the encampment, this bench of land became wider; on the right it gradually narrowed, and terminated in an abrupt point, about one hundred and fifty yards from the right flank. The two columns of infantry occupied the front and rear. The right flank, being about eight yards wide, was filled with Captain Spencer’s company of eighty men. The left flank, about a hundred and fifty yards in extent, was composed of three companies of mounted riflemen, under General Wells, commanding as major.”

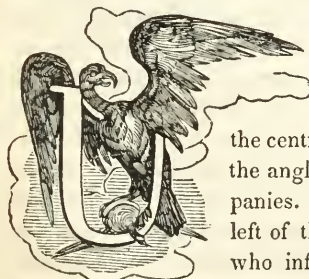
The front line was composed of one battalion of United States infantry, under Major Floyd, and a regiment of Indiana militia, under Colonel Bartholomew. The rear line consisted of a battalion of United States infantry, under Captain Baen, commanding as major, and four companies of Indiana volunteers, under Lieutenant-colonel Decker. The right flank was composed of Spencer’s company of Indiana volunteer riflemen; the left flank of Robb’s company of Indiana volunteers, and Guiger’s, a mixed company of Kentucky and Indiana volunteers—a portion of United States troops turning the left front, and left rear angles respectively. The cavalry under Major Daviess were encamped in the rear of the front line, and left flank, and held in reserve as a disposable force. The encampment was not more than three-fourths of a mile from the Indian town.

“The order given to the army, in the event of a night attack, was for each corps to maintain its ground at all hazards till relieved. The dragoons were directed, in such case, to parade dismounted, with their swords on and their pistols in their belts, and to wait for orders. The guard for the night consisted of two captains’ commands of twenty-four men and four non-commissioned officers; and two subalterns’ guards of twenty men

and non-commissioned officers—the whole under the command of a field-officer of the day.

“On the night of the 6th of November, the troops went to rest, as usual, with their clothes and accoutrements on, and their arms by their sides. The officers were ordered to sleep in the same manner, and it was the governor’s invariable practice, to be ready to mount his horse at a moment’s warning. On the morning of the 7th, he arose at a quarter before four o’clock, and sat by the fire conversing with the gentlemen of his family, who were reclining on their blankets waiting for the signal, which in a few minutes would have been given, for the troops to turn out. The orderly drum had already been roused for the reveillé. The moon had risen, but afforded little light in consequence of being overshadowed by clouds, which occasionally discharged a drizzling rain. At this moment, the attack commenced.

“The treacherous Indians had crept up so near the sentries as to hear them challenge when relieved. They intended to rush upon the sentries and kill them before they could fire ; but one of them discovered an Indian creeping towards him in the grass and fired. This was immediately followed by the Indian yell, and a desperate charge upon the left flank. The guard in that quarter gave way, and abandoned their officer without making any resistance. Captain Barton’s company of regulars, and Captain Guiger’s company of mounted riflemen, forming the left angle of the rear line, received the first onset. The fire there was excessive ; but the troops who had lain on their arms, were immediately prepared to receive, and had gallantly to resist the furious savage assailants. The manner of the attack was calculated to discourage and terrify the men ; yet, as soon as they could be formed and posted, they maintained their ground with desperate valour, though but few of them had ever before been in battle. The fires of the camp were extinguished immediately, as the light they afforded was more serviceable to the Indians than to our men,”—except those opposite Barton’s and Guiger’s companies, which the suddenness of the attack left no time to put out.



UPON the first alarm, the governor mounted his horse, and proceeded towards the point of attack ; and finding the line much weakened there, he ordered two companies from the centre of the rear line to march up, and form across the angle in the rear of Barton’s and Guiger’s companies. In passing through the camp, towards the left of the front line, he met with Major Daviess, who informed him that the Indians, concealed behind some trees near the line, were annoying the troops very severely in that quarter, and requested permission to dislodge them. In attempting



BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE.

this exploit he fell, mortally wounded, as did Colonel Isaac White of Indiana, who acted as a volunteer in his troop.

“In the mean time, the attack on Spencer’s and Warwick’s companies, on the right, became very severe. Captain Spencer and his lieutenants were all killed, and Captain Warwick was mortally wounded. The governor, in passing towards that flank, found Captain Robb’s company near the centre of the camp. They had been driven from their post ; or rather, had fallen back without orders. He led them to the aid of Captain Spencer, where they fought very bravely, having seventeen men killed during the battle. While the governor was leading this company into action, Colonel Owen, his aid, was killed at his side. This gallant officer was mounted on a very white horse, and as the governor had ridden a gray on the day before, it is probable that Owen was mistaken for him, as it is certain that he was killed by one of the only Indians who broke through the lines, and who are supposed to have resolved to sacrifice themselves in an attempt to insure victory, by killing the commander-in-chief. The governor happened not to be mounted on his own gray ; his servant had accidentally tied that animal apart from the other horses belonging to the general staff, and in the confusion occasioned by the attack, not being able to find this horse as quickly as was desirable, the governor mounted another.

"Captain Prescott's company of United States infantry had filled up the vacancy caused by the retreat of Robb's company. Soon after Daviess was wounded, Captain Snelling, by order of the governor, charged upon the same Indians and dislodged them with considerable loss. The battle was now maintained on all sides with desperate valour. The Indians advanced and retreated by a rattling noise made with deer-hoofs; they fought with enthusiasm, and seemed determined on victory or death."

When the day dawned, Captain Snelling's company, Captain Posey's under Lieutenant Allbright, Captain Scott's and Captain Wilson's, were drawn from the rear, and formed on the left flank; while Cook's and Baen's companies were ordered to the right. General Wells was ordered to take command of the corps formed on the left, and with the aid of some dragoons, who were now mounted, and commanded by Lieutenant Wallace, to charge the enemy in that direction, which he did successfully—driving them into a swamp through which the cavalry could not pursue them. "At the same time, Cook's and Lieutenant Larrabe's companies, with the aid of the riflemen and militia on the right flank, charged the

Indians and put them to flight in that quarter, which terminated the battle."



URING the time of the contest, the Prophet kept himself secure on an adjacent eminence, singing a war-song. He had told his followers that the Great Spirit would render the army of the Americans unsuccessful, and that their bullets would not hurt the Indians, who would have light, while their enemies would be involved in thick dark-

ness. Soon after the battle commenced, he was informed that his men were falling. He told them to fight on, it would soon be as he had predicted, and then began to sing louder."

Tecumseh was not present at this engagement. He was absent from his people, on a visit to the southern tribes, whom he was endeavouring to unite in the league he was attempting to form against the United States.

The battle of Tippecanoe gave rise to much discussion. Some were found who censured Governor Harrison, and a few claimed a part of the glory of the day for Colonel Boyd. The discontented, however, were chiefly those who were opposed to the war, and who, from party feelings, denounced as well the acts of the administration, as those of the officers appointed to carry them into effect. Mr. Harrison's well-known repub-

lican principles, his attachment to Mr. Madison, his high standing, and the zeal with which he seconded the views of the government, all conspired to render him a mark for party detraction. Time has silenced those idle rumours, and the laurels of the hero are now brightened by the gratitude and admiration of his country. The field of Tippecanoe has become classic ground; the American traveller pauses there to contemplate a scene which has become hallowed by victory; the people of Indiana contemplate, with pride, the battle-ground on which their militia won imperishable honour, and their infant state became enrolled in the ranks of patriotism.

But the handsome manner in which all the officers who served in that engagement have since testified to the coolness, self-possession, and intrepidity of the general, has placed this matter in its proper light. As far as any commander is entitled to credit, independent of his army, he merits, and has received it. He shared every danger and fatigue to which his army was exposed. In the battle he was in more peril than any other individual; for he was personally known to every Indian, and exposed himself fearlessly, on horseback, at all the points of attack, during the whole engagement. Every important movement was made by his express order.

The Kentucky legislature, notwithstanding the gloom which spread over the state by the untimely loss of some of her most cherished and gallant sons, took an early opportunity of testifying their approbation, by the following resolution:—

“Resolved, That in the late campaign against the Indians on the Wabash, Governor W. H. Harrison has, in the opinion of this legislature, behaved like a hero, a patriot, and a general; and that, for his cool, deliberate, skilful, and gallant conduct in the late battle of Tippecanoe, he deserves the warmest thanks of the nation.”

The legislature of Indiana, also, passed complimentary resolutions, in which the “superior capacity,” “integrity,” and “important services” of the governor are recognised in the most grateful terms, while the militia who were in the engagement, at a meeting held after their return, unanimously expressed their confidence in their leader, the cheerfulness with which they had followed him, and the opinion that their success was attributable “to his masterly conduct in the direction and manœuvring of the troops.”

In 1816, a work was published at Keene, in New Hampshire, entitled “A Journal of two campaigns of the fourth regiment of United States infantry, by Adam Walker, a private in the fourth regiment.” At the thirty-first page of this book are found the following remarks, which form the conclusion of Mr. Walker’s account of the battle of Tippecanoe. They were written by a person with whom General Harrison had no ac

quaintance, and who, doubtless, expressed the opinion of the common soldiers of that army.

“General Harrison received a shot through the rim of his hat. In the heat of the action his voice was frequently heard, and easily distinguished, giving his orders in the same calm, cool, and collected manner, with which we had been used to receive them on drill or parade. The confidence of the troops in the general was unlimited.”

Again, he remarks, in speaking of a small portion of the militia, who became dissatisfied by being detained from home longer than they had expected: “He appeared not disposed to detain any man against his inclination; being endowed by nature with a heart as humane as brave, in his frequent addresses to the militia, his eloquence was formed to persuade; appeals were made to reason as well as feeling, and never were they made in vain.”

On the night preceding the morning of the battle, a negro man, who was among the followers of the camp, but had been missed from his duty, was found lurking near the governor's marquee and arrested. A drum-head court-martial was called for his trial the next morning, of which Colonel Boyd was president, and the prisoner was convicted of having deserted to the enemy, under circumstances which led to the belief that he was engaged in a plan against the governor's life, and had returned secretly into camp for that purpose. The sentence was, that the prisoner was guilty, and should suffer death. The sentence was approved, and it was intended that it should be carried into execution in one hour. But the troops were engaged in fortifying the camp, and could not be called off to witness the execution, and he was at last saved by the benevolence of the governor. The reasons for this lenity, as described by himself in a letter to Governor Scott, of Kentucky, do great honour to his heart:—“The fact was, that I began to pity him, and I could not screw myself up to the point of giving the fatal order. If he had been out of my sight, he would have been executed. But when he was first taken, General Wells and Colonel Owen, who were old Indian fighters, as we had no irons to put on him, had secured him after the Indian fashion. This is done by throwing a person on his back, splitting a log and cutting notches in it to receive the ankles, then replacing the severed parts, and compressing them together with forks driven over the log into the ground. The arms are extended and tied to stakes secured in the same manner. The situation of a person thus placed is as uneasy as can possibly be conceived. The poor wretch, thus confined, lay before my fire, his face receiving the rain that occasionally fell, and his eyes constantly turned upon me, as if imploring mercy. I could not withstand the appeal, and I determined to give him another chance for his life. I had all the commissioned officers assembled, and told them that his fate depended upon them. Some were for executing him, and I



PARDON OF THE ASSASSIN.

believe that a majority would have been against him, but for the interference of the gallant Snelling. 'Brave comrades,' said he, 'let us save him. The wretch deserves to die; but as our commander, whose life was more particularly his object, is willing to spare him, let us also forgive him. I hope, at least, that every officer of the fourth regiment will be on the side of mercy.' Snelling prevailed, and Ben was brought to this place, where he was discharged.'

This simple account of the motives which influenced Governor Harrison in the performance of an act of magnanimous lenity, needs little comment from his biographer; it shows a heart warm with the finest feelings of humanity, and is in consonance with the whole tenor of his life, in which we find no act of irascible precipitation, military violence, or selfish revenge. The commander-in-chief of an army was not exalted so high in his own estimation, as to forget the feelings of the man; and he could pity the wretchedness of a poor negro, though that negro was an assassin employed by savages to take his life.

It appeared afterwards, that another plan for his assassination had been laid by the Prophet. Two Winnebago Indians had engaged to execute

this detestable plan. A council was to have been held with the governor, attended with all the usual forms. The Prophet and his chief men were to concede all disputed points, and the suspicion of the Americans lulled by submission. The two braves, who had devoted themselves to death, were to rush upon the governor, at an unguarded moment, and instantly despatch him. At this signal, the warriors were to rush from an ambuscade, and raising the terrific war-whoop, to attack our army during the confusion and dismay occasioned by the loss of its commander. Had this plan been persevered in, the governor would probably have fallen, whatever might have been the fate of the army. But it was probably too daring for the genius of the Prophet, who, when he came to take counsel of his pillow, might have reflected that his own person would be exposed in its execution. On the night preceding the day when this plan was to have been put in action, he suddenly changed his mind, and ordered the attack, telling his men that the Great Spirit had appeared to him and promised him success—and Ben, the negro, was sent into camp to murder the governor before the attack, or at its commencement.

The battle of Tippecanoe was one of the most decisive engagements that ever was fought between the Indians and the whites. The numbers on either side were nearly equal; the place and time of attack were chosen by the Indians, who were the assailants; and who not only sought to surprise our troops, but fought with an audacity unprecedented in the annals of savage warfare. Laying aside the usual cunning and caution of their peculiar system of tactics, which teaches them to avoid exposure, and to strike by stealth, they boldly rushed upon the American troops, and fought hand to hand with the most desperate ferocity. They were not only completely beaten, but their loss was unusually great.

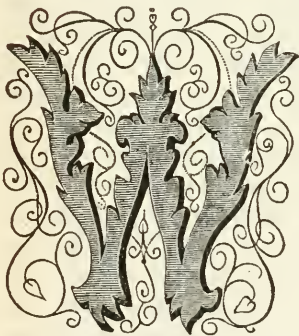
The high sense entertained by the government of the importance of this victory, is emphatically expressed in a message from the President to Congress, dated December 18, 1811. "While it is deeply to be lamented," says Mr. Madison, "that so many valuable lives have been lost in the action which took place on the 9th ultimo, Congress will see with satisfaction the dauntless spirit and fortitude victoriously displayed by every description of troops engaged, as well as the collected firmness which distinguished their commander, on an occasion requiring the utmost exertion of valour and discipline."

It was no mean achievement which could extort from the justice of the mild and upright Madison, a compliment expressed in terms of such decided approbation.*

* Hall's Life of Harrison.



COMMENCEMENT OF THE SECOND WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN.



WAR was declared against Great Britain on the 18th of June, 1812, and on the 23d, the orders in council, on which it was founded, were repealed in Britain, so far as regarded America. Admiral Warren, commanding on the station, and Sir George Prevost, governor of Canada, were, therefore, instructed to propose an armistice, with a view to the restoration of peace. Madison, however, rejected the overture, unless coupled with a stipulation that the right of search should also be renounced. He caused a proposal to the same effect to be made by Mr. Russell, at London. This was a point, however, on which Britain had shown such extreme determination, that he could never hope to have it yielded as preliminary to a mere armistice. The overture, therefore, could only serve to make a faint show of a pacific disposition, while he was really determined on war.

The Americans were very slenderly prepared for the great contest which they had commenced. The principle of the Jefferson administration had been rigid economy, the smallest possible standing force, and an almost entire dependence upon the militia. Yet every effort to give to that body an organized and efficient character had proved abortive. The army, in 1808, had been reduced to three thousand, and though authority had since

been given to raise it to thirty-five thousand, the nation was so averse to the bondage of a military engagement, that the recruiting went on very slowly. At the declaration of war, it amounted only to eleven thousand eight hundred, of whom five thousand were employed in garrisoning posts. The only effective force, in fact, consisted of the Kentucky mounted militia, hardened by incessant and terrible conflict with the Indian tribes; and to them many of the successes of the contest may be ascribed. The navy, which in 1789 had consisted of sixteen frigates and seventeen smaller vessels, was reduced to seven of the former and eight of the latter. The exploits of this navy proved highly creditable; but it could not attempt to keep the seas against even a portion of the British navy.

The war commenced by the United States against Great Britain in 1812, says a British writer, produced a formidable crisis in the history of Canada, especially of the upper province. It is not proposed to enter into any discussion of the grounds or merits of the hostile resolution adopted by Congress. Doubtless, however, as Britain then stood, with her whole disposable force engaged against Napoleon, they calculated, with full confidence, on obtaining possession of the Canadas, and, indeed, of all British America. Dr. Eustis, secretary at war, said in Congress, "We can take the Canadas without soldiers: we have only to send officers into the provinces; and the people, disaffected towards their own government, will rally round our standard." Mr. Clay added, "It is absurd to suppose we shall not succeed in our enterprise against the enemy's provinces. We have the Canadas as much under our command as Great Britain has the ocean. We must take the continent from them. I wish never to see a peace till we do." A similar impression prevailed in the colony itself, defended then by only four thousand five hundred troops, of whom not more than one thousand four hundred and fifty were in the upper province, though the most exposed, and presenting the most extended frontier. Not a few were inclined, on the first alarm, to pack up and quit the country; but Sir George Prevost, seconded by the majority of the inhabitants, adopted a more spirited resolution. The militia were called out; Quebec was garrisoned by the citizens, and the frontier placed in a state of defence.

The States, though they had plunged into hostilities so eagerly, and with such sanguine anticipations, were by no means in a forward state of preparation. Few of the officers who had distinguished themselves in the war of independence survived the lapse of nearly thirty years. General Hull, however, one of these veterans, was sent with a force of two thousand five hundred men to open the campaign on the western frontier of Upper Canada. On the 5th of July, 1812, he arrived at Detroit, and on the 12th crossed the river, and took possession of Sandwich, whence he issued a proclamation inviting the colonists to join him, or at least to remain neutral. He announced that no quarter would be given to a white man fighting by

the side of an Indian, though this is said never to have been acted upon. Having no cannon mounted, he did not think it practicable to attack Fort Malden, which covered Amherstburg, where Lieutenant-colonel St. George with his small force was posted. Hull, however, pushed forward detachments into the country, which gained some advantages and induced a few of the inhabitants to join them. But his prospects were soon clouded. Captain Roberts, with a small detachment, had early reduced the Fort of Michillimakinac, which "opened upon him the northern hive of Indians." Almost the whole of that race, indignant at the encroachments of the Americans upon their territory, eagerly espoused the British cause, and poured in from every quarter to support it. Meantime, General Brock, having embarked all the troops that could be spared from the Niagara frontier, arrived on the 12th August at Amherstburg, where he mustered about three hundred and thirty regulars, four hundred militia, and six hundred Indians. Hull, whose force, weakened by sickness and by sending away two detachments, is said not to have exceeded eight hundred effective men, retreated across the river, withdrawing the cannon prepared for the siege of Amherstburg, and shut himself up in Detroit. General Brock instantly crossed, advanced upon the fort, and prepared for an immediate assault; but a white flag then appeared from the walls, and a capitulation was quickly signed, by which the whole American force, including the detachments, were surrendered prisoners of war. Loud complaints were made by the Americans against the conduct of Hull, who was afterwards tried and condemned to be shot, though spared on account of his age and former services.

The Americans made great efforts to obtain a more fortunate result on the Niagara frontier. Though the New England States, disapproving of the war, withheld their militia, yet, early in September, more than six thousand men were brought to the banks of the river, with the view of crossing it and penetrating into Canada. They were encouraged by the exploit of two row-boats, which captured the same number of British gun-brigs with valuable cargoes as they were passing Fort Erie. The troops are represented as filled with enthusiastic confidence, urging and almost compelling General Van Rensselaer, their commander, to commence active operations. Accordingly, after one abortive attempt, he succeeded, on the morning of the 13th of October, in pushing across to Queenstown a detachment which, being well reinforced, gained possession of the heights. General Brock having come up, resolved to check their progress, but making his advance with too small a force, he was repulsed and killed. Van Rensselaer, however, complains that when he returned to the other side, the heroes, who the day before had boasted so loudly, having now witnessed an actual engagement, though a successful one, were seized with such a panic, that neither commands nor attacks could induce one of



BATTLE OF QUEENSTOWN.

them to enter the boats. Meantime, General Sheaffe, having brought up the main force of the British from Fort George, and being joined by a body of Indians, with a detachment from Chippeway, attacked the Americans; and, after a sharp contest of half an hour, compelled the whole, amounting to above nine hundred, to surrender at discretion.

The Americans made yet another attempt to retrieve this unfortunate campaign. General Smyth, who succeeded Van Rensselaer, had assembled, on the 27th November, four thousand five hundred men in the vicinity of Black Rock. Early on the following morning, two detachments succeeded in crossing, and after a long and confused fight in the dark, drove in, with loss, the British outposts; but when day broke, and Lieutenant-colonel Bisshopp had collected about six hundred regulars and militia, they hastily retired to the other side, leaving a party of thirty to fall into the hands of the English. Another division began to cross, but some rounds of musketry and artillery induced them to return. In the course of the day, after a vain summons to surrender Fort Erie, nearly half the force was embarked; though in the afternoon the postponement of the enterprise was announced. After several days of uncertain councils, it was finally decided that the expedition should be abandoned for the season. The troops are said to have displayed the fiercest indignation, threatening even the person of their commander.



NAVAL VICTORIES OF 1812.



URING the first year of the war, although the necessity of having a naval force on the lakes was obvious to all intelligent men, the government seem to have neglected this important measure. But one vessel of the United States was on Lake Erie at the commencement of hostilities; and this was surrendered by General Hull, with the garrison of Detroit. From this time till the 9th of October, the Americans had no vessel on Lake Erie. At that date, however, Lieutenant Elliott embarked

with fifty volunteers in small boats from Black Rock, and succeeded in cutting out two British vessels, lying under the guns at Fort Erie. They both, however, grounded, and only one was effectually made a prize. It was a merchant vessel, laden with costly furs. The other, an armed vessel, called the *Detroit*, was burnt.

On Lake Ontario, the brig *Oneida*, of sixteen guns, was the only American armed vessel for several months after the declaration of war. Com-



COMMODORE CHAUNCEY.

modore Chauncey, however, raised an armament of six schooners, carrying forty guns, and four hundred and thirty men, with which he sailed from Sackett's Harbour, on the 7th of November, and falling in with the *Royal George* of twenty-six guns, the next day, chased her into the port of Kingston. Having thus obtained the command of the lake for the time, he returned to port, and employed himself in superintending the building of the ship *Madison*, which was launched on the 26th of November, having been completed in forty-five days. Still the British had more vessels and guns upon the waters of Lake Erie than the Americans.

On the ocean, the success of the American navy was brilliant. At the time of the declaration of war, the frigate *Essex*, of which Captain David Porter had recently been appointed commander, was undergoing repairs at New York, and the celerity with which she was fitted for sea, reflected great credit on her commander.

On the 3d of July, 1812, he sailed from Sandy Hook on a cruise, which was not marked by any incident of consequence, excepting the capture of the British sloop of war *Alert*, Captain Langhorne. Either undervaluing the untried prowess of our tars, or mistaking the force of the *Essex*,



CAPTAIN PORTER.

she ran down on her weather quarter, gave three cheers and commenced an action. In a few minutes she struck her colours, being cut to pieces, with three men wounded, and seven feet water in her hold. To relieve himself from the great number of prisoners taken in this and former prizes, Captain Porter made a cartel of the *Alert*, with orders to proceed to St. John's, Newfoundland, and thence to New York. She arrived safe, being the first ship of war taken from the enemy, and her flag, the first British flag sent to the seat of government during the war of 1812.

The next naval victory was obtained by Captain Isaac Hull, soon after his memorable escape from a large British squadron, which is justly regarded as one of the most remarkable recorded in naval history. The account of it, contained in the official letter of Captain Hull, has all the interest of a romance. It is as follows :

UNITED STATES FRIGATE *CONSTITUTION*, at Sea, July 21, 1812.

SIR :—In pursuance of your orders of the 3d instant, I left Annapolis on the 5th instant, and the capes on the 12th, of which I advised you by the pilot who brought the ship to sea.

For several days after we got out, the wind was light and ahead, which, with a strong southerly current, prevented our making much way to the northward. On the 17th, at 2 P. M., being in twenty-two fathoms water off Egg Harbour, four sail of ships were discovered from the masthead, to the northward, and in shore of us, apparently ships of war. The wind being very light, all sail was made in chase of them to ascertain whether they were the enemy's ships, or our squadron having got out of New York, waiting the arrival of the Constitution, the latter of which I had reason to believe was the case.

At four in the afternoon, a ship was seen from the masthead, bearing about N. E., standing for us under all sail, which she continued to do until sundown, at which time she was too far off to distinguish signals, and the ships in shore only to be seen from the tops; they were standing off to the southward and eastward. As we could not ascertain, before dark, what the ship in the offing was, I determined to stand for her, and get near enough to make the night signal.

At ten in the evening, being within six or eight miles of the strange sail, the private signal was made, and kept up nearly one hour, but finding she could not answer it, I concluded she and the ships in shore were enemy.

I immediately hauled off to the southward and eastward, and made all sail, having determined to lie off till daylight to see what they were. The ship that we had been chasing hauled off after us, showing a light, and occasionally making signals, supposed to be for the ships in shore.

On the 18th, at daylight, or a little before it was quite light, saw two sail under our lee, which proved to be frigates of the enemy's. One frigate astern, within about five or six miles, and a line-of-battle ship, a frigate, a brig, and schooner, about ten or twelve miles directly astern, all in chase of us, with a fine breeze, and coming up fast, it being nearly calm where we were. Soon after sunrise, the wind entirely left us and the ship would not steer, but fell round off with her head towards the two ships under our lee. The boats were instantly hoisted out, and sent ahead to tow the ship's head around, and to endeavour to get her farther from the enemy, being then within five miles of three heavy frigates. The boats of the enemy were got out and sent ahead to tow, by which, with the light air that remained with them, they came up very fast. Finding the enemy gaining on us, and but little chance of escaping from them, I ordered two of the guns on the gun-deck to be ran out at the cabin windows for stern guns on the gun-deck, and hoisted one of the twenty-four pounders off the gun-deck, and run that, with the forecastle gun, an eighteen pounder, out at the ports on the quarter-deck, and cleared the ship for action, being determined they should not get her without resistance on our part, notwithstanding their force and the situation we were placed in.

At about seven in the morning, the ship nearest us approaching within



ESCAPE OF THE CONSTITUTION.

gunshot, and directly astern, I ordered one of the stern guns fired, to see if we could reach her, to endeavour to disable her masts; found the shot fell a little short, would not fire any more.

At eight, four of the enemy's ships nearly within gunshot, some of them having six or eight boats ahead towing, with all their oars and sweeps out, to row them up with us, which they were fast doing. It now appeared that we must be taken, and that our escape was impossible—four heavy ships nearly within gunshot, and coming up fast, and not the least hope of a breeze to give us a chance of getting off by outsailing them.

In this situation, finding ourselves in only twenty-four fathoms water, by the suggestion of that valuable officer, Lieutenant Morris, I determined to try and warp the ship ahead, by carrying out anchors and warping her up to them; three or four hundred fathoms of rope was instantly got up, and two anchors got ready and sent ahead, by which means we began to gain ahead of the enemy; they, however, soon saw our boats carrying out the anchors, and adopted the same plan, under very advantageous circumstances, as all the boats from the ships furthestmost off were sent to tow and warp up those nearest to us, by which means they again came up so that at nine, the ship nearest us began to fire her bow guns, which we

instantly returned by our stern guns in the cabin and on the quarter-deck. All the shot from the enemy fell short; but we have reason to believe that some of ours went on board her, as we could not see them strike the water. Soon after nine, a second frigate passed under our lee, and opened her broadside, but finding her shot fall short, discontinued her fire; but continued, as did all the rest of them, to make every possible exertion to get up with us. From nine to twelve, all hands were employed in warping the ship ahead, and in starting some of the water in the main hold to lighten her, which, with the help of a light air, we rather gained of the enemy, or, at least, held our own. About two in the afternoon, all the boats of the line-of-battle ship and some of the frigate's were sent to the frigate nearest to us, to endeavour to tow her up, but a light breeze sprung up, which enabled us to hold way with her, notwithstanding they had eight or ten boats ahead, and all her sails furled to tow her to windward. The wind continued light until eleven at night, and the boats were kept ahead towing and warping to keep out of the reach of the enemy, three of the frigates being very near us; at eleven, we got a light breeze from the southward, the boats came alongside and were hoisted up, the ship having too much way to keep them ahead, and the enemy still in chase and very near.

On the 19th, at daylight, passed within gunshot of one of the frigates, but she did not fire on us, perhaps, for fear of becalming her, as the wind was light; soon after passing us, she tacked, and stood after us—at this time, six sail were in sight, under all sail after us. At nine in the morning, saw a strange sail on our weather beam, supposed to be an American merchant ship; the instant the frigate nearest us saw her, she hoisted American colours, as did all the squadron, in hopes to decoy her down; I immediately hoisted the English colours, that she might not be deceived; she soon hauled her wind, and, it is to be hoped, made her escape. All this day the wind increased gradually, and we gained on the enemy in the course of the day, six or eight miles; they, however, continued chasing us all night under a press of sail.

On the 20th, at daylight in the morning, only three of them could be seen from the masthead, the nearest of which was about twelve miles off, directly astern. All hands were set at work wetting the sails, from the royals down, with the engine and fire-buckets, and we soon found that we left the enemy very fast. At a quarter past eight, the enemy finding that they were fast dropping astern, gave over chase, and hauled their wind to the northward, probably for the station off New York. At half-past eight, saw a sail ahead, gave chase after her under all sail. At nine, saw another strange sail under our lee bow. We soon spoke the sail first discovered, and found her to be an American brig, from St. Domingo, bound to Portland. I directed the captain how to steer to avoid the enemy, and made sail for the vessel to leeward; on coming up with her, she proved to be an Ame-



COMMODORE HULL

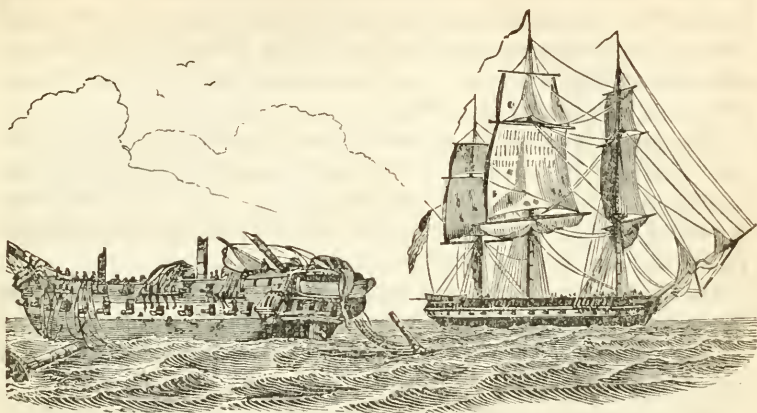
rican brig from St. Bartholomew's, bound to Philadelphia: but, on being informed of war, he bore up for Charleston, S. C. Finding the ship so far to the southward and eastward, and the enemy's squadron stationed off New York, which would make it impossible for the ship to get in there I determined to make for Boston, to receive your farther orders, and I hope my having done so will meet your approbation. My wish to explain to you, as clearly as possible, why your orders have not been executed, and the length of time the enemy were in chase of us, with various other circumstances, have caused me to make this communication much longer than I could have wished, yet I cannot, in justice to the brave officers and crew under my command, close it without expressing to you the confidence I have in them, and assuring you that their conduct, while under the guns of the enemy, was such as might have been expected from American officers and seamen. I have the honour to be, with very great respect sir, your obedient, humble servant,

(Signed)

ISAAC HULL.

The Hon. PAUL HAMILTON, *Secretary of the Navy, Washington.*

Such is Captain Hull's modest account of this truly brilliant exploit. Sailing on a cruise immediately after this, with the same frigate, officers,



CONSTITUTION AND GUERRIERE.

and crew, on the 19th of August, he fell in with his Britannic Majesty's ship *Guerriere*, rated at thirty-eight guns, and carrying fifty, commanded by Captain Dacres, who, some time before, had politely endorsed, on the register of an American ship, an invitation to Captain Hull to give him a meeting of this kind.

At half-past 3 P. M., Captain Hull made out his antagonist to be a frigate, and continued the chase till he was within about three miles, when he cleared for action; the chase backed her main-topsail and waited for him to come down. As soon as the *Constitution* was ready, Hull bore down to bring the enemy to close action immediately; but, on his coming within gunshot, the *Guerriere* gave a broadside and filled away and wore, giving a broadside on the other tack; but without effect, her shot falling short. She then continued wearing and manœuvring for about three-quarters of an hour to get a raking position,—but, finding she could not, she bore up and ran under her topsails and jib, with the wind on the quarter. During this time, the *Constitution* not having fired a single broadside, the impatience of the officers and men to engage was excessive. Nothing but the most rigid discipline could have restrained them. Hull, however, was preparing to decide the contest in a summary method of his own. He now made sail to bring the *Constitution* up with her antagonist, and at five minutes before 6 P. M., *being alongside, within half pistol shot*, he commenced a heavy fire from all his guns, *double-shotted with round and grape*; and so well directed, and so well kept up was the fire, that in sixteen minutes the mizenmast of the *Guerriere* went by the board, and her mainyard in the slings, and the hull, rigging and sails were completely torn to pieces. The fire was kept up for fifteen minutes longer, when the

main and foremast went, taking with them every spar except the bowsprit, and leaving the *Guerriere* a complete wreck. On seeing this, Hull ordered the firing to cease, having brought his enemy in thirty minutes after he was fairly alongside to such a condition, that a few more broadsides must have carried her down.

The prize being so shattered that she was not worth bringing into port, after removing the prisoners to the *Constitution*, she was set on fire and blown up. In the action, the *Constitution* lost seven killed and seven wounded; the *Guerriere*, fifteen killed, sixty-two wounded—including the captain and several officers, and twenty-four missing.

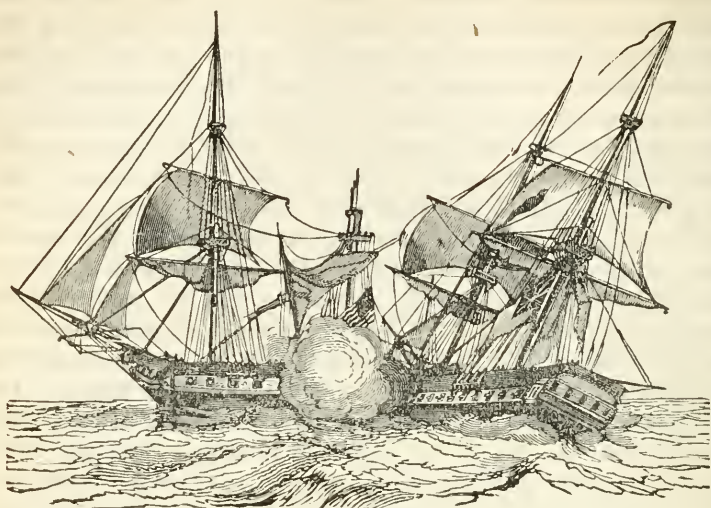
The news of this victory was received in the United States with the greatest joy and exultation. All parties united in celebrating it, and the citizens and public authorities vied with each other in bestowing marks of approbation upon Captain Hull and his gallant officers and crew.

The next remarkable naval victory was obtained by Captain Jacob Jones, in the *Wasp*.

In 1811, Captain Jones was transferred, by the secretary of the navy, to the command of the sloop of war *Wasp*, mounting eighteen twenty-four-pound carronades, and was despatched in the spring of 1812, with communications from our government to its functionaries at the courts of St. Cloud and St. James. Before he returned from this voyage, war had been declared by the United States against Great Britain. Captain Jones refitted his ship with all possible despatch, and repaired to sea on a cruise, in which he met with no other luck than the capture of an inconsiderable prize.

He sailed from the port of Philadelphia on the 13th of October, 1812, with a gallant set of officers, and a high-spirited and confident crew. On the 18th of the same month, the *Wasp* encountered a heavy gale, during which she lost her jibboom and two valuable seamen. On the following night, being a bright moonlight, a seaman on the look-out discovered five strange sail steering eastward. The *Wasp* hauled to the windward and closely watched the movements of these vessels until daylight next morning, being the 18th, when it was found that they were six large merchant vessels under convoy of a sloop of war. The former were well manned, two of them mounting sixteen guns each. Notwithstanding the apparent disparity of force, Captain Jones determined to hazard an attack; and as the weather was boisterous, and the swell of the sea unusually high, he ordered down top-gallant yards, closely reefed the top-sails, and prepared for action. The convoy sailed ahead and lay to five or six miles distant, while the sloop of war, with Spanish colours flying, remained under easy sail, the *Wasp* coming down to windward on her larboard side, within pistol-shot, displaying the American ensign and pendant. Upon the enemy's being hailed, he hauled down the Spanish flag, hoisted the British ensign, and opened a broadside of cannon and musketry. The fire was promptly

returned by the *Wasp*, the vessels gradually neared each other, and each maintained the combat with great animation, the English vessel firing with most rapidity, but, as the result proved, with no great precision. In a few minutes after the commencement of the action, the main-topmast of the *Wasp* was shot away, and falling on the topsail yard, across the larboard fore and foretop-sail braces, caused the head yards to be unmanageable during the continuance of the action. In two or three minutes more the gaff and mizzen top-gallant sail were shot away. Each vessel continued in the position in which the action commenced, and maintained a close and spirited fire. Captain Jones directed his officers not to fire except when the vessel rolled downwards, so that the shot was either poured on the enemy's deck, or below it, while the English fired as soon as they had loaded, without regard to the position of their vessel, and thus their balls were either thrown away or passed through the rigging. The *Wasp* now passed ahead of the enemy, raked her, and resumed her original position. It was now obvious that the *Wasp* had greatly the advantage in the combat, and Captain Jones thought the contest might be speedily directed by boarding, but hesitated because the roughness of the sea might endanger the safety of both vessels if brought in contact. As, however, the braces and rigging of the *Wasp* were so injured by the shot of the enemy that he was fearful his masts, being unsupported, would go by the board, and that the enemy might escape, he therefore determined at all hazards to board and thus decide the contest. With this determination, he wore ship, run athwart the enemy's bow, so that the jibboom came in between the main and mizzen rigging of the *Wasp*—the enemy being in a position so inviting for a raking broadside that one was promptly ordered. So closely in contact were the contending vessels, that, while loading, the rammers of the *Wasp* struck against the sides of the opposing vessel, so that two of the guns of the former entered through the bow ports of the latter and swept the whole length of the deck. At this juncture, a sprightly and gallant seaman, named Jack Lang, who had once been impressed on board a British man-of-war, jumped on a gun with his cutlass, and was about to leap on board the enemy, when Captain Jones ordered him back, wishing to give a closing broadside before boarding. His impetuosity, however, could not be restrained, and observing the ardour of the crew generally, Lieutenants Biddle and Booth gallantly led them on, but, to their great surprise, when they reached the enemy's deck, not a single uninjured individual was found on deck except the seaman at the wheel, and three officers. The deck was covered with the dying and the dead, and was slippery with blood. When Lieutenant Biddle reached the quarter-deck, the commander and two other officers threw down their swords, and made an inclination of their bodies, thus affording evidence that they had surrendered.



WASP AND FROLIC.

During the early part of the action, the ensign of the enemy had been shot down, upon which a British seaman carried it aloft again and nailed it to the mast. In this state it still continued floating, they not being able to lower it, until one of the United States officers ascended the rigging and tore it from its attachments. In forty-three minutes from the commencement of the action, full possession was taken of the enemy, which proved to be his Britannic majesty's sloop of war Frolic, commanded by Captain Whynyates.

On examining the birth-deck, it was found crowded with the dead and wounded, there being but an inconsiderable portion of the crew of the Frolic which had escaped unhurt. Soon after Lieutenant Biddle took possession of the enemy, her masts fell by the board, so that she lay a complete wreck. The contest being now terminated, Captain Jones ordered Dr. New, the assistant surgeon of the Wasp, to visit the wounded enemy, and to carry with him every thing on board, which could in any manner contribute to their comfort.

The force of the Frolic consisted of sixteen thirty-two pound carronades, four twelve-pounders on the main-deck, and two twelve-pound carronades. She was, therefore, superior to the Wasp, by four twelve-pounders. The officers of the Frolic stated, that the number of men on the ship's books was one hundred and ten; but, as boats were seen plying between the Frolic and some of the convoy, in the morning, before the action, it was believed that she received many volunteers in addition to her regular

crew. This belief was strengthened by the circumstance, that one of the vessels in the convoy came alongside the *Wasp* next morning after her capture, and asked assistance to reef his sails, as he had but two men and a boy on board. It was intimated that he had thus diminished his crew by allowing volunteers to go on board the *Frolic*.

The officers, seamen, marines, and boys on board the *Wasp*, numbered one hundred and thirty-five, which, from the best information which could be obtained, was less in number than that of the enemy. Both vessels, however, had more men than was essential to their efficiency; and the officers of the *Frolic* candidly acknowledged, that they had more men than they knew what to do with. It appears, therefore, that while there was an equality of strength in the crews, there was an inequality in the number of guns and weight of metal—the *Frolic* having four twelve-pounders more than the *Wasp*.

The exact number of killed and wounded on board the *Frolic* could not be ascertained with any degree of precision; but, from the admissions of the British officers, it was supposed that the number killed was about thirty, including two officers; and of those wounded, between forty and fifty. The captain and every other officer on board were more or less severely wounded. The *Wasp* sustained a loss of only five men killed, and five wounded.

A busy scene now ensued, in disposing of the dead, taking care of the wounded, and repairing the damages which the *Wasp* sustained during the conflict. Lieutenant Biddle, with a portion of the officers and crew of the *Wasp*, was similarly engaged on board the *Frolic*. While engaged in erecting jurmasts on board the latter vessel, a suspicious sail was seen to windward, upon which Captain Jones directed Lieutenant Biddle to shape her course for Charleston, or any other southern port of the United States, while the *Wasp* would continue her cruise.

The strange sail coming down rapidly, both vessels prepared for action but soon discovered, to the mortification of the victors of this well-fought action, that the new enemy was a seventy-four, which proved to be the *Poictiers*, commanded by Commodore Beresford. Firing a shot over the *Frolic*, passed her, and soon overhauled the *Wasp*, which, in her crippled state, was unable to escape. Both vessels were thus captured, and carried into Bermuda. Captain Jones and his officers were placed on parole of honour, at St. George's, Bermuda, and were there treated with great courtesy, particularly by the officers of the ninety-eighth and one hundred and second regiments of British infantry. Dinners, balls, and other acts of civility were tendered with a cordiality of manner which made our officers almost forget their misfortunes.

After remaining in St. George's a few weeks, a cartel was prepared, by which the officers and crew of the *Wasp* were conveyed to New York

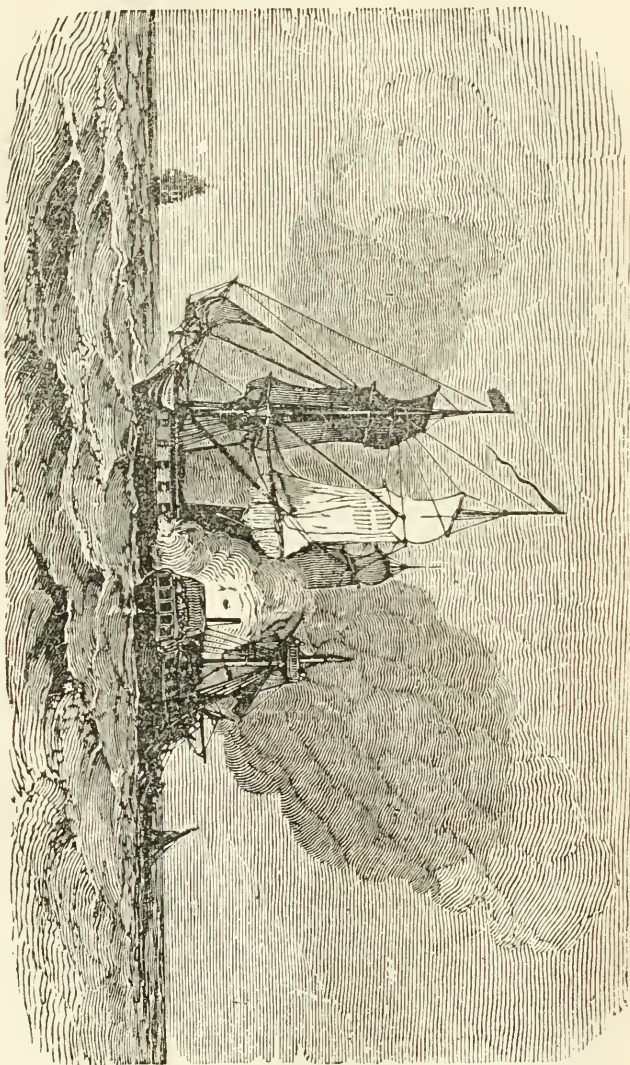


COMMODORE JONES.

On the return of Captain Jones to the United States, he was everywhere received with demonstrations of the highest respect and admiration for the skill and gallantry which he displayed in his combat with the enemy. In his journey to Washington, whither he was ordered by the President of the United States, he received brilliant entertainments in the cities through which he passed.

The legislature of Delaware—his native state—gave to him a vote of thanks, and an elegant piece of plate, with appropriate engravings. On motion of James A. Bayard, of Delaware, the Congress of the United States appropriated twenty-five thousand dollars, as a compensation to Captain Jones, his officers and crew, for the loss they sustained by the recapture of the *Frolic*. They also voted a gold medal to Captain Jones, and a silver medal to each of his commissioned officers.

The celebrated Commodore Stephen Decatur won fresh laurels in this naval campaign. He was in command of the frigate *United States*, and on the 25th of October, 1812, in latitude 29° N., longitude 29° 30' W., he fell in with his Britannic majesty's ship *Macedonian*, mounting forty-nine carriage guns, (the odd gun shifting.) She was a frigate of the largest class, two years old, four months out of dock, and reputed one of the best sailers in the British service. The action, after lasting an hour



UNITED STATES AND MACEDONIAN.





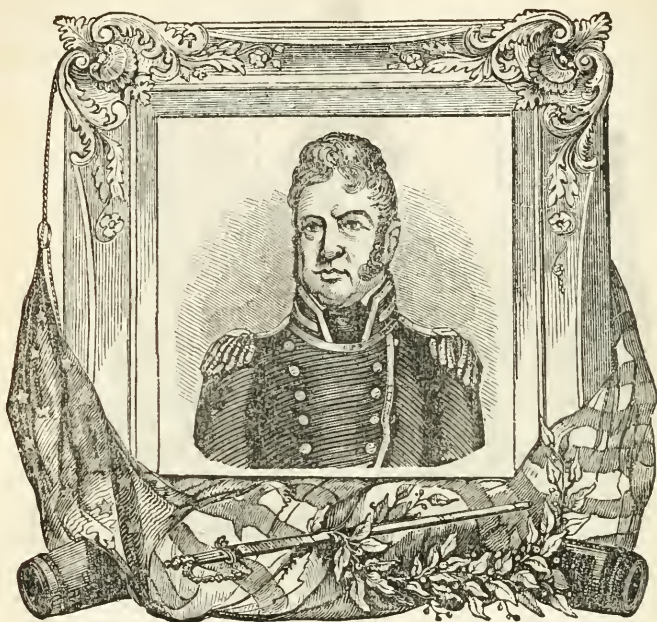
COMMODORE DECATUR

and a half, in consequence of the enemy being to windward, and having the advantage of engaging at his own distance, terminated in the capture of the *Macedonian*. The British ship lost her mizenmast, fore and main-topmasts, and main yard, and was much cut up in her hull. The damage sustained by the United States was not so much as to render her return into port necessary, and had Commodore Decatur not deemed it important to see his prize in, he would have continued the cruise.

The prize was carried into New York harbour and equipped as an American frigate. The whole country hailed the name of the gallant victor with enthusiastic admiration. Congress and several of the state legislatures voted him costly presents, as testimonials of their high sense of his services.

Commodore Bainbridge, who had previously won great renown as a naval commander, won a splendid victory over the British this year.

When the United States declared war against Great Britain, it is not to be supposed that one so adventurous as Bainbridge could be satisfied to remain on shore, comparatively inactive, when danger and glory were to be courted on the sea. He applied for the command of a frigate, and was appointed to the *Constellation*, thirty-eight, with orders to prepare her for



COMMODORE BAINBRIDGE.

sea with all despatch. His arrangements were not yet completed, when Captain Hull arrived in Boston with the *Constitution*, after achieving his splendid victory over the *Guerriere*. As Hull was obliged to resign his command, on account of some private affairs which required his immediate attention, Bainbridge requested to be transferred to his frigate. This request was complied with, and the *Essex* and *Hornet* being also placed under his orders at the same time, he hoisted his broad pennant on board the *Constitution*, September 15th, 1812.

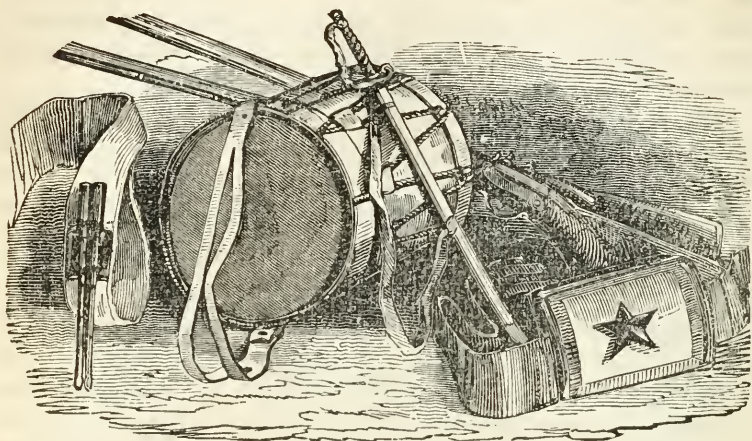
The *Essex*, then in the *Delaware*, was ordered to rendezvous at the Cape de Verde isles; but she was prevented by the events of the cruise from joining the rest of the squadron. The *Constitution* and *Hornet* sailed on the 26th October, and arrived off St. Salvador on the 13th December. On the 29th, in latitude $13^{\circ} 6' S.$, and about ten leagues from the coast of Brazil, the *Constitution* fell in with an enemy's frigate, the *Java*, bound for the East Indies, with a number of supernumerary officers and seamen for the Bombay station. The commodore, finding the frigate fairly within his reach, prepared with alacrity for action. The stranger showed English colours, and bore down with the intention of raking the *Constitution*.

Bainbridge avoided this, and the enemy having hauled down colours, and left a jack only, the commodore gave orders to fire ahead of the enemy to make him show full colours. This was returned with a full broadside, and a general action commenced, both ships striving to rake and to avoid being raked.

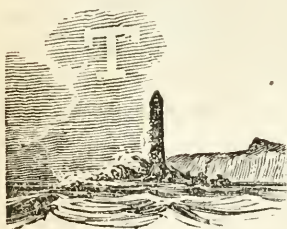
Soon after the commencement of the action, Bainbridge received a ball in the hip; and a few minutes later, a shot carried away the wheel, and drove a small bolt with violence into his thigh. These injuries did not induce him to sit down, and he continued on deck giving orders till eleven o'clock at night. The action lasted an hour and fifty-five minutes, when the enemy struck her flag, and the American commodore sent Lieutenant Parker to take possession. The Java was commanded by Captain Lambert, a distinguished officer, who was mortally wounded, and died a few days after the battle. The enemy's loss was not less than sixty killed and one hundred wounded. The Constitution lost nine killed, and twenty-five wounded. The two vessels presented a striking contrast in appearance at the close of the action: the Constitution "actually coming out of the battle as she had gone into it, with royal-yards across, and every spar, from the highest to the lowest, in its place," though some of them were considerably injured; while the Java lay upon the water an unmanagable wreck, with every spar shot away, and but a few stumps left standing. Bainbridge displayed great kindness in the treatment of his prisoners, and, having destroyed his prize, he landed his captives at St. Salvador, on parole of honour not to engage in hostilities against the United States, until exchanged.

The Constitution soon returned home for repairs, and Bainbridge entered Boston harbour in triumph.





OPERATIONS ON THE NORTHERN FRONTIER IN 1813.



THE severity of the season caused a suspension of operations scarcely interrupted, unless by an attack on Ogdensburg, by Captain McDonnell, who, crossing the St. Lawrence on the ice, drove out the garrison, and obtained possession of eleven pieces of cannon and a considerable quantity of stores. The Americans, meantime, were making extraor-

ordinary exertions to open the new campaign under better auspices. At Sackett's Harbour, on the southern shore of Ontario, a naval armament was equipped, which gave them for some time the control of that fine lake. A large force had been assembled and placed under a new commander, General Dearborn. The plan of this campaign was limited to the conquest of Upper Canada, the achievement of which, as that country was defended by only two thousand one hundred troops, was considered beyond the reach of chance. On the 25th April, 1813, the general, with Commodore Chauncey, embarked about two thousand men, and sailed to York, (Toronto,) the rising capital of the province. It was then very ill prepared for resistance, scarcely at all fortified, and defended by General Sheaffe, with only about six hundred men. On the morning of the 27th, they reached the place and succeeded in landing, when, after a brave defence, protracted till two o'clock, the English were obliged to abandon the town. The invaders suffered chiefly by the explosion of a mine, which



GENERAL PIKE.

killed or wounded about two hundred and sixty, including, among the former, General Pike, a young officer of distinguished merit, who had planned and conducted the attack. After burning all the public buildings, they carried off the artillery and naval stores, and, by the 1st of May, evacuated the place.

The next enterprise was still more important, being directed against Fort George, near Newark, at the entrance of the Niagara channel, considered the chief military position in the country. Nearly the whole force was employed, a small part only being left to defend Sackett's Harbour. Brigadier-general Vincent, on the other hand, had only a British detachment of about a thousand regulars and three hundred militia; and Newark had been exposed to so severe a fire from the American fort on the opposite side, that it was no longer defensible. The Americans, therefore, could be resisted only by opposing their landing, or by beating them afterwards in the field. When Commodore Chauncey, on the 27th May, disembarked four thousand men, under Dearborn and Lewis, both these operations were attempted; but, after a long and severe contest, were



GENERAL BROWN.

rendered unavailing by the superior numbers of the invaders. Vincent was obliged, after calling in the garrisons of Chippeway and Fort Erie, to retreat first to the Beaver Dams, and then to Burlington Heights, near the western extremity of Lake Ontario. The victors could not intercept his retreat, but they established, for the first time, a regular lodgment in Canada.

Meantime, a respectable naval force having been organized at Kingston, by Sir James Yeo, Sir George Prevost, the governor, was prevailed upon to employ it in the attack of Sackett's Harbour, defended only by a small party, while the main body of the Americans was employed against Fort George. He sailed on the 27th of May, with about seven hundred and fifty men ; but, on approaching, showed considerable hesitation, and even gave orders for a return to Kingston, till, encouraged by the success of the Indians in capturing twelve boats with seventy dragoons, he succeeded in effecting a landing on the morning of the 29th. Notwithstanding the difficulties of the ground, he drove the Americans before him, till they took shelter in a log barrack and stockaded fort. Thence they kept up such a destructive fire, that General Prevost, considering it impossible to

force the position, and, panic-struck, it is said, by a false alarm raised by General Brown in his rear, ordered a retreat. Much difference of opinion, however, prevailed among the officers. Major Drummond is reported to have said: "A few minutes, sir, and I will put you in possession of the place." He was ordered to obey; upon which discontent and a want of confidence in the commander-in-chief became general, and had a most injurious effect upon the subsequent operations.

Fortune, so favourable to the Americans at the opening of the campaign, did not continue so throughout. Extraordinary exertions were made in the western states, particularly Kentucky. Two corps were formed, and despatched under Generals Winchester and Harrison, to march in different lines through Michigan; then to unite and co-operate in recovering Detroit, and invading the adjoining districts. Winchester, suspected of a desire to achieve something before yielding the command to his coadjutor, advanced with about a thousand men to Frenchtown, within twenty-six miles of Detroit. Colonel Proctor, justly appreciating the importance of attacking him before the junction, hastily collected all the force within his reach, amounting to about five hundred whites, and four hundred and fifty Indians. With these, on the 22d January, 1813, he succeeded in bringing the Americans to action. They made an obstinate resistance, and, being posted in houses and enclosures, caused considerable loss to the assailants; but they were ultimately overpowered, and nearly all made prisoners. The general himself was among the number, having fallen into the hands of a Wyandot Indian, who stripped off his uniform, adorned his own person with it, and could not without difficulty be induced to make restitution.

General Harrison, on receiving intelligence of this disaster, took up a position near the rapids of the Miami, to await reinforcements. Colonel Proctor felt equally the importance of attacking him before their arrival. Having assembled about a thousand regulars and militia, and twelve hundred Indians, he embarked them at Amherstburg on the 23d April, then sailed across Lake Erie, and up the Miami. Many delays, however, occurred, by which the Americans were enabled so to strengthen their position that the attack made on the 1st of May had very little effect. The Americans were then encouraged to assume the offensive, which they did with large bodies of troops, partly landed from the river, partly sallying from the fort. At first they gained possession of the British batteries; but they were then attacked at different points with such decisive success, that upwards of a thousand were killed or taken, and the rest with difficulty found refuge within the intrenchments. These Proctor found himself still unable to storm; but he had so weakened the American force as to remove all immediate danger of invasion.

Let us now return to the main theatre of operations on the Niagara

frontier, where we have seen the British driven before the Americans to Burlington Heights. Dearborn immediately sent forward Generals Chandler and Winder, with four thousand men, to destroy, if possible, this shattered remnant; a success which would have been followed by the conquest of all the western provinces. On the 5th June, they took post at Stony Creek, to prepare for operations on the following day. In this critical situation, Lieutenant-colonel Harvey, having carefully reconnoitered the Americans' position, suggested a night attack, to which General Vincent readily assented. It was made with seven hundred chosen troops, and, being favoured by deep darkness, was completely successful; the Americans retreated, and the two commanders, with seven officers and a hundred and sixteen men, were made prisoners. The British, at daylight, withdrew their force; but the Americans, excepting the capture of the two generals, had the advantage all on their side. Their loss, indeed, had not been great; yet such was the panic inspired by the events of this night, that before eleven next morning they had abandoned their camp, and commenced a retreat to Forty-mile Creek, eleven miles distant. Here they received a reinforcement; but, being threatened by Sir James Yeo, who had come with a squadron and a small body of troops to support General Vincent, they determined on retreating to Niagara. Nor did their misfortune stop here. Intelligence being received that the English had a small advanced post at Beaver-dam, Lieutenant-colonel Boerstler, with about seven hundred men, was sent to attack it. That officer, however, being unexpectedly assailed, first by a party of Indians, and soon afterwards by a small body of regulars, conceived himself to be surrounded, and, on being summoned by Lieutenant Fitzgibbon, surrendered his whole corps prisoners of war. The Americans now held nothing on the right bank of the river beyond Fort George. The British even made incursions on the opposite shore, in one of which Colonel Bisshopp gained possession of Black Rock, where he destroyed or carried off the arms and stores; but being attacked, while re-embarking, by a superior force, his party suffered some loss, and he himself received three wounds, which proved mortal.

The British at this time gained some advantages on Lake Champlain, taking several vessels, and destroying the American magazines at Plattsburg and Swanton. They were now, however, destined to experience some severe reverses, and that, too, on the theatre of their most brilliant triumphs.

The Americans made extraordinary exertions to retrieve their affairs on the western frontier; volunteers crowded from Kentucky, a territory of fierce and warlike habits, and, by September, they had succeeded in augmenting General Harrison's army to upwards of five thousand men.

The defence of Fort Stephenson by Colonel Croghan deserves particu-

lar notice. Colonel Croghan had already distinguished himself in the siege of Fort Meigs. From this he was ordered to Fort Stephenson, twenty miles above the mouth of Sandusky river, with orders from General Harrison to destroy the stores and abandon the fort, if the enemy made his appearance. Learning that the enemy designed to attack him, he disobeyed his orders, and immortalized his fame. He laboured day and night to place the fort in a state of defence.

The necessity of cutting a ditch round the fort immediately presented itself to him. This was done—but in order to render the enemy's plans abortive, should they even succeed in leaping the ditch, which was nine feet wide and six deep, he had large logs placed on the top of the fort, and so adjusted that an inconsiderable weight would cause them to fall from their position and crush to death every one who might be situated below.

A short time before the action, he wrote the following concise and impressive letter to a friend :

"The enemy are not far distant : I expect an attack ; I will defend this post to the last extremity. I have just sent away the women and children, that I may be able to act without incumbrance. Be satisfied : I hope to do my duty. The example set me by my revolutionary kindred is before me ; let me die rather than prove unworthy of their name."

On the 1st of August, General Proctor made his appearance before the fort. His troops consisted of five hundred regulars, and about seven hundred Indians of the most ferocious kind.

There were but a hundred and thirty-three effective men in the garrison, and the works covered one acre of ground. The pickets were about ten feet high, surrounded by a ditch, with a block-house at each angle of the fort, one of which contained a six-pounder. This was the exact state of the post at the time the enemy appeared.

The first movement made by the enemy was to make such a disposition of his forces as to prevent the escape of the garrison, if they should be disposed to attempt it. He then sent Colonel Elliot with a flag, to demand the surrender of the fort. He was met by Ensign Shipp. The British officer observed that General Proctor had a number of cannon, a large body of regular troops, and so many Indians, whom it was impossible to control, that if the fort was taken, as it must be, the whole of the garrison would be massacred. Shipp answered, that it was the determination of Major Croghan, his officers and men, to defend the garrison or be buried in it, and that they might do their best. Colonel Elliott addressed Mr. Shipp again : "You are a fine young man ; I pity your situation ; for God's sake surrender, and prevent the dreadful slaughter that must follow resistance." Shipp turned from him with indignation, and was immediately taken hold of by an Indian, who attempted to wrest his sword from



DEFENCE OF FORT STEPHENSON.

him. Major Croghan, observing what passed, called to Shipp to come into the fort, which was instantly obeyed, and the action commenced. The firing began from the gun-boats in the rear and was kept up during the night.

At an early hour the next morning, three six-pounders, which had been planted during the night within two hundred and fifty yards of the pickets, began to play upon the fort, but with little effect. About 4 p. m., all the enemy's guns were concentrated against the north-western angle of the fort, for the purpose of making a breach. To counteract the effect of the fire, Major Croghan caused that point to be strengthened by means of bags of flour, sand, and other materials, in such a manner that the picketing sustained little or no injury. But the enemy, supposing that their fire had sufficiently shattered the pickets, advanced, to the number of five hundred, to storm the place, at the same time making two feints on different points.

The column which advanced against the north-western angle was so completely enveloped in smoke, as not to be discovered until it had approached within eighteen or twenty paces of the lines; but the men being all at their posts, and ready to receive it, commenced so heavy and galling a fire as to throw the column into confusion; but being quickly rallied, by Lieutenant-colonel Short, the leader of the column exclaimed, "Come on, my brave fellows, we will give these d——d Yankee rascals no quarters," and immediately leaped into the ditch, followed by his troops: as

soon as the ditch was entirely filled by the assailants, Major Croghan ordered the six-pounder, which had been masked in the block-house, to be fired. It had been loaded with a double charge of musket-balls and slugs. The piece completely raked the ditch from end to end. The first fire levelled the one-half in death; the second or third either killed or wounded every one, except eleven, who were covered by the dead bodies. At the same time, the fire of small arms was so incessant and destructive that it was in vain the British officers exerted themselves to lead on the balance of the column; it retired in disorder under a shower of shot, and sought safety in an adjoining wood. The loss of the enemy in killed was about a hundred and fifty, besides a considerable number of their allies. The Americans had but one killed and seven slightly wounded.

Early in the morning of the 3d, the enemy retreated down the river, after having abandoned considerable baggage.

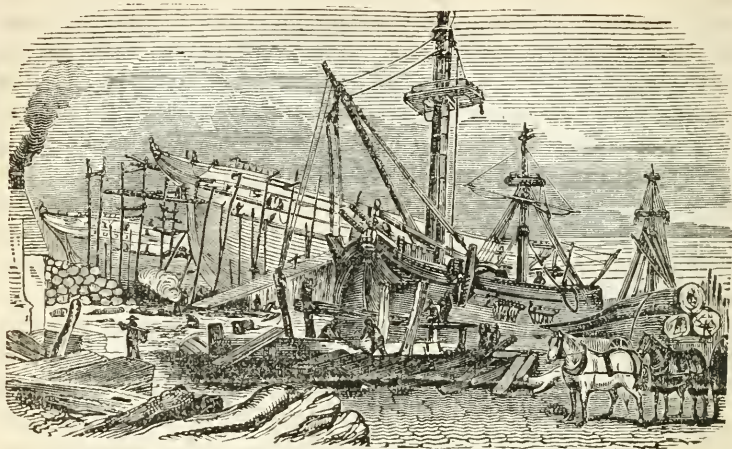
The garrison was composed of regulars, all Kentuckians; a finer company of men was not to be found in the United States, perhaps not in the world. They were as humane as courageous. This is proved by their unceasing attention to the wounded enemy after their discomfiture. During the night, they kindly received into the fort, through the fatal porthole of the block-house, all those who were able to crawl to it; to those unable to move, they threw canteens filled with water. They even parted with their clothes to alleviate the sufferings of the wounded.

Notwithstanding this disobedience of orders, for the successful defence of this post, Major Croghan was raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

In the beginning of July, an expedition for the recapturing of Michilimackinac was intrusted to his command.

The brilliant victory of Perry on Lake Erie now restored to the United States the territory which had been lost by the shameful surrender of General Hull in 1812.

On the breaking out of the war of 1812, Lieutenant Perry was appointed to the command of the United States flotilla, then lying in the harbour of Newport, with the rank of master-commandant. This place, however, as has been proved by subsequent events, was not destined for the theatre of active service. To a mind so enterprising and active, a mere nominal command—or, what amounts to the same thing, an office where a brave man is, for want of opposition, incapable of distinguishing himself—is irksome and destitute of all attractions. It soon became evident, not only from the declarations made on the floor of Congress, but likewise from the movements of General Hull, that the occupation of Canada was our object. It became then a matter of primary importance to secure the possession of the lakes. Commodore Chauncey was selected for this purpose by the navy department, to whom was intrusted the superintendence and direction of all our military operations on those waters. Captain Perry was by



BUILDING OF THE FLEET ON LAKE ERIE.

him appointed to the command of the naval forces of the United States on Lake Erie. So attached were the men who composed his squadron, lying in the harbour of Newport, to their commander, that they cheerfully followed his new fortunes, and accompanied him to Lake Erie. At the time that General Dearborn contemplated an attack upon Fort George, Commodore Perry arrived in the neighbourhood of our army, on public business. This fort, it is well known, is situated at the communication between the waters of the Lakes Ontario and Erie, and just above the Falls of Niagara. Commodore Perry immediately volunteered his services, which were as promptly accepted by General Dearborn and Commodore Chauncey, and the landing of our troops intended for the attack was by them confided to him. The result of that action is so well known, that it is conceived unnecessary to occupy the attention of the reader by a more specific detail.

When Commodore Perry was appointed to command the United States squadron on Lake Erie, there was no squadron for him to command. The British held the entire and exclusive possession of these waters; and to this officer was confided the important duty of creating a fleet, in the face of a proud and insolent foe. The commodore had not only to contemplate the day as extremely dubious and distant when he should meet his enemy on fair and honourable terms on the bosom of the lake, but likewise to guard against surprise, and to run the risk of having his navy destroyed on the stocks. He had likewise to apprehend every thing from the inexperience of his own sailors; and, it is hoped that it will not be

deemed invidious to assert, from the inexperience of his officers also. The commodore himself had never seen a naval engagement: it is true that he had *studied the theory of naval warfare*; but he had known nothing of active operations. He had never been in an engagement where a single ship was opposed to a single ship; much less could he be presumed capable of calculating all the hazards and casualties where one fleet was opposed to another. This was untried ground, and on which the commodore, so far as regards the knowledge resulting from experience, was almost as much a novice as the most ignorant of his crew. In addition to this formidable mass of obstructions, he had to encounter the genius of Captain Barclay, a man who, to an enterprising and active mind, had united the lessons of sober experience; he was conversant with naval science both in theory and in practice: he had served under Nelson; and in the battle of Trafalgar his wound was an evidence of his courage and intrepidity. These were the apparently unequal terms on which Commodore Perry was to cope with his gallant competitor.

These difficulties, which in ordinary minds would only excite motives of despair, were, in Commodore Perry, subjects only of active and of persevering energy. His genius seemed to expand beneath the pressure of the foot which was raised for its extermination. To guard against the approach of the heavy vessels of the enemy, while his own fleet was upon the stocks, he selected a place denominated the Harbour of Erie, which, from the shoalness of the water, was incapable of being approached by vessels loaded with heavy ordnance. This bay, by projecting into the main land, rendered the pass defensible, both by armed boats and by the militia, who, on the requisitions of the commodore, were stationed to watch every motion of the enemy. Here, if Captain Barclay attempted to enter, he would be compelled to relinquish his maritime superiority—he would be compelled to forego his heavy ships, and to trust to his strength in boats, which might be opposed by an equal force on the water, as well as by the militia, who were stationed to prevent his advances. His naval pre-eminence would now avail him nothing. Under such auspices did Commodore Perry commence the hazardous undertaking of building his fleet. Frequently were alarms excited, and, probably for nefarious purposes, promulgated, that Captain Barclay intended an attack; and as often was the vigilance and promptitude of Commodore Perry found equal to the emergency. The militia were, by these false alarms, rendered more expert, and his own sailors were, from the same causes, trained, disciplined, and inured to their duty.

These are some, and but faint, views of the difficulties which Commodore Perry had to surmount. Many minds are found capable of comprehending things in the mass, which cannot, at the same time, bear all the tedious minutiae of detail. Commodore Perry, however, was as attentive



BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE.

to the one as to the other. While he was revolving in his mind, and anxiously awaiting for the day when he should meet his opponent on equal terms, he superintended the whole of the preparatory arrangements, and displayed the same persevering zeal as he did in the grander scenes in which he was afterwards called to act.

On the morning of the 10th of September, 1813, Commodore Perry's fleet—consisting of the brig *Lawrence*, of twenty guns; the *Niagara*, of twenty; the *Caledonia*, of three; the schooner *Ariel*, of four; the *Scorpion*, of two; the *Somers*, of two guns and two swivels; the sloop *Trippe*, the Schooner *Tigress*, and the *Porcupine*, carrying each one gun only, and making in the aggregate fifty-four guns—was lying in Put-in Bay. The British fleet, commanded by Commodore Barclay, were discovered—consisting of the ship *Detroit*, carrying nineteen guns; the *Queen Charlotte*, seventeen; the schooner *Lady Prevost*, thirteen; the brig *Hunter*, ten; the sloop *Little Belt*, three; and the schooner *Chippeway*, one,—making a difference of nine guns in favour of the British. Commodore Perry, preserving the weather-gage of his antagonist, bore up to the windward, and formed his squadron in line of battle. The enemy commenced firing, and as he mounted long twenty-four, eighteen, and twelve-pounders, his fire became destructive. The commodore, observing this inequality of fire, and his own ship being the principal sufferer, made the signal for close action. The *Lawrence* was in this situation, exposed for upwards

of two hours to a fire so destructive and tremendous, that every brace and bowline was shot away, every gun rendered useless, and the greater part of her crew either killed or wounded.

Commodore Perry lay in the *Lawrence* between the *Queen Charlotte* and the *Detroit*, with the schooners *Ariel* and *Scorpion* on his weather-bow.

While the battle was thus raging, the gun-boats, on which so much depended in such a crisis, and which, from the facility of their management were capable of such speedy and effectual annoyance of the enemy, did but little or no execution.

This is a broad outline of the action, and of the situation of the respective ships at this critical moment. Commodore Perry, finding that no more effective hostility could be done in the *Lawrence*, hastily left her in the charge of his brave and gallant lieutenant, Yarnall, and immediately proceeded on board the *Niagara*, bearing the commodore's flag, on which was inscribed the dying words of the brave *Lawrence*, "*Don't give up the ship.*" He passed the line of the enemy, exposed to the full hazard of their musketry, still standing in the boat, a marked and pointed object, until he was forcibly pulled down by his own men. When he arrived on board the *Niagara*, the crew of the *Lawrence*—the few remaining crew—gave three cheers, on account of the safety of their beloved commander. Commodore Perry said, addressing Captain Elliot, "Do you see those infernal gun-boats—they have lost us the victory." "No," exclaims his confederate, "do you take command of this ship, and I will bring up the boats." This was what Commodore Perry so delicately mentions in his letter to the secretary of the navy, that Captain Elliot anticipated his wishes, in bringing up the boats.

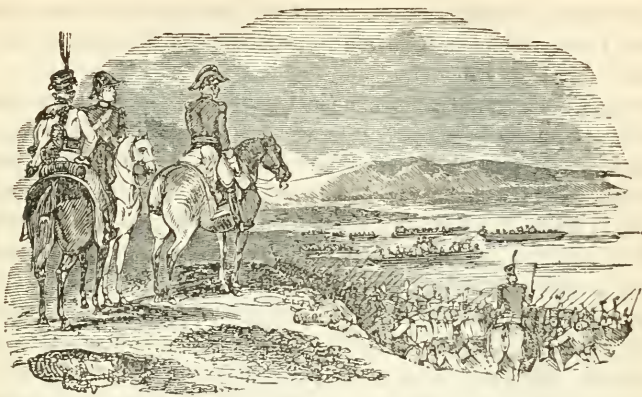
A fresh breeze springing up at this moment, Commodore Perry availed himself of this favourable opportunity, and plunged through the enemy's line, giving them a raking fire from the right and left. Captain Elliot, in the mean time, having brought up the gun-boats, did vigorous execution by plying them in different directions, for which kind of naval service they are so admirably adapted. The enemy, over whom victory seemed to hover until this moment, were compelled to strike their flags; and Captain Barclay, who was fainting below from the loss of blood, being carried on deck, agreed that nothing better could be done.

On board the *Lawrence* twenty-two were killed and sixty-one wounded. On board the *Niagara* two were killed and twenty-five wounded. On board the *Caledonia* three were wounded; and on board the *Ariel* two. On board the *Trippe* and the *Scorpion* two only were wounded in each—making, in the whole, one hundred and twenty-three in killed and wounded. The number of the enemy's killed and wounded is not known.

During this sanguinary battle, the *Lawrence*, after Commodore Perry had left her, was compelled to strike her colours, but, the British not being able to take possession, the flag was afterwards rehoisted.

It was thought by many persons in the fleet at the time of the battle, that Captain Elliot might have come into close action before Commodore Perry boarded his vessel; and Perry himself expressed this opinion, and called on the proper authorities for an official inquiry into the matter, some time after. This gave rise to a controversy which has not yet terminated, during which much nautical language, much special pleading, and many diagrams have been employed to show that if there was any fault it was Perry's and not Elliot's. But public opinion chose to regard Perry as the hero of the day, at the time of the battle, and the lapse of upwards of thirty years has not served to depress his reputation in public estimation, notwithstanding the violence with which it has been assailed. If there ever was a victory won by the extraordinary exertions of the commander-in-chief, it was this on Lake Erie. There were many circumstances against him—such as the superior force of the enemy, the sickness of many of his men, while those of the British are admitted to have been all in health, and the fact that he received no support from the *Niagara* until his own ship was disabled, and he was compelled to shift his flag. It is upon these broad and undisputable facts, that his countrymen have assigned him a place in the very highest rank of their naval commanders, from which detraction can never remove him. His memory and his noble character will be cherished to the latest time as a portion of the nation's inheritance of glory.

The battle of Lake Erie reduced General Proctor to extreme distress, depriving him of access to supplies and reinforcements, while his stock of provisions had become quite inadequate for his own troops and the numerous Indians who had joined his standard. On the arrival, therefore, in the end of September, of General Harrison at Detroit, he did not attempt to maintain his position at Amherstburg, but retreated up the river Thames. The other crossed the lake and pursued him closely with three thousand five hundred troops, while Proctor was deserted by most of his Indians, of whom he had now only about five hundred, with eight hundred whites. At the Moravian town, on the 5th of October, he took up a strong position, flanked by the river on one side, and a wood on the other, where he hoped to render unavailing the superior numbers of the enemy. Harrison, however, had with him a body of combatants yet unknown in warfare, the Kentucky mounted riflemen, accustomed to ride through the woods, using their weapon with almost preternatural skill. Their very novelty, he justly hoped, would make a strong impression. Following his instructions, they received the fire of their opponents, then galloped forward, and in a few minutes completely broke the British ranks, spreading



GENERAL HARRISON CROSSING LAKE ERIE.

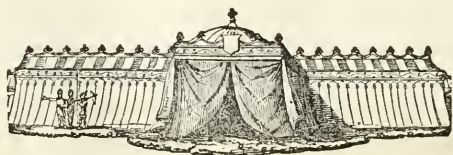
among them a general confusion. The severest conflict was with the Indians, who lost their chief, Tecumseh, one of the bravest of the brave, stamped a hero by the hand of nature, and equally distinguished by policy and eloquence. The main object of his life had been to unite his followers in a grand confederacy against American encroachment. In enmity to them he had warmly attached himself to the cause of the British, and aided them in successive victories. He was shot through the head by Colonel Johnson, a member of Congress. General Proctor retreated to Ancaster, where he could rally only two hundred men, with whom he joined the Niagara army. Harrison, also, having thus recovered Michigan, and conquered the western districts, marched to reinforce his countrymen in that quarter.

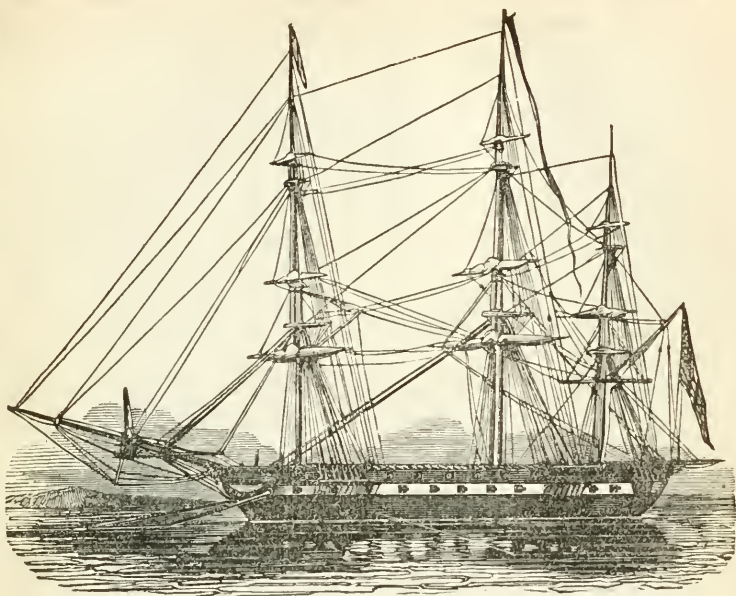
The Americans now formed a plan of operations on a grander scale, directed against Montreal, the success of which would have placed in their hands the whole of Upper Canada. In this enterprise, two armies were destined to co-operate; one consisting of nearly six thousand under Major-general Hampton, from Lake Champlain; and the other amounting to eight thousand eight hundred, under Major-general Wilkinson, from Grenadier Island, near Sackett's Harbour, on Lake Ontario. As the city was defended by a very small proportion of the regular soldiers, who were chiefly employed in the upper province, Hampton hoped, by pushing vigorously forward, to capture the place with little difficulty. But having passed the frontier in the end of October, he found on the banks of the river Chateaguay, the advanced corps of eight hundred British with a hundred and seventy-two Indians, commanded by Lieutenant-colonels De Salaberry and McDonnell. These officers posted their troops so judiciously

amid woods, and so skilfully concealed the smallness of their number, that the Americans, though they made several brisk attacks, were always repulsed; and Hampton, believing himself opposed by a large force, determined to retreat.

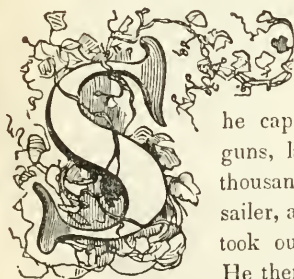
Meantime, the larger expedition, under General Wilkinson, having crossed Lake Ontario, entered the river St. Lawrence. At Williamsburg, two considerable detachments were landed in order at once to clear the banks and to lighten the boats while descending the rapids. On the 11th November, one of these, under Major-general Boyd, encountered Lieutenant-colonel Morrison with an inferior British force. A very obstinate conflict ensued, in which both parties claimed the victory. Near Cornwall, the commander received despatches from General Hampton, intimating that he declined the expected co-operation, and intended to fall back upon Lake Champlain. Wilkinson then conceived it necessary to give up, for this season, any attempt upon Montreal, especially as he found the population altogether hostile to the States, and attached to the British government. He therefore placed his army in winter quarters, near French Mills on the Salmon river, where he formed a plan for attacking Prescott and Kingston; but finding himself much straitened for provisions, was induced to fall back upon Plattsburg.

Meantime, the employment of the main army of the Americans in this abortive expedition, enabled their opponents to resume the offensive on the Niagara frontier. On the first intelligence of the disasters sustained in the west, General Vincent had been ordered to fall back upon Kingston; but he considered that circumstances now justified him in maintaining his position. The American force in this quarter was not only reduced, but was under the command of Major-general McClure, an officer of little spirit or enterprise. On the advance of a strong detachment under Colonel Murray, he first fell back upon Fort George, then abandoned that post, previous to which, he reduced the adjoining town of Newark to ashes. Murray was not content with driving him beyond the river: he crossed it, surprised and stormed Fort Niagara, taking above four hundred prisoners, with a large quantity of arms and stores. The English afterwards surprised and plundered the villages of Lewiston, Black Rock, and Buffalo, where they retaliated not very considerably the outrages of McClure at Fort George.





NAVAL CAMPAIGN OF 1813.



SOME of the earliest victories on the ocean in the year 1813, were obtained by the gallant Lawrence. On the 10th of February, he captured the English brig *Resolution*, of ten guns, laden with provisions and about twenty-five thousand dollars in specie, but, as she was a dull sailer, and he could not spare hands to man her, he took out the money and the crew, and burnt her. He then ran down the coast for Maranham, and, after cruising near that place and Surinam, till the 23d of February, he stood for Demarara. On the next morning, he discovered a brig to leeward, and chased her so near the shore that he was obliged to haul off for want of a pilot. During the chase, however, he had discovered a vessel at anchor outside of the bar of Demarara river, with English colours flying, and now began beating round the Corobano bank to get at her; when, between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, another sail was seen on his weather quarter, edging down for him. As she approached, she hoisted English colours, and proved to be the British brig *Peacock*, Captain Peake. The *Hornet* was immediately cleared for action and kept close

to the wind, in order to get the weather-gage of the approaching vessel. At ten minutes past five, finding that he could weather the enemy Captain Lawrence hoisted American colours, tacked, and, in about a quarter of an hour, passed the British ship within half pistol-shot, and exchanged broadsides. The enemy was now in the act of wearing, when Captain Lawrence bore up, received his starboard broadside, and ran him close on board on the starboard quarter; from which position he kept up so close and bloody a fire, that in less than fifteen minutes from the commencement of the action, the British struck their colours, and hoisted a signal of distress. Lieutenant Shubrick instantly went on board, and found that she was cut to pieces, her captain killed, many of the crew killed and wounded, her mainmast gone by the board, six feet water in the hold, and sinking very fast. The two ships were immediately brought to anchor, and the *Hornet's* boats despatched to bring off the wounded; but, although her guns were thrown overboard, the shot holes which could be got at plugged, and every exertion made by pumping and bailing to keep her afloat, so completely had she been shattered that she sunk before the prisoners could be removed, carrying down thirteen of her crew, as well as three men belonging to the *Hornet*. Lieutenant Connor, and the other officers and men employed in removing the prisoners, narrowly escaped by jumping into a boat, as the *Peacock* went down; and four seamen of the *Hornet* ran up into the foretop at the same time, and were taken off by the boats.

The *Peacock* was deemed one of the finest ships of her class in the British navy. In size she was about equal to the *Hornet*; but, in guns and men, the *Hornet* was somewhat, though very little, her superior; and by no means so much so as to give her any decided advantage. The loss on board the *Peacock* could not be precisely ascertained. Captain Peake was twice wounded, the second time mortally. Four men were found dead on board. The master and thirty-two others were wounded, three of whom afterwards died. The *Hornet* had only one man killed, and two slightly wounded. Her rigging and sails were much cut, but her hull received very little injury. During the engagement, the vessel which the *Hornet* had been endeavouring to reach before the *Peacock* bore down, lay at anchor within six miles, and as she was a brig—the *Espiegle*—carrying fifteen thirty-two pound carronades and two long nines, it was supposed that she would attack the *Hornet*, after the latter had been disabled by the combat. The *Hornet* was immediately prepared to receive her, and, by nine o'clock at night, her boats were stowed, a new set of sails bent, and every thing ready for action. She, however, declined coming out. The next morning, Captain Lawrence found that he had two hundred and seventy souls on board the *Hornet*, and, as his crew had for some time been on short allowance, resolved to steer for the United States. The

THE PEACOCK SUNK BY THE HORNET.



officers of the *Peacock* received from those of the *Hornet* the most humane and honourable treatment; so penetrated with gratitude were they for the kindness which they had experienced, that they could not restrain the expression of their feelings till they reached England, but, on their arrival in the United States, published a letter of thanks to Captain Lawrence and his officers, in which they declared that such was the liberality displayed to them, that "they ceased to consider themselves prisoners." Nor was the rough generosity of the *Hornet's* crew less honourable. As the sailors of the *Peacock* had lost every thing except what they had on their backs, when she went down, the crew of the *Hornet* united to relieve them; and made every English sailor a present of two shirts and a blue jacket and pair of trowsers; a true-hearted liberality, which raises them in our estimation higher than even their victory.

Captain Lawrence returned to New York in safety, and, besides the applause which his country lavished upon him for his good conduct, had the satisfaction of learning, as we have already observed, that he had been promoted during his absence, and his rank settled to his perfect satisfaction. Soon after his return he was ordered to the command of the frigate *Constitution*, with the temporary superintendence of the navy yard at New York. But the next day, to his great regret, he received instructions to repair to Boston, and take command of the *Chesapeake* frigate, then nearly ready for sea. This appointment was peculiarly unpleasant, because the *Chesapeake* was not only considered as one of the very worst ships in the navy, but, in consequence of her disgrace in the rencontre with the *Leopard*, laboured under that dispiriting stigma among sailors, of being an "unlucky ship." These circumstances, combined with the state of his family, made Captain Lawrence unwilling to go to sea immediately, and he, therefore, requested to retain his situation in the *Hornet*. Disappointed in this wish, he then took command of the *Chesapeake*, at Boston, where he had been but a short time, when the British frigate *Shannon*, Captain Broke, appeared before the harbour, for the avowed purpose of seeking a combat with the *Chesapeake*. Stung with the repeated disasters of the British frigates, this officer resolved to make an effort to retrieve them; and, when he deemed his ship perfectly prepared for that purpose, sent a formal challenge to Captain Lawrence.

"As the *Chesapeake*"—his letter began—"appears now ready for sea, I request you will do me the favour to meet the *Shannon* with her, ship to ship, to try the fortune of our respective flags. To an officer of your character, it requires some apology for proceeding to further particulars. Be assured, sir, that it is not from any doubt I entertain of your wishing to close with my proposal, but merely to provide an answer to any objection that might be made—and very reasonably—upon the chance of our receiving unfair support." After observing that Commodore Rodgers had

not accepted several verbal challenges which he had given, Captain Broke then proceeds to state very minutely the force of the *Shannon*, and offers to send all British ships out of reach, so that they might have a fair combat, at any place within a certain range along the coast of New England, which he specified; if more agreeable, he offers to sail together, and to warn the *Chesapeake*, by means of private signals, of the approach of British ships of war, till they reach some solitary spot—or to sail with a flag of truce to any place out of the reach of British aid, so that the flag should be hauled down when it was deemed fair to begin hostilities. "I entreat you, sir," he concludes, "not to imagine that I am urged by mere personal vanity to the wish of meeting the *Chesapeake*, or that I depend only upon your personal ambition for your acceding to this invitation. We have both nobler motives. You will feel it as a compliment, if I say that the result of our meeting may be the most grateful service I can render to my country; and I doubt not that you, equally confident of success, will feel convinced that it is only by repeated triumphs in even combats, that your little navy can now hope to console your country for the loss of that trade it can no longer protect."

The style of this letter, with the exception of the puerile bravado about Commodore Rodgers, is frank and manly; and, if the force of the *Shannon* were correctly stated, would be such a challenge as might well be sent from a brave seaman to a gallant adversary. We, however, are but too well satisfied that Captain Broke studiously underrated the number of his guns and crew; or that, after his challenge, he must have received additions to both. That the *Shannon* had more guns than the number stated by her commander, we learn from the testimony of the surviving officers of the *Chesapeake*; who also assert that she had three hundred and seventy-six men; that she had an officer and sixteen men from the *Belle Poule*; and that the hats of some of her seamen were marked "*Tenedos*." Such as it was, however, this letter, most unfortunately, never reached Captain Lawrence. If he had received it—if he had been thus warned to prepare his ship—if he had had an opportunity of selecting his officers and disciplining his crew—if, in short, he had been able to place the *Chesapeake* on any thing like equal terms with the *Shannon*, the combat might have been more bloody—there might have been such an engagement as has not yet been seen between single ships on the ocean; though we cannot suffer ourselves to doubt the result of it. But he knew nothing of this challenge—he saw only the *Shannon* riding before him in defiance; he remembered the spirit with which he himself had overawed a superior, and he could not brook, for a moment, that an enemy, which seemed to be his equal, should insult his flag. Although, therefore, the *Chesapeake* was comparatively an inferior ship—although his first lieutenant was sick on shore—although three of his lieutenants had recently left her; and, of

the four who remained, two were only midshipmen, acting as lieutenants—although part of his crew were new hands, and all of them had lost some of their discipline by staying in port—yet, as he would have gone to sea in that situation had no enemy appeared, he felt himself bound not to delay sailing on that account; and throwing himself, therefore, on his courage and his fortune, he determined at once to attack the enemy. It was on the morning of the 1st of June, 1813, that the Chesapeake sailed out of the harbour of Boston, to meet the Shannon. As soon as she got under weigh, Captain Lawrence called the crew together, and, having hoisted the white flag, with the motto of “free trade and sailors’ rights,” made a short address. His speech, however, was received with no enthusiasm; on the contrary, signs of dissatisfaction were evident, particularly from a boatswain’s mate, a Portuguese, who seemed to be at the head of the malcontents; and complaints were muttered, that they had not yet received their prize-money. Such expressions, at the eve of an action, were but ill bodings of the result of it; but Captain Lawrence, ignorant as he was of the character of his sailors, and unwilling, at such a moment, to damp their spirits by harshness, preserved his accustomed calmness, and had prize-checks at once given by the purser to those who had not received them. While this scene was passing, the Shannon, observing the Chesapeake coming out, bore away. The Chesapeake followed her till four o’clock in the afternoon, when she hauled up and fired a gun, on which the Shannon hove to. They manœuvred for some time, till, at about a quarter before six, they approached within pistol-shot, and exchanged broadsides.

These broadsides were both bloody; but the fire of the Shannon was most fortunate in the destruction of officers. The fourth lieutenant, Mr. Ballard, was mortally wounded, the sailing master was killed, and Captain Lawrence received a musket-ball in his leg, which caused great pain and profuse bleeding, but he leaned on the companion-way, and continued to order and to animate his crew. A second and a third broadside was exchanged, with evident advantage, on the part of the Chesapeake; but, unfortunately, among those now wounded on board of her, was the first lieutenant, Mr. Ludlow, who was carried below; three men were successively shot from the helm in about twelve minutes from the commencement of the action; and, as the hands were shifting, a shot disabled her foresail, so that she would no longer answer her helm, and her anchor caught in one of the afterports of the Shannon, which enabled the latter to rake her upper deck. As soon as Lawrence perceived she was falling to leeward, and that, by the Shannon’s filling, she would fall on board, he called his boarders, and was giving orders about the foresail, when he received a musket-ball in his body. The bugleman, who should have called the boarders, did not do his duty; and, at this moment, Commodore Broke,

whose ship had suffered so much that he was preparing to repel boarding, perceiving, from this accident, how the deck of the Chesapeake was swept, jumped on board with about twenty men. They would have been instantly repelled, but the captain, the first lieutenant, the sailing master the boatswain, lieutenant of marines, the only acting lieutenant on the spardeck, were all killed or disabled. At the call of the boarders, Lieutenant Cox ran on deck, but just in time to receive his falling commander, and bear him below. Lieutenant Budd, the second lieutenant, led up the boarders, but only fifteen or twenty would follow him, and with these he defended the ship till he was wounded and disabled. Lieutenant Ludlow, wounded as he was, hurried upon deck, where he soon received a mortal cut from a sabre. The marines who were engaged fought with desperate courage; but they were few in numbers; too many of them having followed the Portuguese boatswain's mate, who exclaimed, it is said, as he skulked below, "so much for not paying men their prize-money." Meanwhile the Shannon threw on board sixty additional men, who soon succeeded in overpowering the seamen of the Chesapeake, who had now no officers to lead or rally them, and took possession of the ship, which was not, however, surrendered by any signal of submission, but became the enemy's only because they were able to overwhelm all who were in a condition to resist.

As Captain Lawrence was carried below, he perceived the melancholy condition of the Chesapeake, but cried out, "Don't surrender the ship." He was taken down in the ward-room, and, as he lay in excruciating pain, perceiving that the noise above had ceased, he ordered the surgeon to go on deck, and tell the officers to fight on to the last, and never strike the colours. "They shall wave," said he, "while I live." But it was too late to resist or to struggle longer; the enemy had already possession of the ship. As Captain Lawrence's wounds would not allow of his removal, he continued in the ward-room, surrounded by his wounded officers, and, after lingering in great pain for four days, during which his sufferings were too acute to permit him to speak, or, perhaps, to think of the sad events he had just witnessed, or do more than ask for what his situation required, he died on the 5th of June. His body was wrapped in the colours of the Chesapeake, and laid on the quarter-deck, until they arrived at Halifax, where he was buried with the highest military and naval honours; the British officers forgetting, for a moment, in their admiration of his character, that he had been but lately their enemy. His pall was supported by the oldest captains in the navy then at Halifax, and no demonstration of respectful attention was omitted to honour the remains of a brave but unfortunate stranger.

Thus prematurely perished, at the age of thirty-two, this gallant and generous seaman. Lost, as he was, in the full vigour of his powers, and

with the imperfect measure of his fame, our hopes are forbidden to dwell on the fond anticipation of what he might have been, and we are left to rest with a melancholy pleasure on the qualities which his short life had already developed. Lawrence seems to have combined all the distinguished and endearing qualities; the openness of heart, the manliness of pride, the benevolence of feeling, the chivalrous courage, which our imagination ascribes to the perfection of the naval character. He was devoted to his profession, and to the service. During nearly sixteen years which he spent in the navy, he never had a furlough, except one for about six weeks. The perfect order of his ship bore testimony to his merits as a disciplinarian, while the zealous attachment of his crew proved that his discipline had not been earned by harshness or severity. His courage was of a daring and desperate cast, but it was still regulated by a calm sobriety of judgment. Indeed, the characteristic quality of Lawrence—that which most distinguished him as an officer—was coolness and perfect self-possession in the midst of danger. Of his kindness, of the warmth and generosity of his heart, which rendered him, emphatically, a favourite of the navy, his brother officers are all willing witnesses. These remembrances, however, are most cherished, where they are now most consolatory—in the bosom of his family; of the two widowed sisters, whose cares, during his infancy, he repaid with the kindest protection; of his afflicted wife, who, with three children—the youngest born since his father's death—is left to lament a loss, which the sympathy of her country may, in some degree, we trust, alleviate.

In this sanguinary engagement the destruction was nearly equal on both sides. The *Chesapeake* lost her commander and forty-seven men killed, and ninety-seven wounded, of whom fourteen afterwards died. Among these were Lieutenant Ludlow, first lieutenant of the ship, and Lieutenant Ballard, the fourth lieutenant, both excellent officers.

On the part of the *Shannon*, Captain Broke was dangerously wounded, though he has since recovered; the first lieutenant, the purser, captain's clerk, and twenty-three seamen killed, and fifty-seven persons wounded, besides Captain Broke.

The capture of the *Chesapeake* is to be ascribed wholly to the extraordinary loss of officers, (a loss without any precedent, as far as we can recollect, in naval history;) and to her falling accidentally on board the *Shannon*. During the three broadsides, while the officers of the *Chesapeake* were living, and she was kept clear of the enemy, the superiority was manifestly with the Americans. The *Chesapeake* had received scarcely any damage, while the *Shannon* had several shot between wind and water, and could with difficulty be kept afloat during the succeeding night. It was only when accident threw the *Chesapeake* on board the *Shannon*, when her officers were unable to lead on the boarders, that

Captain Broke himself—contrary, we believe, to the regulations of the British navy—left his own ship, and was able, by superior numbers, to overpower the distracted crew of the Chesapeake.

We have heard many accounts which we are very reluctantly compelled to believe, of improper conduct of the British after the capture, and of brutal violence offered to the crew of the Chesapeake. As, however, some allowances are due to the exasperated passions of the moment; something, too, to the confusion of a bloody and doubtful struggle, we are unwilling to prolong the remembrance of imputations which may be disproved, and, perhaps, have been exaggerated.

But we should wrong the memory of Captain Lawrence—we should be unjust to the officers of the American navy, with whose glory all the aspiring ambition of the country is so closely blended—if we omitted any opportunity of giving the last and fairest lustre to their fame, by contrasting their conduct with that of the enemy; or, if we forbore, from any misplaced delicacy towards our adversaries, to report circumstances connected with the fate of the Chesapeake, which throw a broad and dazzling light on the generous magnanimity of our countrymen.

When Captain Hull took the *Guerriere*, every chest, trunk, and box belonging to the officers, containing, it was known, the fruits of a long cruise, much of it against our own country, was delivered to them without examination. The very trifles which the crew of the *Constitution* saved from the *Guerriere*, before she was blown up, were scrupulously restored to the English sailors; no article of private property was touched.

When Commodore Decatur took the *Macedonian*, he purchased from Captain Carden upwards of a thousand dollars' worth of things in the ship, and Captain Carden was permitted to take the rest on shore. To such an extent was this kindness abused, that every knife and fork, every cup and saucer, every plate and dish, every chair and table, in short, every thing which Captain Carden had used, was taken on shore; and, before the *Macedonian* reached New York, the prizemaster was obliged to send on board the *United States* for the most common articles of daily use, as the prisoners had taken them all away. At the same time, the ward-room officers of the *United States* purchased their wine and other articles from the ward-room officers of the *Macedonian*.

When Commodore Bainbridge took the *Java*, all the property of all the officers and all the passengers, and the plate belonging to a high military commander, were restored instantly. The American officers would have deemed it disgraceful to retain the private property of a brother officer, even though he were an enemy and a prisoner.

When Captain Lawrence took the *Peacock*, and the officers and crew of that vessel were left destitute, the officers and crew of the *Hornet* fed and clothed them from their own stores.

When the Chesapeake was taken by the Shannon, the key of Captain Lawrence's store-room was demanded of the purser. It was given; but the purser observed, at the same time, that in the captures of the *Guerriere*, *Macedonian*, and *Java*, the most scrupulous regard was paid to the private property of the British officers; that Captain Lawrence had laid in stores for a long cruise; and that the value of them would be a great object to his widow and family, for whose use he was desirous, if possible, of preserving them. This request was not merely declined—it was haughtily and superciliously refused.

Well, then—the enemy captured the Chesapeake—they enjoyed the little private property of Captain Lawrence; but they have not taken from him any of his individual fame, nor of his country's glory. However we may mourn the sufferings of that day, the loss of the Chesapeake has not, in our estimation, varied the relative standing of the marine of the two countries; nor does it abate, in the slightest degree, any of the loftiness of our naval pretensions. The contest was wholly unequal in ships, in guns, in crews, in officers, in every thing.

The Shannon was a better ship; she had not upon her the curse of that ill-omened name, the Chesapeake. The Shannon was a stronger ship: she mounted twenty-eight eighteen pounders on the main-deck, twenty-two thirty-two pound carronades, and two long brass nines or twelves, on the spar-deck, and a large carronade amidships, *in all fifty-two guns*, besides this last heavy carronade; while the Chesapeake mounted twenty-eight eighteen pounders on the main-deck, and twenty thirty-two pound carronades, and one eighteen-pounder—chase gun—on the spar-deck, *in all forty-nine guns*.

The Shannon had a better crew. Besides her complement she had seamen from two other ships. That crew, too, had been long at sea; long in the ship; were known; were tried; and, as Commodore Broke sent a challenge, were, of course, men in whom—if they were not picked for the occasion—he knew he could confide. The Chesapeake had, on the contrary, in part, a new crew, unknown to their officers, not yet knowing their places, or the ship. The ship had not been more than a few hours at sea, and the landsmen and the landswomen had been dismissed from her on the very day of the engagement. The officers, too, although we should be the last to detract from their merits, and although the manner in which they fought their ship does them the highest honour, the officers were young and few in number, and had as yet scarcely any opportunity of disciplining or knowing their seamen; yet, under all these disadvantages, the great damage sustained by the Shannon, and the great loss of her crew, all of which took place before the boarding, warrant completely the opinion, that but for the accidental loss of officers, the victory would have been with the Chesapeake.

So far, indeed, from humbling our national pride, the stubbornness with which, in spite of its inequality, this combat was sustained, only confirms us in a belief not created by the events of that war, though not likely to be much shaken by them ; a belief formed on circumstances which even a series of naval losses cannot now control ; a belief, too, in avowing which we are quite content to incur the charge of overweening national prejudice ; that in all the qualities essential to success on the ocean, the American seamen are not equal, but superior to the British seamen. It is no merit of theirs. Nature and circumstances have made them so. But so it is ; they are physically superior ; they are morally superior. The warm and variable climate of the United States has, to a certain degree, melted the original English constitution of our ancestors, till, instead of the broad-shouldered and ruddy form of the people of Great Britain, the Americans are a thinner race of men, with less personal strength and stamina, but with more activity, more quickness, more alertness. The lower classes of people in this country, too, derive from their popular institutions more intelligence and education, they learn more, they learn easier, while the wider field for exertion, and the perfect freedom of employing themselves in their own way, gives to the American character a certain play, and vigour, and animation, not found in any other nation. The Americans, moreover, are generally younger men, more in the vigour of life. The state of our trade also renders our seamen more adventurous. They make longer voyages, in smaller ships, and brave more dangers than can be experienced in the regular and monopolized, and convoyed commerce of Great Britain. They, besides, enter into the service voluntarily, and for short periods, and their minds have more of the elasticity of freedom than the seamen entombed on board a British man of war. The effect which these circumstances might naturally be supposed to produce we have often seen. The Americans vanquished the English at sea again and again during the revolution. In the war with France, the American squadrons were at least as active, as brave, and as vigilant against the enemy, as those of England. While the two navies were together in the Mediterranean, the superiority in ships, crews, and officers was, in the opinion of every stranger, decidedly with the Americans. How that pre-eminence was sustained in the recent war need not be told. In short, the American seamen have always held that high rank on the ocean from which the casual loss of the Chesapeake, in an ill-matched combat, cannot degrade them, and which, we are sure, with the blessing of God, and a liberal policy from their country, they will always maintain.

Since the close of the war of 1812, the British historians have laboured hard to show that all the naval victories gained by the Americans, during that war, were the result of untoward accidents, or of a greatly superior force on our side. James, in his "Naval History," and Alison, in his



CAPTAIN LAWRENCE.

recent "History of Europe," have distorted facts, and made wholly unfounded statements for this purpose. But the true state of the case was directly the reverse. Our victories were won by superior gunnery and superior discipline, and their only one, where single frigates were opposed, was clearly the result of untoward accidents. By a process of careful analogy, some of our own writers have shown the grounds on which we declare our victories to have been fairly won; and yet our late enemies pretend to cite American authority for accounts of these victories, in which the national vanity of the British is grossly and systematically flattered at the expense of truth and justice.

The cruise of the *Argus*, commanded by Captain William Henry Allen, forms a portion of the brilliant naval annals of the year 1813.

On the death of Mr. Barlow, our Minister at the court of France, our government deemed it expedient to renew the negotiation. Mr. Crawford was appointed as his successor, and Captain Allen was directed to take command of the *Argus*, and to conduct our minister to the place of his destination. He accepted the appointment with his usual promptitude, and sailed with our new minister for France. He was so fortunate as to



CRUISE OF THE ARGUS.

elude the vigilance of the blockading squadron, and arrived at the port of L'Orient in twenty-three days. He informs the Secretary of the Navy, in his letter, bearing date June 12th, 1813, that "he shall immediately proceed to put in execution his orders as to the ulterior purposes of his destination."

The business here, which, from prudential motives, is so darkly hinted at, was, undoubtedly, as appears from the sequel, to sail in the Irish channel, and annoy the English commerce. It was a service, to a man fond of glory, peculiarly invidious. Such conquests were attended with no honour; and Captain Allen, in compliance with his orders, seemed peculiarly solicitous, in the discharge of this unthankful office, to make the enemy feel and confess the motives by which he was guided. The injury which he did to the British commerce is, in some of their papers, estimated to the amount of two millions. While thus employed in burning, sinking, and destroying the enemy's property, Captain Allen was peculiarly careful to distinguish his character from those who depredated for selfish purposes only. The property of the passengers was sacred from hostility; not an article of that kind would he suffer to be touched. The passengers were allowed to go below, and to take what they claimed as their own, and no hands belonging to the Argus were permitted to inspect them while they were employed in so doing. On one occasion, when a passenger had left his surtout behind him, it was sent after him in the boat. On another occasion, Captain Allen ordered one of his hands, who was detected

in the act of some petty plunder of this kind, to be flogged at the gangway. The English papers, while they were writhing under the severe injuries thus inflicted, were unanimous in their testimonials of respect to the conduct of this gallant officer, for the humanity and delicacy with which he performed a service so invidious. Probably no action of his life could more plainly distinguish his character than this; he loved danger, as much as he abhorred to plunder the defenceless.

It appears very evident, that if prudence was consulted, it was his duty to avoid an engagement. The damage which he might have done the enemy, by another species of warfare, was, beyond all comparison, greater than by risking a battle, even if fortune should decide the controversy in his favour. Even a victory ensured capture, for, alone and unsupported as he was, his own ship would, in all human probability, suffer material injury, and both the captured and the captor become the prize of one of the many frigates then swarming in the English channel. These considerations, however, would have but little weight with him. He declared, previously to his setting out, that he would run from no two-masted vessel. Anxious to quit himself of a business which he so much disliked, he sought an opportunity to act in a situation more congenial to his feelings. He burned for an encounter with an enemy even of considerably superior force, with whom he might risk an encounter; and the opportunity finally presented itself.

By the official letter of Lieutenant Watson to the Secretary of the Navy, dated at Norfolk on the 2d of March, 1815, it appears that the number of vessels captured by the *Argus* during the cruise was twenty, and that in latitude 52° 15', N. longitude 5° 50' W., on the 14th of August, 1813, at four o'clock, P. M., they discovered a large brig of war bearing down upon them, under a press of sail, and immediately prepared to receive her. The action commenced at six o'clock, and lasted till forty-seven minutes past six, during a greater part of which time the enemy, having a choice of position which enabled him to rake the *Argus* repeatedly, and to render her unmanageable from the injury done to the rigging in the early part of the action, reduced the *Argus* to a complete wreck, and she was finally compelled to strike. This result is not to be wondered at, when we consider the superior force of the enemy's vessel, which was the sloop of war *Pelican*, of twenty-one carriage-guns; viz., sixteen thirty-two pound carronades, four long sixes, and one twelve-pound carronade.* The *Argus* lost six killed in the action, five who subsequently died of their wounds, and twelve wounded. Among the killed were two midshipmen—Messrs.

* The *Argus* rated sixteen, and carried twenty guns; viz., eighteen twenty-four pound carronades, and two long twelves. The British state their loss at seven killed and wounded.

Delphy and Edwards—and among the mortally wounded was the gallant Captain Allen himself. He was desperately wounded in the early part of the action; refused to be carried below, and fainted on the deck from the loss of blood. When he was removed from his berth to the hospital, for amputation, he cast his languid eyes on his faithful comrades, and feelingly pronounced these words: “God bless you, my lads! we shall never meet again.” The following letter will speak for itself.

[Copy of a letter from John Hawker, Esq., ci-devant American vice-consul, dated]

“*Plymouth, 19th August, 1813.*

“SIR,—The situation I have had the honour to hold for many years past, of American vice-consul, calls forth my poignant feelings in the communication I have to make to you, of the death of your son, Captain Allen, late commanding the United States brig of war *Argus*, which vessel was captured on Saturday last, in the Irish channel, after a very sharp action of three-quarters of an hour, by his Britannic majesty’s ship *Pelican*.

“Early in the contest, Captain Allen lost his leg, but refused to be carried below, till, from the loss of blood, he fainted. Messrs. Edwards and Delphy, midshipmen, and four seamen, were killed; and Lieutenant Watson, the carpenter, boatswain, boatswain’s mate, and seven men wounded. Captain Allen submitted to amputation above the knee, while at sea. He was yesterday morning attended by very eminent surgical gentlemen, and removed from the *Argus* to the hospital, where every possible attention and assistance would have been afforded, had he survived; but which was not, from the first moment, expected, from the shattered state of his thigh. At eleven, last night, he breathed his last! He was sensible, at intervals, till within ten minutes of his dissolution, when he sunk exhausted, and expired without a struggle. His lucid intervals were very cheerful; and he was satisfied and fully sensible that no advice or assistance would be wanting. A detached room was prepared by the commissary and chief surgeon, and female attendants engaged, that every tenderness and respect might be experienced. The master, purser, surgeon, and one midshipman, accompanied Captain Allen, who was also attended by his two servants.

“I have communicated and arranged with the officers respecting the funeral, which will be in the most respectful, and, at the same time, economical manner. The port admiral has signified that it is the intention of his Britannic majesty’s government, that it be publicly attended by officers of rank, and with military honours. The time fixed for the procession is on Saturday, at eleven, A. M. A lieutenant-colonel’s guard, of the Royal Marines, is also appointed. A wainscot coffin has been ordered;

on the breastplate of which will be inscribed as below.* Mr. Delphy, one of the midshipmen who lost *both* legs, and died at sea, was buried yesterday, in St. Andrew's churchyard. I have requested that Captain Allen may be buried as near him, on the right, (in the same vault, if practicable,) as possible.

"I remain, respectfully, sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

"JOHN HAWKER,

"*Ci-devant American vice-consul.*

"TO GENERAL ALLEN, &c. &c. &c.

"*Providence, Rhode Island.*"

The following extract from a London paper shows the order of procession.

"*Plymouth, August 24.*

"On Saturday last, the 21st, was interred with military honours, William Henry Allen, Esq., late commander of the United States sloop-of-war Argus, who lost his left leg in an action with his majesty's sloop-of-war Pelican, J. F. Maples, Esq., captain, in St. George's channel, the 14th instant, whereof he died in the Mill Prison hospital, on the 15th following.

"PROCESSION.—Guard of honour. Lieutenant-colonel of Royal Marines, with two companies of that corps. The captains, subalterns, and field adjutant. (Officers with hatbands and scarfs.) Royal marine band. Vicar and curate of St. Andrew's. Clerk of ditto. The *Hearse*—with the corpse of the deceased captain—attended by eight seamen, late of the Argus, with crape round their arms, tied with white crape ribbon. Also eight British captains, of the royal navy, as pall-bearers, with hatbands and scarfs. Captain Allen's servants, in mourning. The officers late of the Argus, in uniform, with crape sashes and hatbands, two and two. John Hawker, Esq., late American vice-consul, and his clerks. Captain Pellowe, commissioner for prisoners of war. Dr. Magrath, chief medical officer at Mill Prison dépôt. Captains of the royal navy in port, two and two—followed by a very numerous and respectable retinue of inhabitants.

"The procession left Mill Prison at twelve o'clock. The coffin was covered with a velvet pall, and the ensign under which the action was fought, and upon that the hat and sword of the deceased were laid. On the coffin being removed to the hearse, the guard saluted; and, when deposited in the hearse, the procession moved forward, the band playing the 'Dead march in Saul.' On their arrival near the church, the guard halted

* A tablet, whereon will be recorded the name, rank, age, and character of the deceased, and also of the midshipman, will be placed, (if it can be contrived,) as I have suggested; both having lost their lives in fighting for their country.

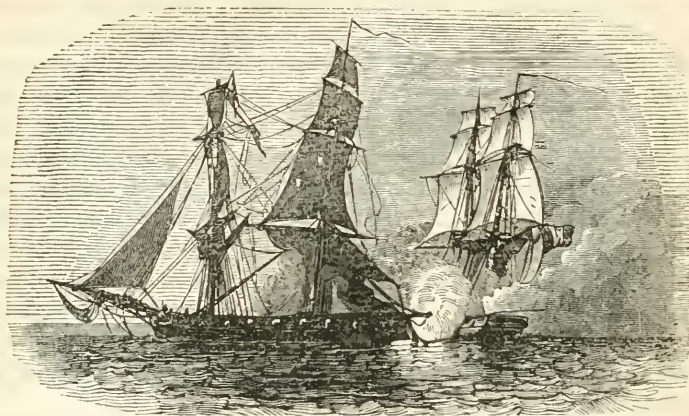


CAPTAIN ALLEN.

and clubbed arms, single files inward, through which the procession passed to the church, into which the corpse was carried, and deposited in the centre aisle, while the funeral service was read by the reverend vicar, after which it was removed and interred in the south yard, (passing through the guard in the same manner from, as to the church,) on the right of Mr. Delphy, midshipman of the *Argus*, who lost both his legs in the same action, and was buried the preceding evening."

Thus died, William Henry Allen. By the company and conversation of the elegant and polite, the hard and severe duties of the sailor acquired a sort of polish, and his character presented that combination of gallantry, grace, and intrepidity, that so irresistibly attracts. In the hour of danger, he was calm, intrepid, and persevering; in private intercourse guarded, affable, and delicate. Entering into the navy with large and expanded ideas of honour, the perils he encountered, and the hard service he endured, consolidated his romantic and floating visions into rules and principles of action. By never lowering his lofty standard amidst the jostle of so many contending difficulties, he at length arrived at the eminence which he sought, and new trials served only to call into exercise new and unexplored resources of fortitude. He had so long forsaken every other consideration for glory, that he finally measured his life by this standard, and felt a repulsive antipathy to whatever fell short of that measure.

The capture of the British brig *Boxer*, by the United States brig *Enter-*



ENTERPRISE AND BOXER

prise, commanded by Captain Burrows, is the next event worthy of notice.

On the 1st of September, the *Enterprise* sailed from Portsmouth on a cruise. On the 5th, early in the morning, they espied a brig in shore getting under way. They reconnoitered her for a while to ascertain her character, of which they were soon informed by her hoisting three British ensigns, and firing a shot as a challenge. The *Enterprise* then hauled upon a wind, stood out of the bay, and prepared for action. A calm for some time delayed the encounter; it was succeeded by a breeze from the south-west, which gave our vessel the weathergage. After manœuvring for a while to the windward, in order to try her sailing with the enemy, and to ascertain his force, the *Enterprise*, about 3 P. M., shortened sail, hoisted three ensigns, fired a gun, tacked, and ran down with an intention to bring him to close quarters. When within half pistol-shot the enemy gave three cheers, and commenced the action with his starboard broadside. The cheers and the broadside were returned on our part, and the action became general. In about five minutes after the battle had commenced, the gallant Burrows received a musket ball in his body and fell; he, however, refused to be carried below, but continued on deck through the action. The active command was then taken by Lieutenant McCall, who conducted himself with great skill and coolness. The enemy was outmanœuvred and cut up: his maintopmast and topsail-yard shot away; a position gained on his starboard bow, and a raking fire kept up, until his guns were silenced, and he cried for quarters, saying, that as his colours were nailed to the mast, he could not haul them down. The prize proved to be his Britannic majesty's brig *Boxer*, of fourteen guns. The number

of her crew is a matter of conjecture and dispute. Sixty-four prisoners were taken, seventeen of whom were wounded. How many of the dead were thrown into the sea during the action, it is impossible to say;* the British return only four as killed; courtesy forbids us to question the veracity of an officer on mere presumption; but it is ever the natural wish of the vanquished to depreciate their force; and, in truth, we have seen with regret, various instances of disingenuousness on the part of the enemy, in their statements of our naval encounters. But we will not enter into disputes of this kind. It is enough that the enemy entered into the battle with a bravado at the mast-head, and a confidence of success; this either implied a consciousness of his own force, or a low opinion of his antagonist; in either case he was mistaken. It is a fruitless task to vindicate victories against the excuses of the vanquished—sufficient for the victor is the joy of his triumph; he should allow the enemy the consolation of accounting for it.

We turn gladly from such an idle discussion to notice the last moments of the worthy Burrows. There needs no elaborate pencil to impart pathos and grandeur to the death of a brave man. The simple anecdotes given in simple terms by his surviving comrades, present more striking pictures than could be wrought up by the most refined attempts of art. "At twenty minutes past 3 P. M.," says one account, "our brave commander fell, and while lying on the deck, refusing to be carried below, raised his head, and requested that *the flag might never be struck*." In this situation he remained during the rest of the engagement, regardless of bodily pain, regardless of the life-blood fast ebbing from his wound; watching with anxious eye the vicissitudes of battle; cheering his men by his voice, but animating them still more by his glorious example. When the sword of the vanquished enemy was presented to him, we are told that he clasped his hands, and exclaimed, "I am satisfied, I die contented." He now permitted himself to be carried below, and all the necessary attentions were paid to save his life, or alleviate his sufferings. His wound, however, was beyond the power of surgery, and he breathed his last within a few hours after the victory.

The commander of the Boxer, Captain Samuel Blythe, was killed early in the action by a cannon ball; had he lived he might have defended his ship more desperately, but it is not probable with more success. He was an officer of distinguished merit; having received a sword from govern-

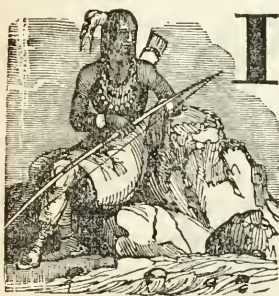
* In a letter from Captain Hull to Commodore Bainbridge, he describes the state of the Boxer when brought into port: and observes, "We find it impossible to get at the number of killed; no papers are found by which we can ascertain it. I, however, counted ninety hammocks which were in her netting, with beds in them, besides several beds without hammocks; and she had excellent accommodations for all her officers below in state-rooms, so that I have no doubt that she had one hundred men on board."

ment for his good conduct under Sir James L. Yeo, in the capture of Cayenne. He was also one of the pall-bearers of our lamented Lawrence, when buried at Halifax. It was his fate now to receive like courtesy at the hands of his enemy. His remains, in company with those of the brave Burrows, were brought to Portland, where they were interred with military honours. It was a striking and affecting sight, to behold two gallant commanders, who had lately been arrayed in deadly hostility against each other, descending into one quiet grave, there to mingle their dust peacefully together.





THE SOUTHERN WAR OF 1813.



IN the spring of 1812, the celebrated Tecumseh visited the Indian tribes in the southwest portion of our country, for the purpose of combining them into one great union against the whites. In his artful and eloquent harangues, he reminded them of the usurpation of their lands by the whites; of the spirit of encroachment characteristic of the latter, which would eventually end in the extinction of the Indians; contrasted their sedentary occupations with the wild and fearless independence of their ancestors: and denounced the vengeance of the Great Spirit against those who should imitate the manners, or worship the Gods of the whites. These powerful appeals resulted in the establishment of a strong confederacy, who merely waited an opportunity for the commencement of savage warfare.

In September, one hundred and seventeen Georgia volunteers were attacked near the Lachway towns, by a superior force of Creeks, and defeated, after killing the Indian king. General Jackson, with twenty-five hundred Tennessee troops, was then sent against the tribe, and succeeded in intimidating them for the time. Previous to this, (August 30th,) six

hundred Indians under their chief, Weatherford, attacked about half their number of settlers at Fort Mimms, near the Alabama. After a desperate conflict they cut their way into the fort, drove the garrison into the houses, and set them on fire. The ensuing tragedy was awful. Those whom the flames spared fell victims to the tomahawk; and out of three hundred men, women and children, only seventeen escaped.

On receiving news of this massacre, thirty-five hundred militia were promptly raised, and placed under the command of General Jackson. On the 3d of November, nine hundred of these, under General Coffee, attacked a party of the enemy posted at Tallushatchee. Perceiving the approach of a company of spies, sent to draw them into the field, the Indians made a furious charge, and drove them back upon the main body; where they were in turn attacked and driven into the town. Here, for a long time they maintained a desperate conflict, neither asking nor receiving quarter, until one hundred and eighty-six were killed, including, unfortunately, some women and children, who lost their lives in consequence of being mingled with the warriors. The wounded survivors, and a number of women and children, were taken prisoners. General Coffee lost five killed and forty wounded.

At midnight on the 7th of December, General Jackson set out with his whole force, to assist a body of friendly Indians, who were besieged in a fort near Talladega. The besiegers were attacked early on the 9th, and after a vigorous struggle defeated, with the loss of three hundred warriors. Fifteen Americans were killed, and eighty wounded. Want of provisions, and a mutiny among the troops, prevented General Jackson from improving this victory by a rapid pursuit of the Indians.

Meanwhile, General White, with a detachment of the East Tennessee militia, was sent against the towns of the Hillabee tribe. These Indians had suffered severely at Talladega, and offered General Jackson to accept peace at any terms. Ignorant of this, White attacked and destroyed their principal town, (November 18th,) killed sixty warriors, and returned with about two hundred and fifty prisoners. About the same time, the Georgia militia, under General Floyd, attacked the Autossee towns, (Tallapoosa river,) and after a contest of three hours, routed the Indians, and killed two hundred warriors. Their own loss was eleven killed, fifty-four wounded.

A considerable body of the enemy being posted at the bend of the Tallapoosa, near Emucfaw Creek, General Jackson determined to proceed thither immediately, both to attack them, and to make a diversion in favour of General Floyd, who was advancing into the Indian country. He arrived on the 21st, and was attacked next morning by the Indians, who made a furious charge upon his left flank; but whom he repulsed in a warm action of half an hour. At the same time, General Coffee attacked

them on the other side, and drove them into a swamp near the creek. From this they were afterwards enticed, after which they were attacked by the whole American army, and utterly routed. Soon after, (January 27th, 1813,) General Floyd obtained a similar victory in the heart of the Indian country.

On the 14th of March, General Jackson, with about three thousand men, commenced another expedition against the Creeks, which ended in the total overthrow and subjugation of that unfortunate nation. On the 27th, he reached the vicinity of Tobopeka, a strong Indian fortress on the Tallapoosa, near the Horse-shoe Bend; and having despatched General Coffee, at the head of the mounted infantry and friendly Indians, with directions to gain the southern bank, and encircle the bend, he drew up the remainder of his forces in front of the breastwork. Coffee's division scaled the ramparts with impetuosity, and in a short time drove their opponents into the brush, with which the peninsula was covered. From this they were again forced, and retreated to the southern bank, where they found General Coffee's command on the opposite shore. Driven to desperation, they took refuge behind the lofty and precipitous banks of the river, from which they occasionally fired upon their conquerors. General Jackson now sent them a flag of truce; but, perhaps, through 'mistake of its import, they fired upon it, and continued the battle. The trees and brush in which they had concealed themselves were then set on fire, and the work of slaughter and misery continued until night, when the darkness enabled the few wretched survivors to effect their escape.

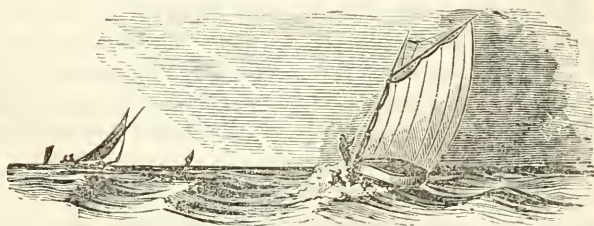
This victory was a death-blow to the power and hopes of the Creeks. Their undaunted courage, contempt of death, and loftiness of spirit are manifested by the fact, that only four men were taken prisoners, while three hundred women and children fell into the hands of the victors. But surrounded by vastly superior numbers, their destruction was inevitable; five hundred and fifty-seven warriors were found dead upon the ground, besides a great number who perished in attempting to cross the river. Fifty Americans were killed, one hundred and forty-six wounded.

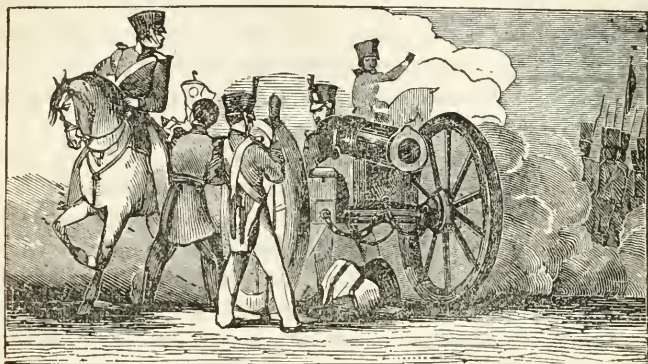
Soon after this affair, General Jackson marched to the Hickory Ground, where he was met by a deputation from the principal chiefs, who were sent to sue for peace. They agreed to retire in the rear of the army, and occupy the country east of the Coosa, while a line of American posts was established from Tennessee and Georgia, to the Alabama.

The national Congress met in extra session, May 24th, 1813. In his message, the President informed them, that the Emperor of Russia had offered to mediate between Great Britain and the United States, for the purpose of facilitating peace between them; that he had accepted the offer, and that he had commissioned John Quincy Adams, Albert Gallatin, and James A. Bayard, with full powers to conclude a treaty with the

same number of British commissioners, clothed with similar powers. At the annual session, he informed them, that contrary to expectation, England had refused to treat under the mediation of Russia. During the session, however, the Prince regent offered to appoint commissioners for a direct negotiation at London or Gottenburg. This was accepted, and Henry Clay, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Jonathan Russell, together with the commissioners already appointed, were the persons authorized to treat with the authorities of Great Britain.

During this session, Congress passed several acts, providing liberally for the payment of troops, as well as for the raising of new recruits. A loan of twenty-five millions of dollars, and the issue of treasury notes for five millions, were also authorized. Provision was also made for the increase and better organization of the navy, and for the better defence of the sea-board by means of floating batteries, and the use of steam in propelling small vessels of war. An embargo which had been laid on exports, and the importation of articles of British produce or manufacture, about three months before, was repealed, [April 14th.] The necessary business of the session having been finished, Congress adjourned on the 18th of April.





CAMPAIGN OF 1814 ON THE NORTHERN FRONTIER.

IN the winter of 1813-14, the enemy having gained possession of Fort Niagara, and being in considerable force on the opposite shore, a determination was formed to remove once more the seat of war to that frontier. Perceiving that the conflict would be arduous and sanguinary, and that the master spirits of the army alone could encounter it with any reasonable prospect of success, the executive appointed General Brown to lead the expedition, associating with him Scott, Gaines, Miller, and others, whose names have become conspicuous for all that is noble in the profession of arms.

The preceding campaign being darkened by disasters, and having failed, as many supposed, from the inability of those by whom it had been conducted, General Brown and his officers were fully sensible of the deep stake which both themselves and their country held on the issue of the present. Their hearts and minds were prepared, accordingly, to meet with firmness the force of the crisis. It is generally understood that their determination was, not to survive misfortune, which they felt assured the public would regard, under any circumstances, as the result of mismanagement, and tantamount to disgrace. They went, resolved to conquer or fall, that glory or the grave might cover them from censure.

This campaign being destined to form a fresh epoch in the history of

the war, presented from its commencement a new aspect. The movements of the army were conducted with a celerity, a silence, and a vigour, which had not been observed on any former occasion. Accordingly, General Brown had advanced on his march almost to Buffalo, before it was generally known that he had left his encampment at Sackett's Harbour.

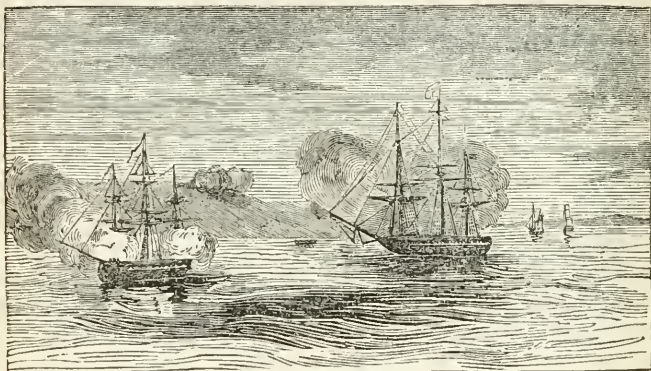
A few days previously to his passage into Upper Canada, the commanding general thus writes to his friend: "I shall, with the blessing of God, pass the strait before me the first week in July—I do not see that this army is to be assisted by the fleet of either lake, Commodore Sinclair being ordered to Mackinac: but I do not despair of success, and rely on the goodness of my cause, and the kindness of that Providence which has never forsaken me."

The first achievement of General Brown on entering the enemy's territory, was the reduction of Fort Erie, the garrison of which surrendered with but little resistance. He then declared martial law, and made known his views in a proclamation essentially different from those that had been issued by some of his predecessors. Instead of being marked with empty boastings, and threats which he was utterly unable to execute, it breathed the principles and sentiments of an upright man and an honourable warrior. It set forth that "men found in arms, or otherwise engaged in acts of hostility, should be dealt with as enemies, while those demeaning themselves peaceably, and pursuing their private business, should be treated as friends: that private property should be in all cases held sacred, but public property, wherever found, seized and disposed of by the commanding general; that plundering was strictly prohibited: that the major-general did not anticipate any difficulty in this respect from the regular army, nor from honourable volunteers, who had pressed forward to the standard of their country, to avenge her wrongs and to gain a name in arms." The proclamation further declared, that "profligate men who follow the army for plunder, must not expect to escape the vengeance of those gallant spirits who are struggling to exalt the national character."

BATTLES OF OSWEGO AND SANDY CREEK.



GENERAL BROWN, after his arrival upon the Niagara frontier, with the troops intended to act under his immediate command, having received information that the enemy was preparing an expedition from Kingston against Oswego, detached Colonel Mitchell, with his battalion of artillery, armed with muskets, to the arduous and important service of retrograding as expeditiously as possible to the defence of Oswego river, where was deposited an immense quantity of pub



SANDY CREEK.

lic property, together with the ordnance, ordnance stores, and naval equipments for the Ontario fleet at Sackett's Harbour. The colonel arrived at Oswego from Batavia, a distance of *one hundred and fifty-one miles*, in four and a half days' march, and such was the order and regularity of this rapid movement, that the soldiers were not injured, nor any left behind. The fort of Oswego was found unoccupied, and only nominally a fortification. Time had destroyed every external defence.

Indeed it was worth occupancy only on account of the barracks. The exertions preparatory to the expected attack were proportionate to the exigencies of the occasion. The guns, which had been considered as unfit for service, were reposed, and with the batteries prepared for action.

The British Ontario fleet, commanded by Sir James Lucas Yeo, having on board more than two thousand regular troops, under the command of Lieutenant-general Drummond, arrived on the morning of the fifth of May, and anchored off the fort, within the effective range of the guns of the fleet. The attack commenced, and a constant fire was kept up during the day on the fort and batteries. A powerful flotilla attempted repeatedly to land the troops; but such was the destructive effect of the artillery from the batteries, under the direction of that excellent officer, Captain Boyle, that the enemy was repulsed with great loss of men, and several of the boats. The policy of the commanding officer in pitching his tents on the left bank of the river, and his skilful manœuvring of his

troops on the right, had the desired effect to deceive the enemy with respect to his numbers. The British troops were re-embarked, the fleet left its anchorage, and the object of the expedition was apparently relinquished.

The next morning the fleet returned, and, anchoring within half cannon-shot of Captain Boyle's batteries, renewed and continued the cannonade with great vigour. Captain Boyle and Lieutenant Legate were not idle. Their batteries and skilful arrangements protected their men, whilst the British ship, the *Wolf*, suffered severely in men, masts, and rigging. She was repeatedly set on fire with hot shot.

Colonel Mitchell, knowing the fort to be untenable, and finding it impossible to prevent the landing of the enemy, who was now approaching the shore at different points in great force, informed his officers of his determination to fight as long as the honour of our arms and the interest of his country should require it, and afterwards effect a retreat to the main dépôt, at the Falls, the protection of which was the great object of his march.

When the enemy, under the cover of the fleet, had landed and advanced on the plain, the firing from the shipping and gun-boats ceased. Colonel Mitchell took this favourable opportunity to deploy his battalion from a ravine in rear of the fort, where he had been compelled to remain, to avoid the immense shower of grape from the whole fleet. He now, with Spartan bravery, advanced with two companies, under the command of Captain Melvin and Lieutenant Ansart, (the latter commanding the excellent company of Captain Romaine, who was detached on important duty on the left bank of the river,) and attacked the enemy advancing to the fort, whilst Captain McIntire and Captain Pierce gallantly engaged and beat off a vastly superior force of the enemy's light troops, who had been detached for the purpose of preventing a retreat. Captain Boyle kept up a deadly fire on the boats landing, and on the enemy advancing. The contest was as daring as it was unequal; for the ground was maintained by the Americans against the main body of the enemy, until a party of them had carried Captain Boyle's batteries, and ascended the bastions of the fort in rear of his left flank. Colonel Mitchell says, in his report, that having done the enemy as much harm as was in his power, "he retreated in good order." The force of the enemy on shore was much more than *two thousand* soldiers and sailors, whilst the Americans did not exceed *three hundred* soldiers, and about thirty sailors, under the gallant Lieutenant Pearce, of the navy.

The entire loss of the enemy, in his several attacks on Colonel Mitchell's position, was upwards of *two hundred and eighty* in killed and wounded, including among the latter several officers, while that of the Americans did not exceed fifty in number.

The determined bravery displayed by our troops in the field and on the retreat, merits the admiration and applause, not only of the army, but of the whole nation. Colonel Mitchell wore his full uniform on the day of action, and, while retreating, was particularly singled out by the British officers as a mark for the aim of their sharp-shooters. The colonel, on his retreat, dismounted under a brisk and galling fire of musketry, and gave his horses to Captain Pierce, who was exhausted in consequence of ill health, and to a wounded serjeant, thereby saving them, by his bravery and humanity, from the bayonets of a *mortified* and *exasperated* foe.

Colonel Mitchell reported, in the warmest language, the gallant conduct of his whole detachment. Those excellent officers, whose names have not been mentioned in this sketch, but who ought, from their heroism, to be made known to their country, were Adjutant Charles Macomb, Lieutenant Daniel Blaney, Lieutenant William King, Lieutenant Robb, Lieutenant William McClintock, and Lieutenant Charles Newkirk. Lieutenant Blaney, from Delaware, a young officer of high promise, and a favourite in the corps, was killed gallantly fighting at the head of his platoon. He rests in the tomb of honour.

The result of this affair was a victory to the Americans. In consequence of their obstinate resistance at the fort, persevered in for two entire days, the enemy relinquished the whole object of the expedition. Public property to the amount of more than a million of dollars was saved.

This was the first affair in General Brown's brilliant campaign. It was the precursor of the glory afterwards achieved on the Niagara frontier, by those distinguished troops who were ordered by the commanding general, when they "*should come in contact with the enemy, to bear in mind Oswego and Sandy Creek.*"

The patriotic General Ellis, with his brigade, the militia of the neighbourhood, and the Indian warriors of the Oneida and Onondaga nations, made expeditious marches to join Colonel Mitchell, and afford protection to the important depôt he had been despatched to protect. The colonel was further reinforced by a detachment of riflemen, under the command of Major Appling, of the United States army. The enemy, although prepared with proper pilots and boats to ascend the river, made no further attempts to accomplish his important object, which would have given him the undisputed superiority of the lake during the remainder of the war. The enemy having raised a few navy guns, that were sunk by Captain Woolsey, burnt the barracks, and robbed some of the inhabitants, with great precipitation, on the same night, abandoned the fort, and returned without a single laurel on his brow. Another expedition terminated in the plunder of private property at Sodus, and a complete defeat at the mouth of Genesee river by militia, under the command of that excellent officer, General Peter B. Porter.

The commanding officer of the Canadas, being foiled in his attempts to capture the public stores on the Oswego river, now blockaded and threatened Sackett's Harbour, with the double view of making a diversion in favour of the British army on the Niagara frontier, and, at the same time, of retarding and intercepting all transportation by water.

In this situation, Sackett's Harbour was considered in danger. Colonel Mitchell was ordered to reinforce that post. He left Oswego Falls in command of Major Appling, with orders as soon as Captain Woolsey should be ready to sail, to embark his riflemen on board the flotilla, for its protection against the light boats of the enemy. Captain Woolsey, by his well-directed *demonstrations and reports*, having induced the enemy off Oswego, to believe that all the guns and naval stores were to be sent up the Oneida Lake, to be transported to the harbour by land, soon found a favourable opportunity to run his boats with the heavy cannon, anchors, and cables, into Lake Ontario. Every exertion was made, and every precaution taken in this important and hazardous enterprise, to run by the blockading squadron in the night, into Sackett's Harbour. Captain Woolsey escaped discovery until he arrived near the mouth of Sandy Creek, when he was observed by a detachment of gun-boats, manned with upwards of *two hundred* choice sailors and marines from the fleet, under the command of Captain Popham, of the royal navy. Captain Woolsey wisely ran his boats, protected by riflemen, up Sandy Creek, as far as practicable, and gave information to General Gaines and Commodore Chauncey of his situation. The next morning, being the thirtieth of May, Captain Popham ascended Sandy Creek with his gun-boats, in the expectation that the rich and important prize in view, (*viz.*, all the guns, cables, and anchors for the ships *SUPERIOR* AND *MOHAWK*.) would be obtained without much danger or opposition. The marines were landed and put in order of battle. The gun-boats, forming a powerful battery, were placed in a situation to co-operate with them. At this moment, Major Appling, who was in the woods near the place of landing, advanced and opened on them a fatal fire. It was returned by the enemy; but his artillery and musketry had no effect. The contest was hot. The enemy falling in every direction under the unerring aim of the American marksmen, soon surrendered. Our whole loss on the occasion was one killed and two wounded. The loss of the enemy was fifty-six killed and wounded, including officers. Two post-captains, four lieutenants of the navy, and a hundred and fifty-six sailors and marines were made prisoners.

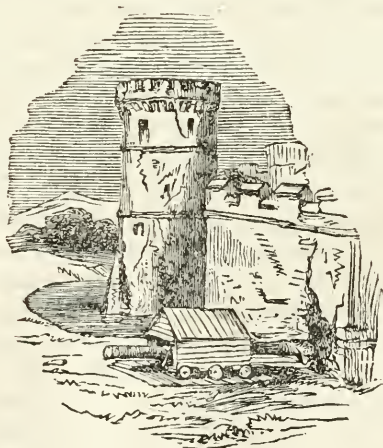
Four gun-boats, mounting one sixty-eight pound carronade, one long twenty-four pounder, one long twelve-pounder, one five and a half inch cohorn, with Sir James Yeo's elegant gig, and a large quantity of ordnance stores, were the trophies of this important victory.

The riflemen under the gallant Major Appling were the only troops

engaged. They did not exceed one hundred and twenty in officers and men. The Indian warriors and militia were not on the battle-ground until after a proposal was made to surrender.

Colonel Mitchell, who arrived with reinforcements immediately after the action, reported to General Gaines, that "Major Appling planned and executed this brilliant affair, so honourable to our arms, so deserving of the applause of the nation, and so important as affecting the ulterior operations of the campaign."

Major Appling was deservedly raised by brevet in quick succession, to the rank of lieutenant-colonel and colonel: he received, moreover, the thanks of the President of the United States, and the applause of the commanding general of the army. *for* this distinguished achievement





BATTLE OF CHIPPEWA.



O sooner had the general made the necessary arrangements in relation to the occupancy and security of Fort Erie, than he marched to attack the enemy, who lay intrenched in his works at Chippewa. This was by every one considered as a daring, by many as a rash and hazardous, measure. But something signal being necessary to redeem the reputation which had been lost in the events of former campaigns, difficulties and dangers and remonstrances were disregarded. They even increased the anxiety for action, inasmuch as they would add to the glory of victory. The general's plans and determinations were formed, and nothing that human resolution, aided by all the means in his power, was capable of surmounting, could restrain him from boldly attempting their execution. The wished-for moment at length arrived. The enemy venturing from behind his intrenchments, the battle was fought on an open plain, and, though not of long duration, was severe and sanguinary. The result is known. The soldiers and officers of Wellington, who had wrested the laurels from the veterans of France, were defeated by a detachment from the American army. The only troops engaged, on the part of General Brown, were General Scott's brigade, and a corps of volunteers com-

manded by General Porter. The remainder of the army, although burning for combat, had no opportunity of coming into action. Scott's brigade, in particular, animated by the example, and directed by the skill of its gallant and distinguished leader, performed little less than prodigies of valour. Wherever that band of heroes—for such they were—directed their fire or pointed their bayonets, the boasted “conquerors of the Peninsula” fled or fell. Nor were the volunteers under Porter wanting in achievement. They manifested great coolness and bravery, and participated not a little in the honours of the day. The British fought on ground deliberately chosen by themselves, as most suitable to their discipline and plan of action, and the number of troops they had engaged—all regulars—was considerably superior to that of the Americans. Notwithstanding this, their discomfiture was complete, and their loss very considerable. Their works alone, behind which they retreated, preserved them from certain and irretrievable ruin. Such was the chastisement they received in this affair, that, although battle was soon afterwards offered them again, on their own terms, as will appear from an extract of a letter from General Brown, they felt no disposition to accept the challenge.

The general, discovering that unfounded reports were in circulation respecting some of the results of this battle, as well as the relative numbers of the combatants, felt indignant at the ungenerous effort thus made to detract from the well-merited fame of his army. To correct the honest errors that were afloat, and counteract the wilful misrepresentations that were but too industriously propagated on this subject, he loses no time in making public the following statement: “We have ascertained to a certainty that the loss of the enemy was nearer six than four hundred. Great injustice is done to my brave companions in arms, in overrating our numbers. The enemy *had more regular troops than we had engaged*, and that upon a perfect plain, without a stump or a shrub to interpose. Besides, General Ryal had planned his order of battle at leisure, and came from behind his works in perfect condition for action.” Shortly after the action at Chippewa, the general thus writes to his friend from Queens-town: “Hoping and believing that the enemy would make another struggle in the field, if pressed on his strong ground, supported by his forts on the height, I left all my baggage under a strong guard, and passed on with three days’ provision in our haversacks. The enemy fled before us, abandoning his fort on the height, and burning his barracks. He has retired for the present to Fort Niagara and Fort George. I shall rest my army here a few days, taking care that the enemy shall not escape by land, and with the hope of hearing from Commodore Chauncey. I am in no condition to invest Forts George and Niagara without his aid and my battering guns, which I expect him to bring me from the harbour. My ability to face the enemy in the field I do not doubt, and I shall not hesi-

tate to meet him presently should he again offer me battle. I have now seen the falls of Niagara in all their majesty, and my camp is situated in a country affording the most sublime and beautiful scenery. I can fancy nothing equal to it, except the noble contest of gallant men on the field of battle, struggling for their country's glory and their own."

From Queenstown, where he had been for a short time stationary, General Brown marched with a part of his army down towards Fort George. His object in this movement, besides reconnoitering the enemy, was to be near to the shores of Lake Ontario, hoping that he might there receive some intelligence respecting Commodore Chauncey and the fleet. Being disappointed in this expectation, he returned after a few days to his station at Queenstown. The enemy, in the mean time, were not inactive. Having received large supplies, and no inconsiderable addition to their numbers, they concentrated their forces in the peninsula between Burlington and Erie, and felt themselves in a condition to offer battle. The proposal was eagerly embraced by the American general and his brave associates.

The British army, commanded by Lieutenant-general Drummond in person, aided by Major-general Ryal and other skilful and distinguished officers, fought again on its own ground. It had selected a spot favourable for action, not far distant from the Falls of Niagara. The Americans, who were again the assailants, made the attack in the evening, led on, as at Chippewa, by General Scott. The battle raged for several hours with unabated fury, the troops having no other light to direct their movements, and conduct their steps to mutual slaughter, but the dismal gleam of their own arms. That wonder of nature, the adjacent falls, might equal, but could not, in grandeur and magnificence, surpass the scene which this conflict presented. Never was there a field more obstinately contested, nor, considering the numbers engaged and the duration of the struggle, a broader display of individual heroism. The enemy, although superior in numbers at the commencement of the action, and reinforced by a considerable body of fresh troops during its continuance, were compelled to yield to American valour. Four times did their bravest troops charge, to regain their artillery which had been wrested from them, and as often were they compelled to fall back in dismay. Their loss, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was upwards of a thousand men. Among the latter were Major-general Ryal and twenty other commissioned officers, some of them of rank. The loss on the American side, although somewhat less, was by no means trifling. General Brown was himself severely wounded; and among the slain was one of his aids; a youth of accomplished manners and exalted promise. The intrepid Scott, who was to be found only where slaughter was thickest and danger most threatening, received a wound which, for some time, deprived his country of his services in the field.

The severity of General Brown's wounds compelled him to a temporary retirement from service. But in the space of a few weeks we find him again at the head of his army, no longer, indeed, in the field, but within the walls of Fort Erie. In the interim our troops in that fortress had been much harassed and pressed by the enemy, now become superior in a still higher degree by reinforcements, and exasperated to madness by their late defeats. An assault of the works had been attempted, but was gallantly repelled by the American forces then under the command of General Gaines. Not long afterwards that excellent officer received a serious wound from the bursting of a shell, which obliged him also to retire for a time from the service of his country.

Menaced in front by a powerful enemy, and having a river of difficult passage in their rear, the troops in Fort Erie began to be considered in a very perilous situation. The solicitude for the safety of men, who, by acquiring glory for themselves, had conferred it on their country, became universal and great. For a time every eye seemed directed towards Erie, and every American heart felt a deep interest in the fate of those heroic spirits who had fairly conquered the "conquerors of the peninsula." But to a commander whose mind is firm, collected, and rich in resources, difficulties are but the harbingers of fresh triumphs. While General Drummond was engaged in formidable arrangements intended for the destruction of the American forces, General Brown was still more actively and sagaciously employed in devising means for their safety and glory.





DEFENCE OF FORT ERIE.



THE following account of the defence of Fort Erie is contained in a letter from an officer who was present :

New York, Nov. 15, 1815.

DEAR SIR,—Your letter of the 4th instant, requesting me “to furnish you with such particulars of the siege and defence of Fort Erie as came under my observation,” has been received.

I assure you nothing could give me greater pleasure than to see that memorable scene of military achievement properly noticed ; and as the peace now furnishes the historian an opportunity for that purpose, I shall most cheerfully communicate any information in my power that can facilitate his labours. I have thought this object the more desirable, as no detailed account of the siege has as yet made its appearance ; and the public, with nothing before them but the official accounts of a few leading circumstances, and perhaps some shreds of miscellaneous information from other quarters, have been very unlikely to form correct ideas of it. An instance of this may be found in the prevailing impres-

sion as to the size and structure of the works besieged; of which—although circumstances of no small importance in estimating the defence—very little appears to be correctly known. With respect to the size, for example, it is generally supposed to have been quite small, as the original Fort Erie was known to be so; and very few are aware that the name used in the reports of our generals was intended to apply to any other work. This circumstance, I am inclined to think, has had a very considerable negative influence on the public opinion of our siege, and I am more particular to notice it on that account, that I may have an opportunity of correcting the error. With this view, therefore, I observe, that the *Fort Erie which was besieged and defended* was in reality not a fort, but a camp; unprotected by any peculiarity of situation, and, at the time of its investment, equally so by any effective artificial means. The small unfinished Fort Erie, it is true, gave it a shadow of defence on one side; but with only three guns mounted in any direction, it was indeed only a shadow. In the course of the siege, however, other more efficient defences were added to it, breastworks and traverses were thrown up, and batteries erected, and these works, instead of being beaten down or even retarded in their progress by the fire of the besiegers, grew into strength and importance in the very face of their cannon—a fact, I believe, unprecedented in the history of any war.

Not to trouble you, however, with any further explanations on this subject, I shall now revert to the condition of the work, as it fell into our hands, and point out in detail the improvements made by us, and the state of our defences at different periods of the siege.

Fort Erie, properly so called, was originally designed for a mere trading post: it was situated about a hundred yards from the lake shore, and laid out with the smallest dimensions that would admit of being regularly fortified. Its form was quadrangular, nearly square, with four bastions; only two of them, however, forming the south-east or water front, had been wrought upon to any extent, at the time the garrison capitulated to General Brown. These were secured on the land side by a line of pickets extending from gorge to gorge, and, to render them more defensible, their contiguous faces were prolonged on the line of defence so as to leave a curtain of no more than forty feet, and these continuations raised and completed into two large block-houses. The gateway of the fort was in the intermediate curtain, covered by a sort of ravelin of earth.

After the capture of this work, while General Brown was operating down the strait, Lieutenant McDonough, who had been left in command, was zealously engaged in improving its means of defence: so that the army, on its return to the place after the battle of the Falls, found the bastions above named considerably raised; their ditches deepened; the line of pickets by which their gorges had been secured partly removed; and

a breastwork of earth commenced for the more effectual accomplishment of that object.

It was on the twenty-seventh of July that General Ripley, at that time the commanding general, took up this position; his right flank being supported by the fort, and his left resting on a hillock seven hundred yards distant, upon which a battery (Towson's) was immediately commenced for its protection. On the thirty-first, however, while this battery was yet unfinished, and the fort itself in a very inefficient state of defence, General Drummond appeared before us with an army of four thousand five hundred men, and though we had not half that number to make resistance, he *cautiously* opened trenches opposite to our right flank, and commenced the formalities of a regular siege. Inspired by this compliment to their courage and discipline in the field, (for indeed we could construe it in no other light,) and determined not to be outdone in any mode of warfare, our men seized their spades, instead of their muskets, and prepared with alacrity for the expected assault. Large working-parties were accordingly distributed along our front and flanks to throw up the necessary breastworks and traverses; others were disposed on the two unwrought bastions of the fort; and Towson's battery, upon which two days' work had already been expended, was so far completed in three more, that three guns were placed upon it upwards of twenty feet above the level of the circumjacent country: two more were added to these soon afterwards—other batteries were also commenced in the various exposed parts of our line, and completed by the exertions of particular corps. Such, for example, were Bidle's and Fontain's in front, between the fort and Towson's; the former of three guns, and the latter of two; such also was the Douglass battery of two guns on our right flank, between the fort and the water. On the second of August, while we were yet in the midst of these labours, the first gun of the siege was fired by us; and on the same day the cannonade was partially commenced on the part of the enemy. They did not open a regular battery upon us, however, till about the seventh, on which day all our colours being displayed, and "Yankee Doodle" struck up by the drums, their fire was promptly returned, amidst the loud and animated cheers of our whole line. From this date till the fifteenth, the firing was continued on both sides with very little intermission day or night. It was not attended, however, with any very serious loss on our part, and, far from retarding the progress of our works, seemed rather to accelerate it. On the fourteenth we stood as follows:—Our line in front and on the left, including Towson's and the other batteries nearly completed, and secured by abatis in the most exposed parts; on the right, however, we were less secure, the space between the Douglass battery and the fort being little more than half closed up, except by a slight abatis; no abatis in front, and the fort itself yet in a very feeble state of resistance; added to

this, there was a wide opening between the Douglass battery and the water.

On the evening of the fourteenth, General Gaines (who had taken the command a few days before) having observed some signs of an approaching visit from the enemy, put his force in the best situation for giving them a proper reception. The particulars of this affair are pretty generally known, and have doubtless flowed to you through a great many channels already; it will be necessary, however, for me to notice it, in order to connect the parts of this detail; and as it was a most brilliant achievement, I shall endeavour to do so with some minuteness.

Agreeably to the order of the British general, a copy of which will be found accompanying General Gaines's official letter, the attack was organized into three columns. The first, consisting of detachments to the amount of thirteen hundred men, was placed under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Fischer, of the king's regiment. Seven hundred picked men, under Lieutenant-colonel Drummond, of the one hundred and fourth, composed the second or centre column. And the one hundred and third regiment, amounting to upwards of eight hundred, with its own colonel (Scott) at the head of it, constituted the third. The points against which these columns were to move were respectively the left flank; the fort; and the line between the fort and the lake; and the time fixed for the enterprise was an early hour of the following morning (the fifteenth.) Accordingly, about an hour and a half before day, the approach of an enemy was discovered on the road west of Towson's battery, and immediately after, the lines on that quarter were furiously assaulted by the enemy's first or right column. The infantry of our left consisted at the time of the twenty-first regiment, under the command of Major Wood, of the engineers; who instantly drew up his line in the space between the battery and the water, and received the charge in a style suited to its impetuosity. Checked by a seasonable volley from this corps, and a shower of grape from Towson's artillery, the enemy sustained the conflict but a few minutes, and fell back to consolidate his ranks for a second attempt. This, however, proved equally unsuccessful; and though it was followed up by a succession of desperate charges, our column continued firm until the enemy was no longer in a condition to give battle.

By this time the columns of Lieutenant-colonel Drummond and Colonel Scott, which had been kept back till that of Lieutenant-colonel Fischer should have commenced the action, were brought forward on our right flank, and the battle was beginning to grow considerably warm in that quarter. The object of the British commander in reserving these columns, was undoubtedly to avail himself of the diversion which he *supposed* would be effected by the attack of Lieutenant-colonel Fischer, and to render this manœuvre the more effectual, he caused a feint of militia and

Indians to *debouche* from the wood upon our centre, at the same time that his centre and left columns advanced upon our right.

The firing had, in some measure, subsided on the left, when the approach of those columns was announced by the fire of our picket-guard in a ravine, at a small distance from our right—and in less than a minute afterwards the direction of the two was plainly distinguishable, by the voices of their officers—one of them appearing to move from the ravine towards the fort, and the other rapidly approaching its point of attack by the margin of the lake. It has already been observed, that this flank was in a very inefficient state of defence, and as this circumstance was doubtless known to the enemy, it became doubly necessary to make timely resistance. Accordingly, the first of the two was promptly met by the fire from the salient bastion of the fort, and the musketry on its right and left; that on its right consisting of Boughton's and Harding's volunteers, and that on its left of the ninth regiment—altogether making perhaps one hundred and sixty or one hundred and seventy men. The night was excessively dark; but as near as we could judge through the obscurity, the last column did not continue long advancing—it seemed to hesitate at fifty or sixty yards' distance—remained stationary for a minute, and then began to recoil. At this critical moment loud and repeated calls from the salient bastion of the fort to "cease firing" caused a momentary suspension of operations along the line below—but the threats and confusion with which they were mingled immediately undeceived those to whom they were directed as to the party from which they came, and conveyed the unwelcome intelligence that the enemy had been successful at that point. The deception, though it lasted but for a moment, was sufficient to enable the column that had been repulsed, to recover itself—which it did, and returned a second time to the charge. The enemy's threats were now no longer heard—the action was renewed with more violence than ever, and though the defenders were exposed to the fire of their own guns, which had been turned upon them along with the enemy's musketry, from the captured bastion, the assailing column was again driven back. Its leader, Colonel Scott, was killed, and nearly all his party cut to pieces before it had approached near enough to place its ladders, or avail itself of the open places in our line. Such was the result of the attack at this point. In the mean time day had broken, and the enemy, notwithstanding several attempts to dislodge him, was still in possession of the contested bastion. He had not been able, however, to derive any advantage from that circumstance, and still less was he in a condition to do so now, as Drummond himself had fallen, and nearly all his party was killed or wounded. The passage from the bastion into the body of the fort was in a great measure closed by the position of one of the block-houses, mentioned in the former part of this letter; this, though in a ruinous condition at the time, had been oc-

cupied the evening before by Lieutenant-colonel Trimble, with a detachment of the nineteenth infantry, whose well-directed fire, at the same time that it galled the enemy severely in the bastion, had completely defeated every attempt he made to penetrate farther. A destructive fire also had been maintained upon him by a detachment of riflemen under Captain Birdsall, who had posted himself advantageously for that purpose in the ravine without the fort.

The column of Colonel Scott being now routed, the guns of the Douglass battery were so directed as to cut off all communication between the contested bastion and the enemy's reserve—and a party of desperate fellows were about to rush in and finish the work, when a spark being communicated by some means to an ammunition chest under the platform, the bastion, with those who occupied it, were blown into the air together.

This explosion has been assigned by the British general as the cause of the ill success of his enterprise; but, in my opinion, the result was rather favourable to him than otherwise. The force in the bastion was to all intents and purposes defeated before it took place; the explosion could, therefore, give us no advantage over that: while, on the other hand, it caused the precipitate retreat of his reserve, which we should have intercepted in a few minutes more, and in all probability made prisoners.

The losses of the respective armies on this occasion, (of which you will find very accurate statements accompanying General Gaines's official letters,) brought them on a footing so nearly equal, that the enemy was obliged, for the present, to suspend his operations, and wait quietly the arrival of reinforcements. This interval was diligently improved by us in restoring the ruined bastion; which being soon done, we resumed the completion of our lines, and the unfinished bastions, as before. Four days after the action, the enemy, having had an accession of two full regiments, opened a second battery, and re-commenced the cannonade more vigorously than ever. This I consider the commencement of a period by far the most trying of any during the siege. Our men, daily subjected to the most laborious fatigue-duties, were often called out during the night to perform those services which the fire of the enemy would not permit them to do during the course of the day; while, even with this precaution, we had the mortification to see them continually falling around us. I do not know what may have been the average of our daily losses about this time, but among the working-parties, particularly those in the face of the enemy, I know it to have been very severe. But this was not all—the frequent alarms and constant expectation of another attack rendered it necessary to put at least one-third of our men under arms every night, while the remaining two-thirds lay down with their accoutrements on, their boxes stored with ammunition, their muskets in their hands, and their bayonets fixed.

The effect of these precautions was often witnessed in cases of alarm, and I venture to say, from my own experience on such occasions, that at no time during the continuance of this state, could an enemy have approached within three hundred and fifty yards, before the parapet would have been completely lined, and the men ready to fire.

I think it proper here to mention an additional precaution, designed to be used in case of a charge. At twilight, every evening, a great number of pikes, constructed of the British bayonets which were taken on the fifteenth, were laid at two feet distance from each other, along the whole extent of our line. These being of a length equal to the thickness of the parapet, would have been used with great effect in the event of an escalade.

This mode of life continued for about thirty days, with very little variation, except what was sometimes occasioned by the skirmishes of our pickets and corps of observation. In the course of this time the army had the misfortune to lose the services of its amiable commander, General Gaines, who was wounded by a shell in the early part of September, in consequence of which General Brown, though still labouring under the wounds he had received at the Falls, hastened to the spot, and resumed the command of his division.

At length, about the middle of September, our lines were entirely completed, the new bastions nearly so, and four guns actually placed in the one nearest the enemy. The brigade of General Porter having been strengthened about the same time by a considerable reinforcement of New York volunteers, we began to entertain some hopes of relieving ourselves from the confinement to which we had been so long subjected; and some measure appeared to be in agitation at head-quarters for the accomplishment of that object. Accordingly, on the seventeenth, orders were distributed to the different corps to supply themselves with ammunition, and be in readiness to march.

The order was eagerly obeyed, and at two o'clock, P. M., of the same day, the army being formed into two columns under Generals Porter and Miller, filed out of camp by the left, and advanced upon the enemy. The column of General Porter made a considerable *detour* through the woods, in order to gain the enemy's extreme right; while that of General Miller passed along the skirts of the wood, and concealed itself in the ravine mentioned above. While this was taking place, a heavy fall of rain came on, which continued during the remainder of the day, it had no effect, however, upon our operations; the column of General Porter approached its destination with such secrecy and address, that he was not discovered by the enemy till he rose upon them within pistol-shot of their lines. As soon as the firing announced this event to General Miller, he left the ravine in which he lay concealed, and charged upon the enemy's third

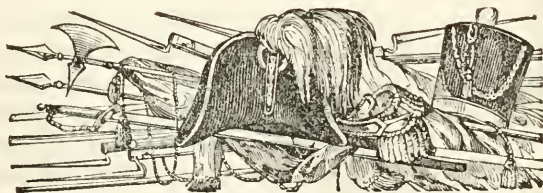
battery, which, being carried, their whole line, as far as their second battery inclusive, was in a few minutes completely in our possession.

The object of the enterprise being thus accomplished, the army retreated again within its lines. I have touched very lightly on the particulars of this achievement, as every circumstance relating to it has been happily described in the official letters of Generals Brown and Porter; and I should not be able to add a single item to your stock of facts by so doing. Referring you to them, therefore, I shall barely observe, that within half an hour after the commencement of the action, the enemy had lost more than a thousand of his number, and nearly all his artillery and military stores. Many of the British officers, who were present at this affair, pronounced it to have been at least equal, if not superior, to any thing of the kind in military history. The best comment upon it, however, in my view, is the practical one of General Drummond—who broke up his camp three days afterwards, and retired rapidly down the river. Thus ended a siege of fifty-one days, undertaken with the most sanguine hopes, not to say entire confidence of immediate success. On visiting their works, after they raised the siege, it was astonishing to see the obstructions through which our men had been obliged to penetrate to get at the enemy. All their works were faced with one or more lines of abatis, or felled timber, and you could not move a dozen yards, in any direction, without encountering the same kind of impediment. I am, &c.

The achievements of the American army during the last campaign in Upper Canada, considering the circumstances under which they were effected, need no comment. They are their own best interpreters, speaking in a language which cannot be misunderstood. They announce in the commander, talents, perseverance, and daring enterprise, and in his brave associates, patience and gallantry, invincible firmness and military discipline in its highest style. They will be selected hereafter by the hand of history to enrich and emblazon some of her choicest pages. To triumph with inferior numbers, and in open conflict, over troops that had defeated the veteran legions of France, is of itself sufficient to consummate the glory of any commander: and such has been the fortune of General Brown. We know it has been said by some, that the movements and measures of the last campaign were characterized by rashness, and that their successful issue is to be attributed more to good fortune than to able generalship. We consider the charge as neither generous nor just. What might well be deemed rashness at one conjuncture is wisdom at another; and that general who does not trust somewhat to fortune will rarely become great. He may, indeed, save his forces, and acquire the reputation of a prudent commander; but, if he calculate too nicely, he is not the man to gain for his country a name in arms, nor suddenly to

revive, by deeds of valour, the hopes and prospects of a people broken in their spirits by repeated disasters.

It has been already stated that, at the opening of the Canadian campaign, the reputation of the American land-arms was at a low ebb. To retrieve this, and arouse the spirits of the nation, something of noble and impetuous daring—something beyond the mere dictates of cold, calculating prudence and gray-haired wisdom, had become essential. The commander who would thus adventure—thus overstep the limits of common military discretion, would hazard his fame as well as his life. Of this General Brown was as fully sensible as the sternest inculcator of wisdom and caution. But he was no less sensible that the times demanded the risk, at least, of a sacrifice, and he was willing, should Heaven so order it, to be himself the victim. Hence the source—and wisdom herself will yet applaud them—of the hardy and hazardous measures he pursued. At another time he might have been as circumspect in his calculations as he has been heretofore venturesome: for such conduct, and such alone, belongs to the character of an able captain—to suit his plans, by corresponding changes, to the nature of the crisis, his own situation, and the exigency of affairs. Notwithstanding the prevalence of a contrary belief in the minds of many, such was unquestionably the conduct of Washington, that model of all that is praiseworthy in a commander.





BATTLE OF BLADENSBURG, AND DEPREDATIONS OF THE BRITISH AT WASHINGTON.

THE following are the official accounts of this barbarous invasion of the British, attended with circumstances of atrocity which would have disgraced the Vandals.

BALTIMORE, *August 27, 1814.*

When the enemy arrived at the mouth of Potomac, of all the militia which I had been authorized to assemble there were but about one thousand seven hundred in the field, from thirteen to fourteen hundred under General Stansbury near this place, and about two hundred and fifty at Bladensburg, under Lieutenant-colonel Kramer; the slow progress of draft, and the imperfect organization, with the ineffectiveness of the laws to compel them to turn out, rendered it impossible to have procured more.

The militia of this state, and the contiguous parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania, were called on *en masse*, but the former militia law of Pennsylvania had expired on the 1st of June or July, and the one adopted in its place is not to take effect in organizing the militia before October. No aid, therefore, has been received from that state.

With all the force that could be put at my disposal in that short time,

and making such dispositions as I deemed best calculated to present the most respectable force at whatever point the enemy might strike, I was enabled, by the most active and harassing movements of the troops, to interpose before the enemy at Bladensburg, about five thousand men, including three hundred and fifty regulars, and Commodore Barney's command. Much the largest portion of this force arrived on the ground when the enemy were in sight, and were disposed to support in the best manner the position which General Stansbury had taken. They had barely reached the ground before the action commenced, which was about one o'clock, P. M., of the 24th instant, and continued about an hour.

The contest was not as obstinately maintained as could have been desired, but was by parts of the troops sustained with great spirit, and with prodigious effect, and had the whole of our force been equally firm, I am induced to believe the enemy would have been repulsed, notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which we fought. The artillery from Baltimore, supported by Major Pinkney's rifle battalion, and a part of Captain Doughty's from the navy yard, were in advance to command the pass of the bridge at Bladensburg, and played upon the enemy, as I have since learned, with very destructive effect; but the rifle troops were obliged after some time to retire, and of course artillery. Superior numbers, however, rushed upon them and made their retreat necessary, not however without great loss on the part of the enemy. Major Pinkney received a severe wound in his right arm, after he had retired to the left flank of Stansbury's brigade. The right and centre of Stansbury's brigade, consisting of Lieutenant-colonel Ragan's and Shutez's regiments, generally gave way very soon afterwards, with the exception of about forty rallied by Colonel Ragan, after having lost his horse, and a whole or a part of Captain Trower's company, both of whom General Stansbury represents to have made, even thus deserted, a gallant stand. The fall which Lieutenant-colonel Ragan received from his horse, together with his great efforts to sustain his position, rendered him unable to follow the retreat; we have, therefore, to lament that this gallant and excellent officer has been taken prisoner. He has, however, been paroled, and I met him here recovering from the bruises occasioned by his fall. The loss of his services at this moment is serious. The 5th Baltimore regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Sterret, being the left of Brigadier-general Stansbury's brigade, still, however, stood their ground, and except for a moment, when part of them recoiled a few steps, remained firm, and stood until ordered to retreat, with a view to prevent them from being out-flanked.

The reserve under Brigadier-general Smith, of the district of Columbia, with the militia of the city and Georgetown, with the regulars, and some detachments of the Maryland militia, flanked on their right by Commodore Barney, and his brave fellows, and Lieutenant-colonel Beall, still were to

the right on the hill, and maintained the contest for some time with great effect.

It is not with me to report the conduct of Commodore Barney and his command, nor can I speak from observation, being too remote; but the concurrent testimony of all who did observe them, does them the highest justice for their brave resistance, and the destructive effect they produced on the enemy. Commodore Barney, after having lost his horse, took post near one of his guns, and there unfortunately received a severe wound in the thigh, and he also fell into the hands of the enemy.

Captain Miller, of marines, was wounded in the arm, fighting bravely. From the best intelligence, there remains but little doubt that the enemy lost at least four hundred killed and wounded, and of these a very unusual portion killed. Our loss cannot, I think, be estimated at more than from thirty to forty killed, and fifty or sixty wounded.

You will readily understand that it is impossible for me to speak minutely of the merit or demerit of particular troops, so little known to me from their recent and hasty assemblage. My subsequent movements, for the purpose of preserving as much of my force as possible, gaining reinforcements and protecting this place, you already know.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WM. H. WINDER,

Brig. Gen. Comdg. 10th M. D.

P. S. We have to lament that Captain Sterret, of the 5th Baltimore regiment, has also been wounded, but is doing well; other officers, no doubt, deserve notice, but I am as yet unable to particularize.

Hon. JOHN ARMSTRONG, *Secretary at War.*

NAVY YARD, *Washington, August 27, 1814.*



AFTER receiving your orders of the 24th, directing the public shipping, stores, &c., at this establishment, to be destroyed, in case of the success of the enemy over our army, no time was lost in making the necessary arrangements for firing the whole, and preparing boats for departing from the yard, as you had suggested. About 4, P. M., I received a message by an officer from the Secretary of War, with information that he could "protect me no longer." Soon after this, I was informed that the conflagration of the Eastern Branch bridge had commenced; and, in a few minutes, the explosion announced the blowing up of that part near the "draw," as had been arranged in the morning.

It had been promulgated, as much as in my power, among the inhabit-

ants of the vicinity, the intended fate of the yard, in order that they might take every possible precaution for the safety of themselves, families, and property. Immediately several individuals came, in succession, endeavouring to prevail on me to deviate from my instructions, which they were invariably informed was unavailing, unless they could bring me your instructions in writing, countermanding those previously given. A deputation also of the most respectable women came on the same errand, when I found myself painfully necessitated to inform them that any farther importunities would cause the matches to be instantly applied to the trains, with assurance, however, that if left at peace, I would delay the execution of the orders as long as I could feel the least shadow of justification. Captain Creighton's arrival at the yard, with the men who had been with him at the bridge, (probably about five o'clock,) would have justified me in instant operation; but he also was strenuous in the desire to obviate the intended destruction, and volunteered to ride out and gain me positive information as to the position of the enemy, under the hope that our army might have rallied and repulsed them. I was, myself, indeed, desirous of delay, for the reason that the wind was then blowing fresh from the south south-west, which would most probably have caused the destruction of all the private property north and east of the yard, in its neighbourhood. I was of opinion, also, that the close of the evening would bring with it a calm, in which happily we were not disappointed. Other gentlemen, well mounted, volunteered, as Captain Creighton had done, to go out and bring me positive intelligence of the enemy's situation, if possible to obtain it.

The evening came, and I waited with much anxiety the return of Captain Creighton, having almost continual information that the enemy were in the neighbourhood of the marine barracks—at the Capitol hill—and that their "advance" was near Georgetown. I therefore determined to wait only until half-past eight o'clock, to commence the execution of my orders, becoming apprehensive that Captain Creighton had, from his long stay, fallen into the hands of the enemy. During this delay, I ordered a few marines, and other persons who were then near me, to go off in one of the small galleys, which was done, and the boat is saved. Colonel Wharton had been furnished with a light boat, with which he left the yard, probably between seven and eight o'clock. At twenty minutes past eight, Captain Creighton returned; he was still extremely averse to the destruction of the property, but having informed him that your orders to me were imperative, the proper disposition of the boats being made, the matches were applied, and in a few moments the whole was in a state of irretrievable conflagration. When about leaving the wharf, I observed the fire had also commenced at Greenleaf's Point, and in the way out of the branch, we observed the Capitol on fire. It had been my intention not to leave the vicinity of the yard with my boat during the night; but having Captain

Creighton, and other gentlemen with me, she was too much encumbered and overladen to render that determination proper. We therefore proceeded to Alexandria, in the vicinity of which I rested till the morning of the 25th, when, having also refreshed the gig's crew, we left Alexandria at half-past seven o'clock, and proceeded again up to the yard, where I landed, unmolested, about a quarter before nine.

The schooner *Lynx* had laid alongside the burning wharf, still unhurt; hoping, therefore, to save her, we hauled her to the quarter of the hulk of the *New York*, which had also escaped the ravages of the flames. The detail issuing store of the navy storekeeper had remained safe from the fire during the night, which the enemy, (being in force in the yard,) about eight o'clock set fire to, and it was speedily consumed. It appeared that they had left the yard about half an hour when we arrived. I found my dwelling-house, and that of Lieutenant Haraden, untouched by fire; but some of the people of the neighbourhood had commenced plundering them; therefore, hastily collecting a few persons known to me, I got some of my most valuable materials moved to neighbours' houses out of the yard, who tendered me their offers to receive them, the enemy's officers having declared private property sacred. Could I have stayed another hour, I had probably saved all my furniture and stores; but being advised by some friends, that I was not safe, they believing that the admiral was by that time, or would speedily be informed of my being in the yard, he having expressed an anxious desire to make me captive, but had said that the officers' dwellings in the yard should not be destroyed—I therefore again embarked in the gig, taking along out of the branch one of the new launches, which lay safe, although alongside of a floating stage enveloped in flames. I had no sooner gone out than such a scene of devastation and plunder took place in the houses, (by the people of the neighbourhood,) as is disgraceful to relate; not a movable article, from the cellars to the garrets, has been left us, and even some of the fixtures, and the locks of the doors, have been shamefully pillaged. Some of the perpetrators, however, have been made known to me.

From the number and movements of the enemy, it would have appeared rash temerity to have attempted returning again that day, though my inclination strongly urged it; therefore, reconnoitering their motions, as well as could be effected at a convenient distance in the gig, until evening, I again proceeded to Alexandria for the night. Yesterday morning, the 26th, it was impossible to form (from the various and contradictory reports at Alexandria) any sort of probable conjecture, either of the proceedings and situation of our army, or that of the enemy. Determining, therefore, to have a positive knowledge of some part thereof, from ocular demonstration, I again embarked in the gig, proceeding with due caution to the yard, where I learned with chagrin the devastation and pillage before mentioned, and

found also, to my surprise, that the old gun-boat, which had been loaded with provisions, and had grounded, in endeavouring to get out of the branch, on the evening of the 24th, was nearly discharged of her cargo, by a number of our people, without connection with each other. Having landed in the yard, I soon ascertained that the enemy had left the city, excepting only a serjeant's guard, for the security of the sick and wounded. Finding it impracticable to stop the scene of plunder that had commenced, I determined instantly on re-possession of the yard, with all the force at my command. Repairing, therefore, immediately to Alexandria, Lieutenant Haraden, the ordinary men, and the few marines there, were ordered directly up; following myself, I got full possession again at evening.

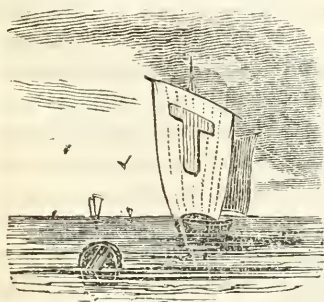
I am now collecting the scattered purloined provisions, ready for your orders, presuming they will now become very scarce indeed; the quantity saved, you shall be informed when known to me. The Lynx is safe, except her foremast being carried away in the storm of the 25th, about 4, P. M. We have also another of the gun-boats, with about one hundred barrels of powder, and one of the large yard-cutters, nearly full, with the filled cylinders, for our different guns previously mounted; the powder of those, however, is probably much wetted by the storm. I would most willingly have an interview with you, but deem it improper to leave my station without some justifiable cause, or in pursuance of your instructions, under which I am ready to proceed, wherever my services may be thought useful.

I have the honour to be, &c.

THOMAS TINGEY.

Hon. W. JONES, *Secretary of the Navy.*

FARM AT ELK RIDGE, August 29, 1814.



HIS is the first moment I have had it in my power to make a report of the proceedings of the forces under my command, since I had the honour of seeing you at the camp at the "Old Fields." On the afternoon of that day, we were informed that the enemy was advancing upon us. The army was put under arms, and our positions taken; my forces on the right, flanked by the two battalions of the 36th

and 38th, where we remained some hours; the enemy did not make his appearance. A little before sunset General Winder came to me, and recommended that the *heavy* artillery should be withdrawn, with the exception of one twelve-pounder to cover the retreat. We took up our line of march, and in the night entered Washington by the Eastern Branch

bridge. I marched my men, &c., to the marine barracks, and took up quarters for the night, myself sleeping at Commodore Tingey's, in the navy yard. About two o'clock, General Winder came to my quarters, and we made some arrangements for the morning. In the morning, I received a note from General Winder, and waited upon him; he requested me to take command, and place my artillery to defend the passage of the bridge on the Eastern Branch, as the enemy was approaching the city in that direction. I immediately put my guns in position, leaving the marines, and the rest of my men at the barracks, to wait further orders. I was in this situation, when I had the honour to meet you, with the President and heads of departments, when it was determined that I should draw off my guns and men, and proceed towards Bladensburg, which was immediately put into execution. On our way, I was informed the enemy was within a mile of Bladensburg;—we hurried on. The day was hot, and my men very much crippled from the severe marches we had experienced the days before, many of them being without shoes, which I had replaced that morning. I preceded the men, and when I arrived at the *line* which separates the district from Maryland, the battle began. I sent an officer back to hurry on my men; they came up in a *trot*; we took our position on the rising ground, put the pieces in battery, posted the *marines* under Captain Miller, and the flotilla men, who were to act as infantry, under their own officers, on my right, to support the pieces, and waited the approach of the enemy. During this period, the engagement continued, and the enemy advancing, our own army retreating before them, apparently in much disorder. At length the enemy made his appearance on the main road, in force, and in front of my battery, and on seeing us made a halt. I reserved our fire. In a few minutes the enemy again advanced, when I ordered an eighteen-pounder to be fired, which completely cleared the road; shortly after, a second, and a third attempt was made by the enemy to come forward, but all were destroyed. They then crossed over into an open field, and attempted to flank our right; he was there met by three twelve-pounders, the marines under Captain Miller, and my men, acting as infantry, and again was totally cut up. By this time not a vestige of the American army remained, except a body of five or six hundred, posted on a height on my right, from whom I expected much support, from their fine situation.

The enemy, from this period, never appeared in force in *front* of us; they pushed forward their *sharp* shooters; one of which shot my horse from under me, who fell dead between two of my guns. The enemy, who had been kept in check by our fire for nearly half an hour, now began to outflank us on the right; our guns were turned that way; he pushed up the hill, about two or three hundred, towards the corps of Americans stationed as above described, who, to my great mortification, made no resistance,

giving a fire or two, and retired. In this situation, we had the whole army of the enemy to contend with. Our ammunition was expended; and, unfortunately, the drivers of my ammunition wagons had gone off in the general panic. At this time, I received a severe wound in my thigh; Captain Miller was wounded; sailing-master Warner, killed; acting sailing-master Martin, killed; and sailing-master Martin, wounded; but to the honour of my officers and men, as fast as their companions and mess-mates fell at the guns, they were instantly replaced from the infantry.

Finding the enemy now completely in our rear, and no means of defence, I gave orders to my officers and men to retire. Three of my officers assisted me to get off a short distance, but the great loss of blood occasioned such a weakness that I was compelled to lie down. I requested my officers to leave me, which they obstinately refused; but upon being *ordered*, they obeyed—one only remained. In a short time, I observed a British soldier, and had him called, and directed him to seek an officer; in a few minutes an officer came, and on learning who I was, brought General Ross and Admiral Cockburn to me. Those officers behaved to me with the most marked attention, respect, and politeness, had a surgeon brought, and my wound dressed immediately. After a few minutes' conversation, the general informed me (after paying me a handsome compliment) that I was paroled, and at liberty to proceed to Washington or Bladensburg; as also Mr. Huffington, who had remained with me, offering me every assistance in his power, giving orders for a litter to be brought, in which I was carried to Bladensburg; Captain Wainwright, first captain to Admiral Cochrane, remained with me, and behaved to me as if I was a brother. During the stay of the enemy at Bladensburg, I received every marked attention possible, from the officers of the army and navy.

My wound is deep, but I flatter myself not dangerous; the ball is not yet extracted. I fondly hope, a few weeks will restore me to health, and that an exchange will take place, that I may resume my command, or any other that you and the President may think proper to honour me with.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

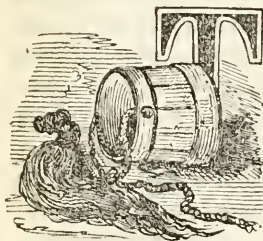
JOSHUA BARNEY.

Hon. W. JONES, *Secretary of the Navy.*





BATTLE OF PLATTSBURG.



THE following is General Macomb's official account of the battle of Plattsburg; in which it will be perceived that General Wool, who distinguished himself so remarkably at Buena Vista, bore an important part.

Copy of a letter from Brigadier-general Macomb to the secretary of war, dated

HEAD-QUARTERS, *Plattsburg, September 15, 1814.*

SIR:—I have the honour to communicate, for the information of the war department, the particulars of the advance of the enemy into the territory of the United States, the circumstances attending the siege of Plattsburg, and the defence of the posts intrusted to my charge.

The governor-general of the Canadas, Sir George Prevost, having collected all the disposable force in Lower Canada, with a view of conquering the country as far as Crown Point and Ticonderoga, entered the territories of the United States on the 1st of the month, and occupied the village of Champlain; there avowed his intentions, and issued orders and proclamations, tending to dissuade the people from their allegiance, and inviting

them to furnish his army with provisions. He immediately began to impress the wagons and teams in the vicinity, and loaded them with his heavy baggage and stores. From this I was persuaded he intended to attack this place. I had but just returned from the lines, where I commanded a fine brigade, which was broken up to form the division under Major-general Izard, ordered to the westward. Being senior officer, he left me in command; and except the four companies of the sixth regiment, I had not an organized battalion among those remaining. The garrison was composed of convalescents and recruits of the new regiments—all in the greatest confusion, as well as the ordnance and stores, and the works in no state of defence.

To create an emulation and zeal among the officers and men in completing the works, I divided them into detachments, and placed them near the several forts; declaring, in orders, that each detachment was the garrison of its own work, and bound to defend it to the last extremity.

The enemy advanced cautiously, and by short marches, and our soldiers worked day and night; so that by the time he made his appearance before the place, we were prepared to receive him.

General Izard named the principal work Fort Moreau, and, to remind the troops of the actions of their brave countrymen, I called the redoubt on the right, Fort Brown; and that on the left, Fort Scott. Besides these three works, we have two block-houses strongly fortified.

Finding, on examining the returns of the garrison, that our force did not exceed fifteen hundred effective men for duty, and well-informed that the enemy had as many thousands, I called on General Mooers, of the New York militia, and arranged with him plans for bringing forth the militia *en masse*. The inhabitants of the village fled with their families and effects, except a few worthy citizens and some boys, who formed themselves into a party, received rifles, and were exceedingly useful. By the 4th of the month, General Mooers collected about seven hundred militia, and advanced seven miles on the Beckmantown road, to watch the motions of the enemy, and to skirmish with him as he advanced; also to obstruct the roads with fallen trees, and to break up the bridges.

On the lake road to Dead Creek bridge, I posted two hundred men under Captain Sproul, of the thirteenth regiment, with orders to abattis the woods, to place obstructions in the road, and to fortify himself; to this party I added two field-pieces. In advance of this position was Lieutenant-colonel Appling, with a hundred and ten riflemen, watching the movements of the enemy, and procuring intelligence. It was ascertained that, before daylight on the 6th, the enemy would advance in two columns, on the two roads before-mentioned, dividing at Sampson's, a little below Chazy village. The column on the Beckmantown road proceeded most rapidly; the militia skirmished with his advanced parties, and, except a few brave

men, fell back most precipitately in the greatest disorder, notwithstanding the British troops did not deign to fire on them, except by their flankers and advanced patrols. The night previous, I ordered Major Wool to advance with a detachment of two hundred and fifty men to support the militia, and set them an example of firmness. Also Captain Leonard, of the light artillery, was directed to proceed with two pieces, to be on the ground before day, yet he did not make his appearance until eight o'clock, when the enemy had approached within two miles of the village. With his conduct, therefore, I am not well pleased. Major Wool, with his party, disputed the road with great obstinacy, but the militia could not be prevailed upon to stand, notwithstanding the exertions of their general and staff officers; although the fields were divided by strong stone walls, and they were told that the enemy could not possibly cut them off. The state dragoons of New York wear red coats, and they being on the heights to watch the enemy, gave constant alarm to the militia, who mistook them for the enemy, and feared his getting in their rear. Finding the enemy's columns had penetrated within a mile of Plattsburg, I despatched my aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Root, to bring off the detachment at Dead Creek, and to inform Lieutenant Appling that I wished him to fall on the enemy's right flank. The colonel fortunately arrived just in time to save his retreat, and to fall in with the head of a column debouching from the woods. Here he poured in a destructive fire from his riflemen at rest, and continued to annoy the column until he formed a junction with Major Wool. The field-pieces did considerable execution among the enemy's columns. So undaunted, however, was the enemy, that he never deployed in his whole march, always pressing on in column. Finding that every road was full of troops crowding on us on all sides, I ordered the field-pieces to retire across the bridge and form a battery for its protection, and to cover the retreat of the infantry, which was accordingly done, and the parties of Appling and Wool, as well as that of Sproul, retired alternately, keeping up a brisk fire until they got under cover of the works. The enemy's light troops occupied the houses near the bridge, and kept up a constant firing from the windows and balconies, and annoyed us much. I ordered them to be driven out with hot shot, which soon put the houses in flames, and obliged these sharp-shooters to retire. The whole day, until it was too late to see, the enemy's light troops endeavoured to drive our guards from the bridge, but they suffered dearly for their perseverance. An attempt was also made to cross the upper bridge, where the militia handsomely drove them back.

The column which marched by the lake road was much impeded by the obstructions, and the removal of the bridge at Dead Creek, and, as it passed the creek and beach, the galleys kept up a lively and galling fire.

Our troops being now on the south side of the Saranac, I directed the

planks to be taken off the bridges and piled up in the form of breast-works to cover our parties intended for disputing the passage, which afterwards enabled us to hold the bridges against very superior numbers.

From the 7th to the 11th, the enemy was employed in getting on his battering train, and erecting his batteries and approaches, and constantly skirmishing at the bridges and fords. By this time the militia of New York and the volunteers of Vermont were pouring in from all quarters. I advised General Mooers to keep his force along the Saranac to prevent the enemy's crossing the river, and to send a strong body in his rear to harass him day and night, and keep him in continual alarm.

The militia behaved with great spirit after the first day, and the volunteers of Vermont were exceedingly serviceable. Our regular troops, notwithstanding the skirmishing and repeated endeavours of the enemy to cross the river, kept at their work day and night, strengthening the defences; and evinced a determination to hold out to the last extremity.

It was reported that the enemy only waited the arrival of his flotilla, to make a general attack. About eight in the evening of the 11th, as was expected, the flotilla appeared in sight round Cumberland Head, and at nine bore down and engaged our flotilla at anchor in the bay off the town. At the same instant, the batteries were opened on us, and continued throwing bomb-shells, sharpnels, balls, and congreve rockets, until sunset, when the bombardment ceased, every battery of the enemy being silenced by the superiority of our fire. The naval engagement lasted but two hours, in full view of both armies. Three efforts were made by the enemy to pass the river at the commencement of the cannonade and bombardment, with a view of assaulting the works; and he had prepared for that purpose an immense number of scaling ladders. One attempt to cross was made at the village bridge, and another at the upper bridge, and a third at a ford about three miles from the works. At the two first he was repulsed by the regulars, at the ford by the brave volunteers and militia, where he suffered severely in killed and wounded, and prisoners; a considerable body having crossed the stream, but were either killed, taken, or driven back. The woods at this place were very favourable to the operations of the militia. A whole company of the seventy-sixth regiment was here destroyed, the three lieutenants and twenty-seven men taken prisoners, the captain and the rest killed.

I cannot forego the pleasure of here stating the gallant conduct of Captain McGlassin, of the fifteenth regiment, who was ordered to ford the river and attack a party constructing a battery at the right of the enemy's line, within five hundred yards of Fort Brown, which he handsomely executed at midnight, with fifty men; drove off the working-party, consisting of a hundred and fifty, and defeated a covering party of the same number, killing one officer and six men in the charge, and wounding many.

At dusk, the enemy withdrew his artillery from the batteries, and raised the siege, and at nine, under cover of the night, sent off in a great hurry all the baggage he could find transport for, and all his artillery. At two the next morning, the whole army precipitately retreated, leaving the sick and wounded to our generosity, and the governor left a note with a surgeon, requesting the humane attention of the commanding general.

Vast quantities of provisions were left behind and destroyed; also, an immense quantity of bomb-shells, cannon-balls, grape-shot, ammunition, flints, &c., &c., intrenching tools of all sorts; also, tents and marquees. A great deal has been concealed in the ponds and creeks, and buried in the ground, and a vast quantity was carried off by the inhabitants. Such was the precipitance of his retreat, that he arrived at Chazy, a distance of eight miles, before we discovered he had gone. The light troops, volunteers, and militia, pursued immediately on learning of his flight; and some of the mounted men made prisoners five dragoons of the nineteenth regiment, and several others of the rear-guard. A continual fall of rain and a violent storm prevented further pursuit. Upwards of three hundred deserters have come in, and many are hourly arriving.

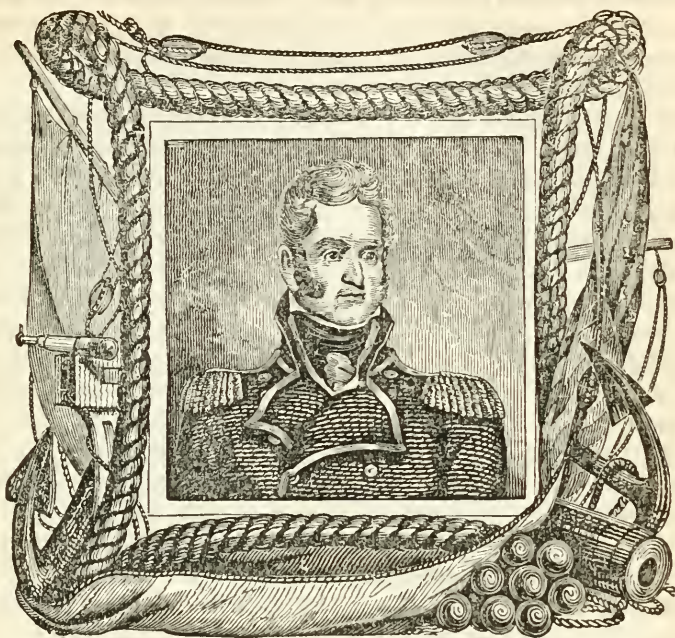
We have buried the British officers of the army and navy with the honours of war, and shown every attention and kindness to those who have fallen into our hands.

The conduct of the officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers of my command, during this trying occasion, cannot be represented in too high terms, and I feel it my duty to recommend to the particular notice of government, Lieutenant-colonel Appling, of the first rifle corps; Major Wool, of the twenty-ninth; Major Totten, of the corps of engineers; Captain Brooks, of the artillery; Captain McGlassin, of the fifteenth; Lieutenants De Russy and Trescott, of the corps of engineers; Lieutenants Smyth, Mountford, and Cromwell, of the artillery; also, my aid-de-camp, Lieutenant Root, who have all distinguished themselves by their uncommon zeal and activity, and have been greatly instrumental in producing the happy and glorious result of the siege.

I have the honour to be, with sentiments of profound respect, sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

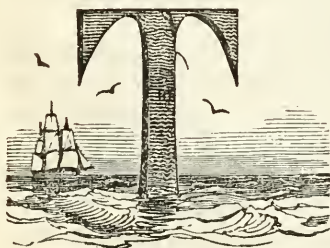
ALEX. MACOMB.

The loss of the enemy, in killed, wounded, prisoners, and deserters, since his first appearance, cannot fall short of two thousand five hundred, including many officers, among whom is Colonel Wellington of the Buffs.



COMMODORE MACDONOUGH.

BATTLE OF LAKE CHAMPLAIN.



TOWARDS the close of the summer of 1814, it became apparent that the enemy meditated an important movement on the frontiers of New York and Vermont. Large bodies of troops—veterans who had seen service in the peninsular war—were poured into Canada, and it was known that a heavy detachment under General Prevost were advancing upon Plattsburg. A regular force, quite inadequate to resist the attack, were awaiting it, under the command of General Macomb. This able officer made the best disposition of his troops which circumstances would permit; and the militia from the neighbouring regions were coming in to his support.

Simultaneously with their operations on land, the enemy were preparing for a decisive action on the lake; and Macdonough put the fleet under his

command in readiness for receiving him. His force consisted of the *Saratoga*, twenty-six guns; the *Eagle*, twenty guns; the *Ticonderoga*, seventeen guns; the *Preble*, seven guns; and ten galleys, carrying sixteen;—in the whole, eighty-six guns.

The British force was greater: the frigate *Confiance*, thirty-nine guns; the *Linnet*, sixteen guns; the *Finch*, eleven guns; and thirteen galleys, carrying eighteen guns;—in all ninety-five guns—nine more than were in the American fleet; their complement of men was much greater. The calmness of this lake permitted heavy armaments in comparatively light vessels; and of this circumstance the British availed themselves to the utmost, giving their commodore a ship equal in force to the *President* or the *Constitution*, with which he—being a veteran commander—made sure of capturing the young officer, ranking as lieutenant, who was his opponent in a flag-ship of twenty-six guns. But “the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the *strong*.” Skill, discipline, address, seamanship, and coolness, go for something; and in this battle they were put in requisition with admirable effect against superior force, and the daring manœuvre of coming down head on upon an enemy’s line.

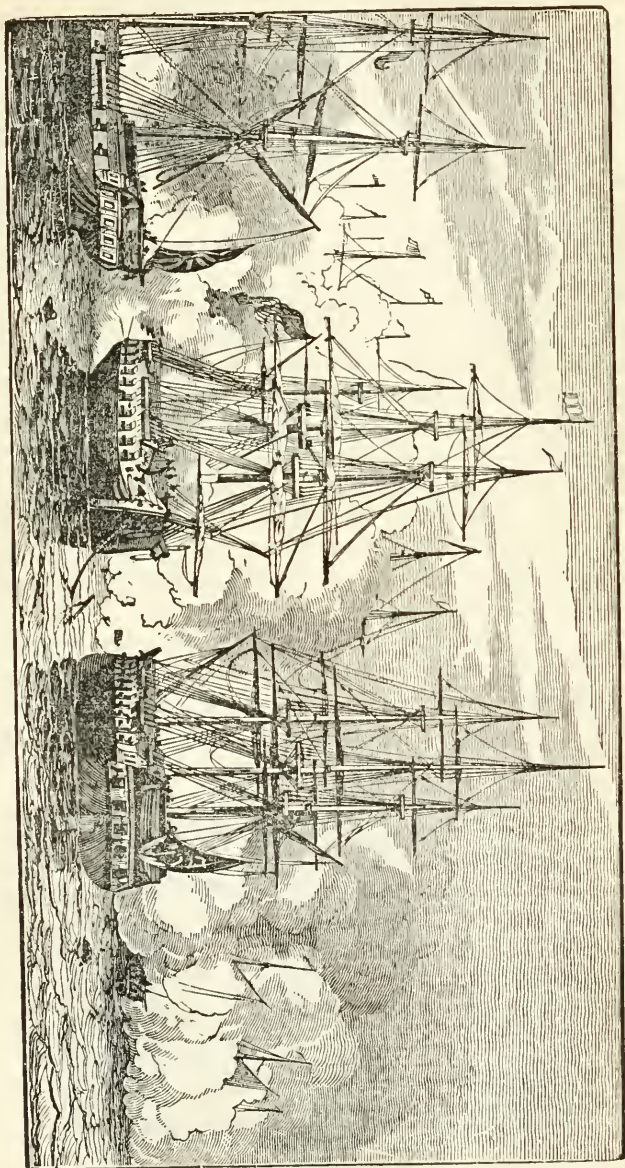
The assaults of the British were simultaneously made by land and water, on the 11th of September. At eight o’clock in the morning, the British fleet was seen approaching; and in an hour the action became general. It is thus described by Macdonough, in his official letter:

“At nine,” he says, “the enemy anchored in a line ahead, at about three hundred yards distant from my line; his ship opposed to the *Saratoga*; his brig to the *Eagle*, Captain Robert Henley; his galleys—thirteen in number—to the schooner, sloop, and a division of our galleys; one of his sloops assisting their ship and brig; the other assisting their galleys. Our remaining galleys were with the *Saratoga* and *Eagle*.”

“In this situation, the whole force on both sides became engaged; the *Saratoga* suffering much from the heavy fire of the *Confiance*. I could perceive, at the same time, however, that our fire was very destructive to her. The *Ticonderoga*, Lieutenant commandant Cassin, gallantly sustained her full share of the action. At half-past ten, the *Eagle*, not being able to bring her guns to bear, cut her cable, and anchored in a more eligible position, between my ship and the *Ticonderoga*, where she very much annoyed the enemy, but, unfortunately, leaving me much exposed to a galling fire from the enemy’s brig.

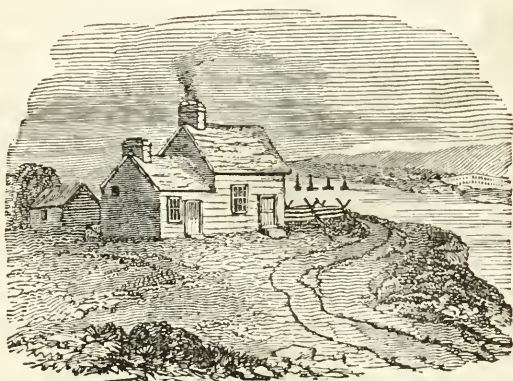
“Our guns on the starboard side being nearly all dismounted or unmanageable, a stern anchor was let go, the bower cable cut, and the ship winded, with a fresh broadside on the enemy’s ship, which soon after surrendered. Our broadside was then sprung to bear on the sloop, which surrendered about fifteen minutes afterwards. The sloop which was opposed to the *Eagle* had struck some time before, and drifted down the

BATTLE ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN



line. The sloop that was with their galleys had also struck. Our galleys were about obeying with alacrity the signal to follow them, when all the vessels were reported to me to be in a sinking state. It then became necessary to annul the signal to the galleys, and order their men to the pumps. I could only look at the enemy's galleys going off in a shattered condition, for there was not a mast in either squadron that could stand to make sail on. The lower rigging, being nearly shot away, hung down as though it had been just placed over the mast-heads. The *Saratoga* had fifty-five round-shot in her hull; the *Confiance* one hundred and five. The enemy's shot passed principally over our heads, as there were not twenty whole hammocks in the nettings, at the close of the action, which lasted, without intermission, two hours and twenty minutes. The absence and sickness of Lieutenant Raymond Perry left me without the assistance of that excellent officer. Much ought fairly to be attributed to him for his great care and attention in disciplining the ship's crew, as her first lieutenant. His place was filled by a gallant young officer, Lieutenant Peter Gamble; who, I regret to inform you, was killed early in the action."

It is well known that the result of this victory was the utter disheartening of General Prescott and his army, and their instantaneous retreat. So sensible were the people of New York and Vermont of the fact that the good conduct of Macdonough had saved them from the ravages of an invading army, that they, by the action of their representatives, made him large grants of lands in the neighbourhood of the lake. The cities of New York and Albany followed the example. He was promoted to the rank of post-captain, and received from Congress a gold medal in commemoration of the victory.

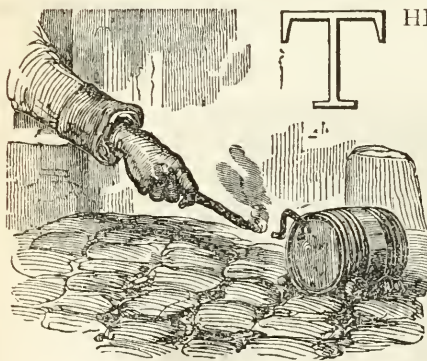


BIRTH-PLACE OF MACDONOUGH.



FORTIFYING NEW ORLEANS.

BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS.



THE following account is from a British authority, (Hughes' History of England.) We copy it because it does ample justice to the character of General Jackson:

Toward the end of the year a very important but disastrous expedition was sent to Louisiana, where it was expected that its capital, New Orleans, would be taken unprepared: it happened,

however, not only that the secret transpired, but that the greatest man produced by America since the days of Washington held the command in that district, where he had already distinguished himself in repressing the atrocities of the Creek Indians, and in disconcerting the schemes of the Spaniards in West Florida, who were taking an active part in hostilities against their neighbours. Early in the year, General Jackson, anticipating danger, had urged the neighbouring states to make immediate

preparations ; and having secured Fort Mobile, as well as taken possession of Pensacola on his own responsibility, he arrived at New Orleans on the first of December. The population of this city was not easily excited to that degree of energy which the exigency of its affairs demanded ; and his principal dependence, to meet a large body of highly disciplined British troops, was on the volunteers of Kentucky and Tennessee, whom he had summoned to his aid ; but his first measure was to co-operate with Commodore Patterson, who commanded a small naval force, in fortifying, as far as their means would allow, all the approaches to the city. New Orleans, probably destined to be at some future period the greatest mart of the world, is situated on the eastern bank of that mighty "father of rivers," the Mississippi, about one hundred and four miles from the Gulf of Mexico : though in itself unfortified, it is difficult to conceive a place capable of presenting greater obstacles to an invader ; being built on a neck of land, confined on one side by the river, and on the other by impassable swamps ; all the tract of country about the main stream of the Mississippi, to the distance of thirty miles at least from its mouth, is an impenetrable morass ; while the channel itself is so defended by forts, as to avert every danger of invasion from that quarter : but to the east of the city are the lakes of Pontchartrain and Borgne, connected with each other by a stream called the Iberville, the principal eastern outlet of the Mississippi. At this point, the British, under Admiral Sir A. Cochrane and General Keene, determined to make their attempt ; since it was thought possible to effect a landing somewhere on the banks of Lake Borgne ; and by pushing directly on, to gain possession of the city before any effectual means could be taken to secure it. With this view, the troops were removed into lighter vessels ; and being conveyed by such gun brigs as would float on its waters, began, on the thirteenth of December, to enter the lake : they had not, however, proceeded far, before it was seen that the Americans were acquainted with their intentions ; five large cutters, carrying six heavy guns each, and built expressly to act on the lake, appeared at a distance ; and these were to be captured before a landing could be thought of. As soon, however, as the British cruisers made sail, the Americans ran quickly out of sight, leaving their pursuers fast aground : as it was necessary, however, to take them at all hazards, and as the lightest of our craft would not float where they sailed, a number of launches and ships' barges was got ready for that purpose.

This flotilla, commanded by Captain Lockier, a brave and skilful officer, consisted of fifty open boats, most of them armed with a carronade, and all manned with volunteers from the different ships of war. As they approached the enemy under great disadvantages of wind and tide, they were greeted by a tremendous shower of balls, which sunk some and disabled others ; but the rest, being pulled with great exertion, and occasion-

ally returning the fire from their carronades, succeeded, after an hour's labour, in closing with their opponents; the marines then opened a destructive fire of musketry; while the seamen, sword in hand, sprang up the sides of the vessels, and sabring all that stood in their way, quickly pulled down the American ensign, and hoisted the British flag in its place. One cutter, bearing the commodore's broad pennant, was not so easily mastered; but against this Captain Lockier had directed his own barge, and soon found himself alongside her before any of his friends could come up to his support: undismayed, however, by these fearful odds, he led his gallant crew instantly on board the American, when a desperate conflict ensued, in which he himself received several severe wounds; but after fighting from the bow to the stern, the enemy were mastered; and other boats coming up, the commodore shared the fate of his fleet.

All opposition in this quarter being overcome, the fleet again weighed anchor; but ship after ship took the ground, until it became necessary to hoist out the boats for the purpose of carrying the men. At this time, too, a dreadful change of weather occurred; and heavy rains, such as are known only in tropical climates, fell continually on the troops during the ten hours in which they were confined in such straitened quarters. After rowing thirty miles, each division was landed on a small and swampy spot of earth, called Pine Island, where it was determined to collect the forces together before their transportation to the main land. On that miserable desert they assembled without tents or huts, or any defence against the inclemency of the weather, and without even fuel to supply their fires. In addition to these miseries, when night closed, and the heavy rain ceased, a severe frost set in, which, congealing the wet clothes on their limbs, left scarcely any animal warmth in their bodies; and many of the wretched negroes, of whom we had two regiments, and who were totally unacquainted with frost and cold, fell into a deep sleep, from which they never awoke. On the part of the navy, these hardships were more than doubled; for night and day boats were pulling from and to the fleet; and the twenty-first arrived before all the troops were put on shore; as there was little time to inquire into the men's turns, many seamen were kept four or five days continually at the oar. Here, then, commenced the hardships of this dreadful campaign, which probably have never been surpassed in the annals of warfare; yet not a complaint or a murmur was heard; and among all, from the general down to the lowest private, a confident anticipation of success prevailed; this, as well as a prospect of an ample reward in the rich store-houses of New Orleans, was kept up by American deserters, or spies, who also entertained the men with false accounts of the alarm experienced by the citizens, and the absence of all means of defence.

On the twenty-second, before the troops crossed over to the main land, they were reviewed by General Keene, who formed three battalions of the

fourth, eighty-fifth, and ninety-fifth regiments, into an advanced guard, under Colonel Thornton; attached to which corps was a party of rocket-men, and two light three-pounders; the rest of the troops were arranged in two brigades: the first under Colonel Brooke, and the second under Colonel Hamilton. To each a certain proportion of rockets and artillery was allotted, while the dragoons attended on the general, until they should provide themselves with horses.

From Pine Island to that spot where prudence dictated a landing, the distance was still about eighty miles: the danger, therefore, of separating into divisions was great; but it could not be obviated: accordingly, the advanced brigade, of sixteen hundred men, was embarked on the twenty-third, the boats being directed to a small creek, called the Bayo de Catalina, which runs up from Lake Pontchartrain, through an extensive morass about ten miles below New Orleans. During the whole time, till night, the rain fell incessantly, and was, as usual, succeeded by a sharp frost, which rendered the limbs of the men completely powerless; in this state they remained till midnight, when the boats cast anchor, and awnings could be erected. At the entrance of the creek was an enemy's piquet, all of whom were surprised fast asleep, so little did they dream of attack from this quarter. The boats then rowed to the head, and the men disembarked on a wild marsh, covered with rushes and tall reeds, where not a house or any vestige of human industry could be discovered: yet this spot, savage as it was, was favourable to the party whose motions it concealed; and hopes were entertained that they would be suffered to remain quiet till joined by the other brigades. These anticipations, however, soon proved fallacious. The deserters, or, more properly, the deceivers, assured the British commander that he had only to show himself, and the whole district would submit; for that there were not five thousand men in arms throughout the state, and of those, not more than twelve hundred regulars, while the whole were expecting an attack on the opposite side of the town. These arguments, added to the uncomfortable nature of his present position, induced the general to push forward; and after an advance of several hours, the troops began to approach a more cultivated region, where some orange groves and a few farm-houses were discovered. The inmates of these were secured as quickly and as secretly as possible; one man, however, contrived to effect his escape; after which all hope of concealment departed, and the column was directed to widen its files, in order to present as formidable a front as possible. After hastening for about a mile over a narrow plain, bounded on the right by the extended marsh which they had lately quitted, and on the left by the mighty Mississippi, rushing rapidly in a stream about one hundred fathoms deep, and a mile in breadth, the whole detachment turned off into a green field, in which was a large house surrounded by about a score of slave huts, and at a little

distance farther, another lone habitation, where General Keene fixed his head-quarters. Noon had passed when the word was given to halt; and here the troops were suffered to light fires, and pile their arms: this done, they cooked their provisions, of which they had collected abundance; and, with the exception of a few slight alarms from small parties of horse, nothing occurred to disturb their tranquillity. When the shades of evening fell, the fires were made to blaze more brightly; supper was despatched, and the men prepared themselves for rest; but a little before eight o'clock, the attention of some was drawn to a large vessel which seemed to be stealing up the river, till she came opposite to the British station, when her anchor was dropped and her sails leisurely furled. Various were the opinions entertained of this stranger: she was hailed; but no answer was returned. All idea of sleep, however, was now laid aside, and several musket-shots were fired, of which not the slightest notice was taken; until at length, all her sails being fastened, and her broadside swung toward the camp, a voice was distinctly heard, exclaiming, "Give them this for the honour of America;" the flashes of her guns instantly followed, and a shower of grape-shot swept down numbers of the British troops; an incessant cannonade was then kept up, which could not be silenced, as our troops had no artillery, and the few rockets that were discharged, deviated so much from their object, as to afford only amusement for the enemy: under these circumstances, therefore, all were ordered to leave the fires, and shelter themselves under the dykes; where they lay, each as he could find room, listening in painful silence to the iron hail among the huts, and to the shrieks and groans of those that were wounded.

The night was dark as pitch; the fires were all extinguished, and not an object was visible, except from the momentary flashes of the guns, when a straggling fire called attention toward the pickets, as if some still more dreadful scene was about to open: nor was it long before suspense was cut short by a tremendous yell, and a semicircular blaze of musketry, which showed that the position was surrounded by a superior force; and that no alternative remained but to surrender, or to drive back the assailants. The first of these plans was instantly rejected; for the troops, rushing from their lurking places, and dashing through their bivouac, under heavy discharges from the vessel, lost not a moment in attacking the foe, without the slightest attention to order, or the rules of disciplined warfare: the combat, which was left to individual valour and skill, lasted till three in the morning; and though the enemy was finally repulsed, no less than five hundred of our finest troops and best officers were left on the field: the rest then retired to their former lurking places, to be out of reach of their enemy on the river; which, when daylight appeared, was discovered to be a fine schooner of eighteen guns, crowded with men. In the cold dykes, however, they were compelled to remain the whole ensuing day,

without fire, and without food ; for whenever the smallest number began to steal away from shelter, the vessel opened her fire.

In the mean time, the remainder of the troops were disembarking in haste to rejoin their comrades ; and as the schooner's guns were heard at the distance of at least twenty miles over the water, and in the silence of the night, the most strenuous exertions were made by the boats' crews : nor was a moment lost in returning to the island ; so that the whole army was brought into position before dark on the twenty-fourth ; but the advanced brigade was still fettered to the bank, while another large ship now cast anchor about a mile from their annoying enemy : as soon, however, as darkness had set in, a change of position was effected, and the division was stationed in the village of huts : the front of the army being then covered by a strong chain of outposts, they remained quiet during the night ; and next day General Keene was relieved from farther care and responsibility by the unexpected arrival of Sir Edward Pakenham and General Gibbs ; the former of whom had been despatched from England, to take the chief command, as soon as the death of General Ross was known. The arrival of Pakenham, adored as he was by the army, elicited the utmost enthusiasm ; and he had scarcely reached the camp, before he proceeded to examine, with a seldier's eye, every point of attack or defence. Of the American army nothing could be seen but a corps of five hundred mounted riflemen, hovering about the British front, and watching every motion : the city was not in sight ; and no advance could be made, until the vessels on the river were disposed of : as delay was now dangerous, nine field-pieces, two howitzers, and a mortar, were brought down to the bank as soon as it became dark ; a battery was quickly thrown up against the schooner ; and at dawn, on the twenty-sixth, a heavy cannonade was opened on her with red-hot shot : nor was it long before her crew was seen hastening into their boats ; while the smoke first, and then the flames, began to rise from her decks ; and, in about an hour, she blew up : the guns were then turned against the ship ; but not wishing to share the fate of her comrade, she set up every inch of canvass ; and being impelled both by sailing and towing, succeeded in getting out of the range of shot. All apparent obstacles being now removed, the army advanced to a more forward position ; and arrangements were quietly made during the day till sunset : but from that period until near dawn the whole time was spent in wakefulness and alarm ; for the American riflemen harassed the pickets ; fired on the sentinels, as well as the officers who went the rounds ; and, disregarding all the usages of civilized warfare, thought only of diminishing the number of their enemies by picking off every individual whom they could reach. As soon as day began to break, they retired, and our troops formed in two columns : the right, under General Gibbs, took post near the skirts of the morass, throwing out its skirmishers across the plain ;

while the left, under Keene, drew up on the road near the river, and was covered by the rifle corps, which extended itself to meet the skirmishers of the right column: with this division went the artillery; and at a given signal, the whole moved forward in high spirits, for about four or five miles, without the slightest check. At length they came in view of the American army, very advantageously posted behind a canal, which ran from the morass to within a short distance of the road: along its line were formidable breastworks; while on the road, and at various other points, were powerful batteries, aided by a large flotilla of gun-boats on the river, flanking the position. As the left column passed a few houses, built at a turning of the road, and which concealed the enemy from view, it was suddenly checked by a destructive fire from the battery and the shipping: scarcely a bullet passed over, or fell short of its mark; but striking full into the midst of the British ranks, made dreadful havoc: the houses also on the left, which had been purposely filled with combustibles, were now fired by red-hot shot; so that, while whole ranks were mowed down by the artillery, the survivors were scorched by flames, or half suffocated with smoke: the troops, however, were not long suffered to remain in this situation; for, being ordered to quit the path, and form in the fields, the British artillery was brought up against that of the enemy; but being inferior both in number of guns and weight of metal, it was soon obliged to retire with great loss. The infantry, having formed in line, now advanced under a heavy discharge of round and grape-shot, till they were stopped by the canal, the depth of which could not be ascertained; they were therefore ordered to take shelter in a wet ditch, sufficiently deep to cover the knees; where, leaning forward, they concealed themselves as well as they could behind some high rushes on its brink: in the mean time, the advance of the right column had been stopped by similar impediments; and nothing seemed left but to withdraw the troops from their perilous situation: a party of courageous seamen were employed to remove the dismounted guns, which service they effected under the whole fire of the enemy; and then regiment after regiment stole away, amid discharges similar to those which saluted their approach; retiring to a position in the plain, about two miles from the enemy's works, and in full sight of their army. In this situation they unaccountably remained inactive from the twenty-eighth to the thirtieth of December; though, if an attack was to be renewed, it never could have been supposed that such a commander as General Jackson would neglect to strengthen or complete his lines: indeed workmen were observed busily occupied in this very operation, while numerous reinforcements continually arrived in his camp: neither did he, during this period, leave his antagonists in tranquillity; for by giving an elevation to his guns, he contrived to reach the British lines; and he also began to erect batteries on the opposite or right bank of the river, whence a flanking fire could

be thrown across the whole front of his position. His defences could not now be turned, nor could his troops be drawn from their intrenchments : nothing therefore remained to be done but to erect breaching batteries, and assault his works : this plan, therefore, was adopted ; three days being employed in bringing up heavy cannon, and making such preparations as might have sufficed for a siege.

On the night of the thirty-first, one half of the British army was marched to the front, within three hundred yards of the enemy's position : favoured by the darkness, and working in cautious silence, they succeeded in throwing up, before dawn, a work,* on which thirty pieces of heavy cannon were mounted ; and then, falling back to a short distance, they lay down behind some reeds, to act as circumstances might require. The next morning was very hazy ; and when the mist gave way, the different American regiments were plainly discerned on parade, in their holiday suits, and with every demonstration of gaiety and gala ; when the British batteries opened, and suddenly all was consternation and confusion : but their artillery soon rallied, and answered ours with quickness and precision : toward the end of the day our ammunition began to fail, when the fire of the Americans was redoubled ; and being aided by a large number of guns landed from the flotilla, as well as by the batteries on the right bank of the Mississippi, the British were finally obliged to desert their works.

The fatigue undergone by officers and men was almost beyond conception : for two nights and days, no one had closed his eyes, except he were cool enough to sleep amid showers of cannon balls ; and during the day, scarcely a moment could be allowed even to break the fast : and now, having retreated from an impracticable attempt, the troops were exposed not only to the enemy's fire in front, but to a deadly discharge of eighteen pieces of artillery from the opposite bank of the river, which swept the whole line of encampment : besides, the duty in a picket became more dangerous than that of a general action, on account of the enemy's sharpshooters ; and to approach a fire was certain death, from the aim which it gave to the foe : in such circumstances, it was not surprising that murmurs were raised among the men ; but these proceeded rather from irritation at the impossibility of bringing the foe to action, than from any other motive. Nor was their gallant leader less anxious to fight, though desirous of engaging on equal terms, if possible ; and to effect this, he devised an admirable plan. Dividing his army, he resolved to send one part across the Mississippi, who might seize the enemy's battery, and turn it against themselves, while the other made a general assault on their lines : to effect this, however, it was necessary to cut a canal for boats, from the lake, across the

* In throwing up this work, barrels of sugar, to the value of several thousands of pounds, were used instead of earth.



BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS.

entire neck of land, to the river: the fatigue endured by the troops in this undertaking cannot adequately be described: still it was effected; and while the Americans received a reinforcement of two thousand five hundred men from Kentucky, General Lambert unexpectedly arrived with two fine regiments, the seventh and forty-third; which, with a body of sailors and marines, increased the British force to about eight thousand.

On the sixth of January, boats were ordered up for the transport of fourteen hundred troops; and Colonel Thornton was appointed to lead Picton's "fighting rascals" of the eighty-fifth, the marines, and a party of sailors, across the rapid "father of streams:" the soil however through which the canal ran, was so rotten, that it shelved in; and no more boats than a number capable of carrying three hundred and fifty men were able to reach their destination: according to orders, Colonel Thornton was to embark and cross the river immediately after dark, push forward, carry the batteries, and point the guns before daylight; then, at the signal of a rocket, to commence firing on the enemy's line, which at the same moment was to be attacked by the main body of the British army, divided into three columns: General Keene at the head of one, was to make a false attack on the right; General Gibbs, with the other, to force the enemy's left; while General Lambert remained with the seventh and forty-third in reserve, to act as circumstances might require: scaling ladders and fascines had been also prepared, and committed to the forty-fourth regiment, as being numerically

strong, and accustomed to American warfare. Thus all things were arranged on the night of the seventh; and next day the fate of New Orleans was to be decided.

While the rest of the army lay down to sleep, until they should be roused by their drums and bugles, Colonel Thornton, with fourteen hundred chosen troops, advanced to the river side: there however he found his commander's scheme impracticable; the boats had not arrived; and at last, some hours after the appointed time, only a few came up: determining however to do what could be effected, he crossed with a small force of two hundred and forty men, though they could not leave the canal till dawn was beginning to appear: it was in vain that they rowed like men in despair; that they effected their disembarkation in safety, and formed on the beach: day had already broke; the British army had advanced; and the signal rocket was sent up, while they were four miles from the batteries, which ought to have been taken soon after midnight. Nor was this the only disappointment which the gallant Pakenham experienced: when the troops stood in battle array, not a ladder or fascine was to be found in the field; for the forty-fourth had neglected to bring them. The indignation of Sir Edward was extreme: galloping up to Colonel Mullens, who, as it appeared, had been panic-struck, he commanded him to return instantly with his regiment for the ladders; but the opportunity of planting them was gone for ever: our troops were now visible to the foe; a dreadful fire was opened on them; and they were mowed down by hundreds, while they stood waiting for orders. All his arrangements being thus frustrated, Pakenham gave the word to advance; and the other regiments, leaving the forty-fourth behind, rushed to the assault: on the left, a detachment carried a battery in advance of the American works, and attempted to cross the ditch by a single plank into the lines; but they were repulsed by superior numbers. On the right, where the twenty-first and fourth were almost cut to pieces, the ninety-third rushed on, and took the lead: rushing impetuously on, our troops soon reached the ditch; but to scale the intrenchment without ladders was impossible: some few men, mounting on each other's shoulders, succeeded in clearing the parapet, to their own destruction; while those that stood without, were exposed to a sweeping fire, that cut them down by companies: they fell, too, without seeing their opponents; for the Americans, not even raising their heads above the ramparts, swung their firelocks by one arm over the wall, and fired directly down on their assailants; while the batteries on the farther bank of the river kept up a dreadful flanking cannonade. Poor Pakenham did all that could be done to rally his broken troops: riding toward the forty-fourth, which had returned to the field, though in much confusion, he called out to Colonel Mullens to advance; but that officer was nowhere to be found: he therefore put himself at their head; and instantly received a slight wound in his knee, from

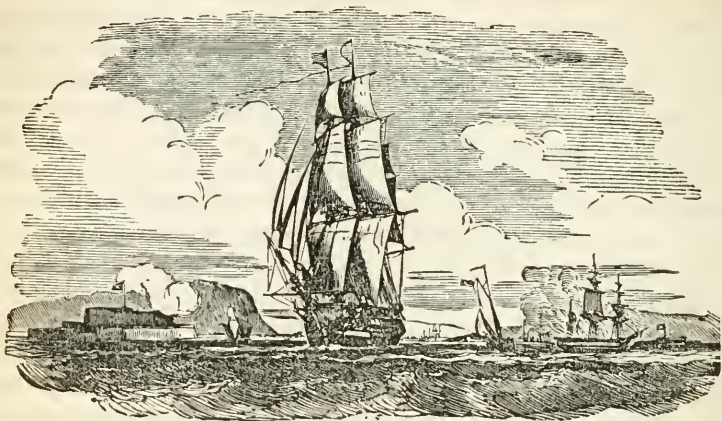
a bullet which killed his horse : mounting another charger, he again headed the forty-fourth ; when a second ball took effect more fatally, and this gallant hero fell lifeless into the arms of his aid-de-comp. Nearly at the same time, both the generals, Keene and Gibbs, were carried off the field severely wounded ; and the army, without leaders, ignorant of what was to be done, hesitated, retreated, and finally quitted the field in complete disorder.

On the other side of the river, Colonel Thornton's little party had landed, driven in an outpost, and stormed the enemy's works under a dreadful discharge of grape and canister, by which their leader was wounded ; but the failure of the main body rendered it necessary to retreat : this movement was effected with great skill, under cover of some houses that were set on fire ; and the little corps, entering their boats, reached the opposite bank without molestation.

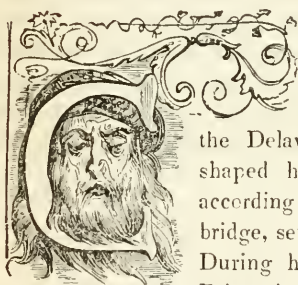
As soon as the British army was reunited, a flag of truce was despatched with proposals to bury the dead, and two days for that purpose were granted ; when, according to the testimony of an eye-witness, one of the most shocking and humiliating sights which an Englishman could view, disclosed itself ; for at one spot, within the small compass of a few hundred yards, were gathered together nearly a thousand bodies, all arrayed in British uniforms ; not a single American among them. In the camp, gloom and discontent, or indignation and rage prevailed ; nor was the loss of friends less afflicting than that of honour ; almost every man had to bewail a comrade ; for between two and three thousand had fallen : yet, though afflicted, they were not disheartened ; nay, they even anticipated with eagerness a renewal of the combat ; but General Lambert prudently determined not to risk the safety of his army on works that were impregnable ; especially as the chance of success was materially diminished by the recent loss : he prepared therefore for a retreat, while it was yet practicable ; but for several days after the battle the British camp was harassed by continual discharges of artillery, both in front and from the banks of the river ; nor could the men ever close their eyes without being awakened by the splash of a round-shot or shell in the mud near them : besides, no roads lay open except over morasses, and hurdles could not be procured to form them : reeds therefore were substituted ; and the army, after incredible sufferings and fatigues, from cold, and hunger, and want of rest, at length arrived at the borders of Lake Borgne : even then they were without tents ; and the morass was their only bed : the flotilla was eighty miles distant ; only a part of the troops could be passed over at a time ; so that if bad weather had come on, a large portion must inevitably have perished by starvation. On reaching the fleet, they found that large reinforcements had arrived ; but these, under present circumstances, were all useless : after remaining wind-bound till the fourth of February, they ran down as far as Cat Island

a spot of sandy soil, near the mouth of the lake, where they remained to the seventh, and then proceeded to attack Fort Mobile ; with the reduction of which unimportant place all hostilities in this quarter of America ceased. General Jackson, it is confidently asserted, lost but thirteen men in the late attack. Having re-entered New Orleans with his troops, on the twentieth of January, he was received with boundless acclamations ; and a solemn thanksgiving was offered up in the cathedral. An incident then occurred, which seems as if it belonged to the era of the Roman republic : as martial law still existed, the general caused one of the members of the legislature to be arrested, who had furnished the newspapers with some articles of a pernicious tendency : application was made to the district judge for a writ of *habeas corpus*, to be served on the general ; and this was granted in opposition to the positive injunctions of Jackson, by whose orders the judge himself was arrested, and sent out of the city : two days afterwards, official intelligence of a treaty of peace was received ; and the civil magistrate had no sooner resumed his functions, than General Jackson was summoned to answer for his contempt of court : he accordingly appeared, and vindicated his conduct, through his counsel ; but was amerced in the sum of one thousand dollars. This sentence against the hero of New Orleans excited universal indignation, and the amount of the fine was quickly raised by the citizens : Jackson, however, had already discharged it from his own funds ; and requested that the subscription might be distributed among the relatives of those who had fallen in the battle. He then resigned his command to General Gaines ; and, like another Cincinnatus, retired to his farm, until his country, requiring his services, again called him from his rural occupations.





NAVAL AFFAIRS OF 1814.



CAPTAIN PORTER'S cruise in the Pacific terminated this year. It is too remarkable not to be given in detail. Captain Porter, after the refitting of his ship, sailed from the Delaware on the 27th of October, 1812. He shaped his course for the coast of Brazil, where, according to arrangements with Commodore Bainbridge, several places were appointed for rendezvous. During his cruise in that quarter he captured his Britannic majesty's packet ship Nocton, from which he took about eleven thousand pounds sterling in specie, and then despatched her for America. Upon hearing of the capture of the Java by Commodore Bainbridge, he was obliged to return to port, where he heard that the Hornet had been captured by the Montague, that the British force on the coast had been increased, and that several ships were in pursuit of him. Knowing that he occupied a hazardous place, he determined to abandon it, and accordingly he shaped his course southward, rounded Cape Horn, off which place he suffered greatly from the severity of the gales, and proceeded into the Pacific Ocean. From the want of provision it became necessary to put into some port. Accordingly he ran into Valparaiso, where he arrived on the 14th of March, 1813.

Having obtained a sufficient quantity of provision, he coasted the shores of Chili and Peru, and met with a Peruvian corsair, that had captured

two whaling ships on the coast of Chili, and had on board the crews of the two ships, as prisoners, consisting of twenty-four Americans. The commander of the corsair attempted to justify his conduct by alleging himself to be an ally of Great Britain, and expecting a war between Spain and the United States. Captain Porter, finding that he determined to persist in his aggressions, lightened him of his armament, by throwing it into the sea, released the prisoners, and then directed a polite letter to the viceroy, in which he gave his reasons for so doing, which he delivered to the captain. Upon proceeding to the port of Lima he recaptured one of the American vessels as she was entering the port.

He cruised for several months in the Pacific, making great havoc among the English traders, and was particularly destructive to those engaged in the spermaceti whale fishery. He took many with valuable cargoes; one of the captured vessels he retained as a store ship; he equipped her with twenty guns and called her the *Essex Junior*, appointing Lieutenant Downes as commander, while some of the others were given up to the prisoners, some sent to Valparaiso and laid up, and three sent to America. Captain Porter, now having a little squadron under his command, became the terror of those seas. He gained from his prizes a sufficient supply of provisions, medicines, naval stores, clothing, and money; so that he was able to pay his officers and men without drawing on the government, and was able to remain at sea without sickness or inconvenience.

From the extent of his depredations he spread alarm and anxiety throughout all the ports of the Pacific, and created great disturbance in those of Great Britain. The merchants trembled with apprehension for the fate of their property, which was afloat on those waters, while the nation's pride was humbled, when it beheld a single frigate bearing the sceptre over the whole waters of the Pacific; in defiance to their numerous fleets, destroying their commerce and excluding their merchants from all western ports, and almost banishing the British flag from those climes where it had so long spread its folds to the breeze in proud predominance. The manner in which Captain Porter conducted his cruise baffled pursuit. Those who were sent in search of him were distracted by vague accounts, and were entirely unable to discover any traces by which they might be able to encounter him. Keeping in the open sea, and touching only at those desolate islands which form the *Gallipagos*, he left no traces by which he might be followed or discovered. Although he was deprived of all intelligence from land, and unable to gain any knowledge of home affairs, he often received a correct account of his enemies from the various prizes which he had captured. Lieutenant Downes having returned from conveying the prizes to Valparaiso, brought word of the expected arrival of Commodore Hillyar in the *Phæbe*

frigate, rating thirty-six guns, accompanied by two sloops of war. Loaded with spoil, and sated with the easy and inglorious capture of merchantmen, Captain Porter desired to signalize his cruise by some brilliant victory, meeting the enemy on equal terms.

From having remained at sea for such a length of time, some of the timbers were impaired and needed renewal, while the frigate required some other repairs to enable her to face the foe. For this purpose he repaired to the island of Nooaheevah, one of the Washington group, discovered by Captain Ingraham of Boston, accompanied by several of his prizes. The inhabitants in the vicinity of the harbour received Captain Porter with marks of friendship; and they supplied him with abundance of provision, with which the island abounded. Having calked and completely overhauled the ship, made her a new set of water-casks, and taken on board a sufficient supply of provision for four months, from the prizes, which he secured under the guns of a battery erected for their protection, he sailed for the coast of Chili, on the 12th of December, 1813, leaving Lieutenant Gamble of the marines, with twenty-one men, in command of the battery, with orders to proceed to Valparaiso after a certain time.

Having cruised off the coast of Chili with the expectation of meeting with Captain Hillyar, without success, he proceeded to the port of Valparaiso, with the hope of falling in with him there; and, if disappointed in his wish, he might be able to capture some merchant ships which were expected from England. While lying in this port Captain Hillyar arrived, having long sought for the *Essex*, but without success, and having almost given up all hopes of ever meeting with her. He was accompanied by the sloop of war *Cherub*, which was strongly armed and manned. Contrary to Captain Porter's expectation, the *Phœbe* herself was far superior to the *Essex*. The united force of the *Phœbe* and *Cherub* amounted to eighty-one guns and five hundred men. While the force of the *Essex* consisted of but forty-six guns, all of which, excepting six long twelves, were thirty-two pound carronades, only serviceable in close fighting. Her crew having been much reduced by the manning of prizes, amounted to but two hundred and fifty-five men. The *Essex Junior*, being only intended as a store-ship, carried but ten eighteen-pound carronades and ten short sixes, with a complement of only sixty men. The *Phœbe* and *Cherub*, having been sent out expressly to search for and capture the *Essex*, were in prime order, and good discipline, with picked crews, and hoisted flags bearing the motto, "God and our country, British sailors' best rights: traitors offend both."

This was in opposition to the American motto of "Free trade and sailors' rights," and the latter part of it being suggested by error tenderly cherished, that our crews were composed of British seamen. In reply to this motto, Captain Porter hoisted at his mizen, "God, our country, and

liberty: tyrants offend them." On entering the port, the *Phæbe* was brought into the power of Captain Porter, who, on account of the neutrality of the place, did not wish to take advantage of the exposed situation of his enemy. This forbearance was acknowledged by Commodore Hillyar, and he gave his word of honour to observe like conduct while in port, which he accordingly followed for a time.

On receiving a sufficient supply of provision on board, the *Phæbe* and *Cherub* went off the port, where they cruised for six weeks, keeping up a continual blockade of Captain Porter; who, from the inferiority of his number, was unwilling to risk an action. After repeated endeavours, finding himself unable to bring the *Phæbe* into single action or into equal combat, or to provoke a challenge from Commodore Hillyar, he determined to put to sea. Finding, after repeated trials, that the *Essex* was a superior sailer to either of the enemy's ships, it was determined that he should let the enemy chase her off, and thereby give the *Essex Junior* a chance of escape.

On the day following, the 28th of March, the wind began to blow from the south; the *Essex* having parted her larboard cable, dragged her starboard anchor out to sea. Having all sails set; and perceiving the enemy close in with the western side of the bay, and that there was a possibility of passing to windward and gaining the sea by superior sailing, Captain Porter determined to hazard the attempt. He took in his top-gallant sails, and fitted up for the purpose, but unfortunately, on rounding the point, a heavy squall struck the ship, and bore away the main topmast, and threw the men who were aloft into the sea and drowned them. Both ships immediately gave chase, and Captain Porter finding that from the crippled state of his ship it would be unsafe to proceed, determined to run into port again and repair damages. But finding it impossible to gain the common anchorage which he had left, he put into a small bay about three quarters of a mile from the battery, and to the leeward of it, on the east of the harbour, and dropped anchor within pistol-shot of the shore. Supposing himself secure, he thought only of repairing the damages he had sustained, expecting that the enemy would respect the neutrality of the place. The wary and menacing approach of the enemy showed that they had a more important object in view, than to exchange kindness with a generous enemy. Their instructions were to crush the noxious foe, which had been so destructive to the commerce of their country; and being furnished with a force competent to this service, and having the enemy once in their power, they had no desire to wave their superiority, and give him a chance to escape and continue his work of destruction. Displaying their motto flags and having jacks at all their masts' heads, Captain Porter soon discovered the real danger of his situation. With all despatch, he prepared for action, and endeavoured to get a spring on his cable; but

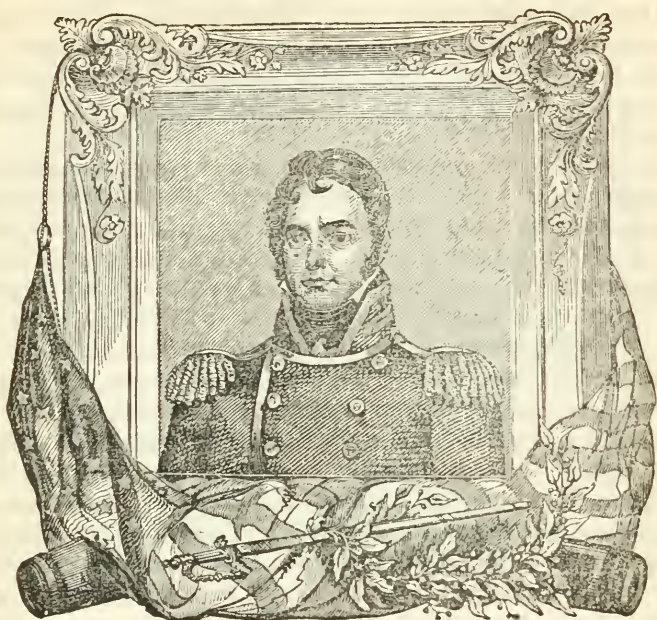
was unsuccessful, when, at fifty-four minutes past 3 P. M., the enemy commenced the action. The *Phœbe* having laid herself under his stern and the *Cherub* on his starboard bow, the latter finding herself in a dangerous place, and exposed to a hot fire, bore up, and ran under his stern also, where they both kept up a raking fire, to which Captain Porter was unable to make any effective return. He, however, succeeded three different times in getting springs on his cables, for the purpose of bringing his broadside to bear on the enemy: but they were as often shot away by the excessive fire to which he was exposed. For defence against this tremendous attack, he was obliged to rely on three long twelve-pounders, which he had run out of the stern ports, and which were worked with such skill and bravery as in half an hour to do such injury to the enemy's ships as to compel him to haul off and repair losses. It was evidently the intention of Commodore Hillyar to risk nothing from the daring courage of his enemy, but to take her at as cheap a rate as possible. All his movements were calm and deliberate, while the situation of Captain Porter was distressing; surrounded by the killed and wounded, and from the crippled state of his ship, unable to help himself, he lay awaiting the convenience of the enemy to renew the scene of slaughter, without any hope of escape or retaliation. The brave crew of the *Essex* evinced their determination to hold out to the last, by hoisting ensigns in their shattered rigging, and jacks in different parts of the ship. The enemy having repaired, placed themselves on the starboard quarter of the *Essex*, and again commenced their work of destruction, out of reach of her carronades. Captain Porter saw there was no hope of injuring the enemy without bearing up and becoming the assailant; and this he determined to do. From the shattered state of his rigging, he was unable to raise any other sail than the flying jib, which he caused to be set, and having cut his cable he bore down upon the enemy with the intention of laying the *Phœbe* on board.

He was now able to close with the enemy, when the firing on both sides was tremendous and destructive. The *Essex* was in a truly deplorable condition; her deck was strewn with the dead and dying, her cockpit filled with wounded; she had been several times on fire, and was, in fact, a total wreck; still a feeble hope sprung up that she might be victorious, from the circumstance of the *Cherub* being compelled to haul off by her crippled state; she, however, did not return to close action again, but kept up a distant firing with her long guns. The *Phœbe* also being seriously injured began to edge off and choose the distance which best suited her long guns. The *Essex* was unable, from her shattered state, to take advantage of single combat with the *Phœbe*, and, for want of sail, was unable to keep at close quarters with her. Both ships now kept up a tremendous and destructive fire, which made dreadful havoc among the

crew of the *Essex*, many of whose guns were rendered useless, while many had their whole crews destroyed, and one gun in particular was manned three times: fifteen men were slain at it in the course of the action. Having lost all hope of closing with the enemy, Captain Porter determined to run his ship on shore, land the crew, and destroy her. Having approached within musket-shot of the shore, and with every prospect of succeeding, the wind shifted and bore her down upon the *Phœbe*, exposing her again to a dreadful and raking fire. The ship was now totally unmanageable; but as her head was toward the enemy and he to leeward, Captain Porter conceived a faint hope of being able to board her. At this moment, Lieutenant Downes, of the *Essex Junior*, came on board to receive orders, expecting that Captain Porter would soon be made prisoner. Finding, from the enemy's putting his helm up, that his last attempt at boarding would not succeed, Captain Porter directed him to return to his own ship and prepare for destroying or defending her in case of attack. The *Cherub* kept up a hot fire on him during his return. The enemy still kept up a constant and destructive fire on the *Essex*, dealing death and destruction among her brave crew. Still her commander persisted, determined to hold out in the unequal and almost hopeless conflict. Every expedient that a fertile and inventive mind could suggest was resorted to, that they might escape from the hands of the enemy. A halser was bent to the sheet anchor, and the anchor cut from the bows to bring the ship's head around, and bring her broadside again to bear upon the enemy. This succeeded; but, from the crippled state of the enemy, they were unable to hold their own, Captain Porter thought she might drift out of gunshot before she discovered that he had cast anchor.

The halser unfortunately parted, and with it the last lingering hope of the *Essex*. At this moment the state of the *Essex* was lamentable. She was on fire both forward and aft, the flames bursting up the hatchway, her decks strewn with the mangled corpses of her brave crew, while many of her officers and men lay wounded in every part of the ship. A council of the officers of division having been called, Captain Porter was surprised to find only acting Lieutenant Stephen Decatur McKnight remaining, the rest having either been killed or wounded, and carried below. In the mean time the enemy, in consequence of the smoothness of the water, lay secure at a distance, where she kept up a constant and destructive fire, aiming with coolness and certainty, hitting the hull at every shot. Captain Porter having despaired of saving the ship, was compelled at twenty minutes past 6 P. M., to give the painful command to strike the colours. The enemy continued firing, and Captain Porter thinking he intended to show no quarter, was about to rehoist his flag and fight until he sunk, when they ceased their attack ten minutes after the surrender, in which

time several men on board the *Essex* were killed. The loss of the *Essex* is a sufficient testimony of the desperate bravery with which she was defended. The general conduct of the officers and men bears ample testimony to their heroism. Out of two hundred and fifty-five men which composed her crew, fifty-eight were killed, thirty-nine severely wounded, twenty-seven slightly, and thirty-one missing, making in all one hundred and fifty-four. She was completely cut to pieces, and so covered with the dead and dying, with mangled limbs, with brains and blood, and the ghastly forms of death, that the officer who came on board to take possession of her, though accustomed to scenes of slaughter, fainted at the shocking spectacle. After the affair of the *Argus* and *Pelican*, it was asserted that our sailors were brave only while successful and unhurt, but that the sight of slaughter filled them with dismay. This battle clearly proves that they are capable of the highest exercise of courage. From the distance and position of the enemy, this battle was chiefly fought on the part of the *Essex* by six twelve-pounders only, yet the damage sustained by the enemy was severe. Their masts and yards were badly crippled, their hulls much cut up, the *Phæbe*, especially, received eighteen twelve-pound shot below her water line, some three feet under water. Their loss in killed and wounded was not ascertained, but must have been severe; the first lieutenant of the *Phæbe* was killed, and Captain Tucker, of the *Cherub*, was severely wounded. It was with some difficulty that the *Phæbe* and *Essex* were kept afloat until they anchored next morning in the harbour of Valparaiso. This battle was fought so near the shore that the neighbouring heights were filled with the inhabitants of Valparaiso, who were spectators of it; and some of the shot fell among the citizens, who had ventured down upon the beach. A generous anxiety ran throughout the multitude for the fate of the *Essex*; bursts of delight arose when any change of battle seemed to favour her; the eager spectators were seen to wring their hands, and utter groans of sympathy when the transient hope failed, and the gallant little frigate once more became the scene of deliberate slaughter. After the battle, as Captain Porter acknowledges, Commodore Hillyar endeavoured, as much as lay in his power, to alleviate their suffering and distress, by the most generous and delicate deportment towards both officers and men, commanding that the property of every person should be restored. Captain Porter and his crew were paroled, and permitted to return to the United States. Off the port of New York, they were overhauled by the *Saturn* razee, whose commander questioned the authority of Commodore Hillyar to grant a passport. Captain Porter then told the boarding officer that he gave up his parole, and considered himself a prisoner of war, and as such should use all means of escape. In consequence of this threat, the *Essex Junior* was compelled to remain under the lee of the *Saturn* all night; but the next morning



CAPTAIN WARRINGTON.

Captain Porter put off in his boat, though thirty miles from the shore ; and notwithstanding he was pursued by the *Saturn*, he landed safely on Long Island. Various interesting and romantic rumours had reached this country concerning him during his cruise in the Pacific, which had excited the curiosity of the public to see this modern Sinbad ; on his arrival at New York, his carriage was surrounded by the populace, who took out the horses, and dragged him, with shouts and acclamations, to his lodgings. .

While cruising in the *Peacock*, in latitude $27^{\circ} 47'$, Captain Warrington had the good fortune to fall in with the British brig of war *Epervier*, with whom he engaged. The result of the action is thus communicated in his official letter to the secretary of the navy.

AT SEA, *April 29, 1814.*

Sir ;—I have the honour to inform you that we have this morning captured, after an action of forty-two minutes, his Britannic majesty's brig *Epervier*, rating and mounting eighteen thirty-two-pound carronades, with one hundred and twenty-eight men, of whom eleven were killed and fifteen wounded, according to the best information we could obtain—among the latter is her first lieutenant, who has lost an arm, and received a severe splinter-wound in the hip. Not a man in the *Peacock* was killed, and

only two wounded, neither dangerously. The fate of the *Epervier* would have been decided in much less time, but for the circumstance of our fore-yard having been totally disabled by two round-shot in the starboard quarter from her first broadside, which entirely deprived us of the use of our fore-topsails, and compelled us to keep the ship large throughout the remainder of the action.

This, with a few top-mast and top-gallant backstays cut away, and a few shot through our sails, is the only injury the *Peacock* has sustained. Not a round-shot touched her hull, and our masts and spars are as sound as ever. When the enemy struck, he had five feet water in his hold—his maintop-mast was over the side—his mainboom shot away—his foremast cut nearly in two, and tottering—his fore-rigging and stays shot away—his bowsprit badly wounded, and forty-five shot-holes in his hull, twenty of which were within a foot of his water-line, above and below. By great exertions we got her in sailing order, just as night came on.

In fifteen minutes after the enemy struck, the *Peacock* was ready for another action, in every respect, but the fore-yard, which was sent down, fished, and we had the foresail set again in forty-five minutes—such was the spirit and activity of our gallant crew. The *Epervier* had under convoy an English hermaphrodite brig, a Russian, and a Spanish ship, which all hauled their wind, and stood to the E. N. E. I had determined upon pursuing the former, but found that it would not be prudent to leave our prize in her then crippled state, and the more particularly so, as we found she had on board one hundred and twenty thousand dollars in specie, which we soon transferred to this ship. Every officer, seaman, and marine did his duty, which is the highest compliment I can pay them.

I am, &c.,

L. WARRINGTON.

Captain Warrington had the good fortune to bring his prize safe into port, and, on his return, received the usual honours, which it had become customary to pay the men who conquered the enemy.

Captain Blakeley was made a master-commandant in 1813, and soon after appointed to the *Wasp*. In this vessel, he fell in with, in latitude 48° 36', N., his Britannic majesty's ship *Reindeer*, mounting sixteen twenty-four pound carronades, two long nine-pounders, and a shifting twelve-pound carronade; and having a complement of one hundred and eighteen men. An action commenced; and, in nineteen minutes, ended in the capture of the *Reindeer*. The loss of the Americans was twenty-one killed and wounded; that of the enemy sixty-seven. The *Reindeer* was cut to pieces, in such a manner as to render it impossible to save her; and she was accordingly set on fire. After this, the *Wasp* put into L'Orient; from which port she sailed the 27th of August, and four days afterwards, falling in with ten sail of merchantmen, under convoy of a ship of the line, she succeeded in cutting off one of the vessels.



CAPTAIN BLAKELEY.

The evening of the 1st of September, 1814, she fell in with four sail, two on each bow,—but at considerable distances from each other. The first was the British brig of war *Avon*, which struck after a severe action; but Captain Blakeley could not take possession, as another enemy was now approaching. This enemy, it seems, however, was called off to the assistance of the *Avon*, which was now sinking. The enemy reported that they had sunk the *Wasp* by the first broadside; but she was afterwards spoken by a vessel off the Western Isles. After this, we hear of her no more; and though her fate is certain, the circumstances attending it are beyond the reach of discovery. The most general impression is, that she was lost by one of those casualties incident to the great deep, which have destroyed so many gallant vessels, in a manner no one knows how—for there are so many uncertainties connected with the unfathomable deep, that even imagination is bewildered in tracing the fate of those who are only known to have perished, because they are never more heard of or seen. Another impression is, that the *Wasp*, very shortly after being spoken off the Western Isles, had a severe engagement with a British frigate, which put into Lisbon in a shattered condition; and reported having had an action, in the night, with a vessel, which was not seen next morning, although the whole night had been calm.

But, whatever may have been the fate of Blakeley, this much is certain,—that he will, to use his own expression, “be classed among those names that stand so high.” The lustre of his exploits, not less than the interest excited by those who remember how, in his very boyhood, he was left, as he says, without a single being around him with whom he could claim kindred blood,—how, by his merit, he obtained friends, and conferred honour on that country which was not only his parent, but which has become the parent of his only child,—and how, last of all, he perished, God only knows how or where,—has all given to his character, his history, his achievements, and his fate, a romantic interest, marking the name of Blakeley for lasting and affectionate remembrance.

In December, 1814, the *Constitution*, Captain Stewart, proceeded on a cruise, having been refitted with great care, and furnished with new sails. On the 24th, he captured and destroyed, to the eastward of the Bermudas, the brig *Lord Nelson*; off Lisbon, he captured the ship *Susan*, with a valuable cargo, and sent her to New York; and on the 20th of February, 1815, after a sharp conflict of forty minutes, he captured the British ships of war, the *Cyane*, of thirty-four guns, and the *Levant*, of twenty-one guns, having three men killed, and thirteen wounded, the British ships having in all thirty-five killed and forty-two wounded.

Captain Stewart proceeded with these prizes to the Island of St. Jago, with a view to divest his ship of the numerous prisoners, consisting of the officers, seamen, and marines of both ships of the enemy, amounting to nearly four hundred. While making arrangements for despatching them at Port Praya, for Barbadoes, the British squadron, consisting of the ships of war the *Acasta*, of fifty guns, the *Newcastle*, of sixty-four guns, and the *Leander*, of sixty-four guns, under the command of Sir George Collier, reached his position under cover of a thick fog. Notwithstanding their near approach, Captain Stewart determined to retreat, and immediately the *Constitution* and her prizes cut their cables, and crowded sail to escape. He was fortunate in being able, by his skilful management and manœuvres, to save from their grasp his favourite frigate *Constitution*, and the *Cyane*; the *Levant* was captured by the squadron, and sent to Barbadoes.

After this escape, he proceeded with the *Constitution* to Maranham, in the Brazils, and landed the prisoners, refreshed his crew, refitted his vessel, and returned to Boston, where he and his officers were received with the usual courtesies by their fellow citizens.

On his way through New York, the common council honoured Captain Stewart with the *freedom of their city*, in a gold box, and extended towards him and his officers the courteous hospitalities of that city, by a public dinner. On his arrival in Philadelphia, the legislature of his native state, (Pennsylvania,) voted him their thanks, and directed his excellency, the governor, to cause a gold-hilted sword to be presented to Captain Stewart

in testimony of their sense of his distinguished merits in capturing the British ships of war of superior force, the *Cyane* and the *Levant*. On the meeting of Congress, the assembled representatives of the nation passed a vote of thanks to Captain Stewart, his officers, and crew; and resolved that a suitable gold medal, commemorative of that brilliant event, the capture of the two British ships of war, the *Cyane* and the *Levant*, by the *Constitution*, should be presented to Captain Stewart, in testimony of the sense they entertained of his gallantry, and that of his officers, seamen, and marines, under his command on that occasion.

The frigate *President*, Commodore Decatur, went to sea on the 14th of January, 1815, leaving the sloops of war *Peacock* and *Hornet* behind to bring out the store vessel, which was not then in readiness. As soon as she was ready, they all went to sea in a gale of wind, on the 23d of January. Three days after, the *Hornet*, Captain Biddle, separated in chase of a vessel, which proved to be a Portuguese brig, and then proceeded singly towards the island of Tristan d'Acunha, which was the first place of rendezvous for the squadron. On the passage, she chased, and boarded every vessel that came in sight. They were only four in all, and all of them neutrals. On the morning of the 23d of March, when about to anchor off the north end of that island, a sail was descried to the southward and eastward. As she was steering to the westward with a fine breeze from the S. S. W., she in a few minutes could not be seen for the land. The *Hornet* made sail to the eastward immediately, and, after clearing the island, and again gaining sight of her, perceived her bear up before the wind. Captain Biddle shortened sail, and hove to for her to come down. When she had come down and began to shorten sail, she took in her steering sails in a very clumsy manner, purposely, as it afterwards appeared, to deceive the *Hornet*. She also came down stem on as nearly as possible, lest, as the officers afterwards stated, the *Hornet* should perceive her broadside and run. In coming down in this manner, she seemed to steer rather towards the *Hornet's* stern, so that Captain Biddle thought her intention was to pass under his stern, giving him a raking broadside, and, hauling her wind, engage him to leeward, to prevent which, the *Hornet* wore ship three times. "At forty minutes past 1 P. M.," says Captain Biddle's official letter, "being nearly within musket-shot distance, she hauled her wind on the starboard tack, hoisted English colours, and fired a gun. We immediately luffed to, hoisted our ensign, and gave the enemy a broadside. The action being thus commenced, a quick and well-directed fire was kept up from this ship, the enemy gradually drifting nearer to us, when at fifty-five minutes past one, he bore up, apparently to run us on board. As soon as I perceived he would certainly fall on board, I called the boarders so as to be ready to repel any attempt to board us. At the instant, every officer and man repaired to the quarter-deck, where the two vessels were coming

in contact, and eagerly pressed me to permit them to board the enemy; but this I would not permit, as it was evident from the commencement of the action, that our fire was greatly superior both in quickness, and in effect. The enemy's bowsprit came in between our main and mizzen-rigging, on our starboard side, affording him an opportunity to board us, if such was his design; but no attempt was made. There was a considerable swell, and as the sea lifted us ahead, the enemy's bowsprit carried away our mizzen-shrouds, stern-davits, and spankerboom, and he hung upon our larboard quarter. At this moment, an officer, who was afterwards recognised to be Mr. McDonald, the first lieutenant, and the then commanding officer, called out that they had surrendered. I directed the marines and musketry-men to cease firing, and, while on the tafferel, asking if they had surrendered, I received a wound in the neck. The enemy just then got clear of us, and his foremast and bowsprit being both gone, and perceiving us wearing to give him a fresh broadside, he again called out that he had surrendered. It was with difficulty I could restrain my crew from firing into him again, as he had certainly fired into us after having surrendered. From the firing of the first gun, to the last time the enemy cried out he had surrendered, was exactly twenty-two minutes by the watch. She proved to be his Britannic majesty's brig *Penguin*, mounting sixteen thirty-two pound carronades, two long twelves, a twelve-pound carronade on the top-gallant forecastle, with swivels on the capstern and in the tops. She had a spare port forward, so as to fight both her long guns of a side. She sailed from England in September last. She was shorter upon deck than this ship by two feet, but she had a greater length of keel, greater breadth of beam, thicker sides, and higher bulwarks than this ship, and was in all respects a remarkably fine vessel of her class. The enemy acknowledges a complement of one hundred and thirty-two men, twelve of them supernumerary marines from the *Medway* seventy-four, received on board in consequence of their being ordered to cruise for the American privateer *Young Wasp*. They acknowledge also a loss of fourteen killed, and twenty-eight wounded; but Mr. Mayo, who was in charge of the prize, assures me that the number of killed was certainly greater."

Among the killed of the *Penguin*, was Captain Dickenson, her commander, who is represented to have been a deserving and favourite officer. Not a single round-shot struck the hull of the *Hornet*, but her sides were filled with grape, and her sails and rigging much cut. The *Hornet* had but one man killed, and eleven wounded. Among the wounded were Captain Biddle severely, and Mr. Connor, the first lieutenant, dangerously.

It is always gratifying to notice the attachment of our brave tars to their commanders. Captain Biddle, in the early part of the action, had his face much disfigured by being struck twice with splinters, and, when he re-

ceived the wound in the neck, from which the blood flowed profusely, the most anxious concern for him was evinced by the crew, two of whom took him in their arms to carry him below. He could scarcely disengage himself from them, and finding that he would not leave the deck, one of them stripped off his shirt, and tied it tightly about Captain Biddle's neck, so as to prevent his bleeding. Captain Biddle would not have his own wound dressed, until after all his men had theirs dressed.

We cannot omit a circumstance which marks a striking and characteristic difference between the seamen of the two countries. In conversation with Lieutenant McDonald, the surviving officer of the *Penguin*, he mentioned that soon after the commencement of the action, Captain Dickenson remarked to him, "This fellow hits us every time, we can't stand his fire; we must run him on board;" at that instant, Captain Dickenson received a grape-shot in his breast, which terminated his life in a few minutes. The command devolving upon Mr. McDonald, he said he gave orders to board, but that his men would not follow him; while the seamen of the *Hornet* were anxious and eager to board the enemy, but were prevented by their commander.

It has been stated, that Captain Biddle was wounded, after the enemy had surrendered. He was standing upon the taffarel, and had ordered the musketry not to fire, when one of his officers called out to him that there was a man taking aim at him. Captain Biddle did not hear this, as his back was towards the officer; but two of the marines perceiving the fellow taking aim at Captain Biddle, fired at him, and he fell dead the instant after he had discharged his piece. He was not more than ten or twelve yards from Captain Biddle when he shot him; the ball struck the chin, directly in front, with much force, and passed along the neck, tearing the flesh, went off behind through his cravat, waistcoat, and coat collar.

The *Penguin* being completely riddled, her foremast and bowsprit gone, and her mainmast so crippled as to be incapable of being secured, and Captain Biddle being unwilling to return into port with his prize, or to spare officers to man her, he resolved to destroy her, and she was accordingly scuttled. A few days after the action, he was joined by the *Peacock*, and the storeship. The *Hornet* had sustained so little injury in the action, that Captain Biddle, having bent a new set of sails, and knotted and secured his rigging, was completely ready for further service. Captains Warrington and Biddle having waited the time prescribed, without the arrival of Commodore Decatur, the *Tom Bowling* storeship was converted into a cartel to carry the British prisoners to St. Salvador, and the *Peacock* and *Hornet* sailed on the 12th of April, bound round the Cape of Good Hope. On the 27th of April, early in the morning, in latitude 38 30, S., and longitude 33, E., they discovered a strange sail, to which they gave chase. As it was part of the time calm, and during the other part

the wind was quite light, they did not approach the chase until the afternoon of the following day. "At forty-five minutes past 2 P. M.," says Captain Biddle's official letter, "the Peacock was about six miles ahead of this ship, and observing that she appeared to be suspicious of the chase, I took in starboard steering-sails, and hauled up for the Peacock. At twenty-two minutes past 3 P. M., the Peacock made the signal, that the chase was a ship of the line, and an enemy. I immediately took in all steering-sails, and hauled upon a wind, the enemy then upon our lee quarter, distant about eight miles. At 9 P. M., as he was gaining upon us, and there was every appearance that he would be enabled to keep sight of us during the night, I considered it necessary to lighten the ship. I therefore threw overboard twelve tons of kentledge, part of our shot, and some of our heavy spars; cut away the sheet anchor and cable, and started the wedges of the masts. At 2 A. M., the enemy being rather before our lee beam, I tacked to the westward; he also tacked, and continued in chase of us. At daylight, on the 29th, he was within gunshot upon our lee quarter. At 7 A. M., having hoisted English colours, and a rear-admiral's flag, he commenced firing from his bow guns. As his shot went over us, I cut away the remaining anchor and cable, threw overboard the launch, six of our guns, more of our shot, and every heavy article that was at hand. The enemy fired about thirty shot, not one of which took effect, though most of them passed over us. While he was firing, I had the satisfaction to perceive that we slowly dropped him, and at 9 A. M., he ceased his fire. At 11 A. M., the enemy was again coming up with us. I now, therefore, threw overboard all our remaining guns, but one long gun, nearly all our shot, all our spare spars, cut away the top-gallant fore-castle, and cleared every thing off deck, as well as from below, to lighten as much as possible. At noon, the enemy again commenced firing; he fired many shot, only three of which came on board, two striking the hull, and one passing through the jib. It is, however, extraordinary that every shot did not take effect; for the enemy, the second time he commenced firing, was certainly within three quarters of a mile of this ship, and the sea quite smooth. I perceived from his sails that the effect of his fire was to deaden his wind, and at 2 P. M., he again ceased firing. At thirty minutes past 2 P. M., the wind, which had previously—and greatly to our disadvantage—backed to the south-east, hauled to the westward, and freshened up. At sundown, the enemy was about four miles astern; the wind was fresh, and we went at the rate of nine knots throughout the night, and at daylight, on the 30th, he was about twelve miles astern, still in chase of us. At thirty minutes past 9 A. M., he took in steering-sails, reefed his topsails, and hauled to the eastward, and at 11 A. M., he was entirely out of sight. During the chase, the enemy appeared to be very crank, and I therefore concluded he must have lightened while in chase

of us. I did not at any time fire our stern-chasers, because it was manifest that the enemy injured his sailing by firing."

During this long and anxious chase, Captain Biddle, though still much indisposed and debilitated by his wound, preserved his accustomed fortitude and presence of mind. Though his situation, for many hours, under the guns of a line-of-battle ship, would have justified his surrender, yet he could not bring his mind to give up the ship, and his persevering and unyielding spirit was rewarded by the success which it merited, but could scarcely have expected. It is this gallant and heroic temper, which never despairs, and is always master of itself, that gives its possessor a claim to much higher merit than can be made by the ordinary efforts of courage. As their capture appeared to be almost inevitable, and the minds of the crew were depressed, Captain Biddle called them together and addressed them: he told them that he was determined not to heave to, but to carry sail from the enemy as long as his spars were unhurt, and that if the enemy continued to fire, he had no doubt that they should escape; he told them if they were captured, he should expect them to behave properly; he encouraged them not to fear any ill usage from the enemy, and assured them that he would continue with them, and never abandon them. The effect of this address was to reanimate the spirits of the crew, and to make them al. pleased and proud to resign their fate, confidently and cheerfully to the direction of their brave commander.

After escaping from the seventy-four, the loss of her armament and other equipments rendered the *Hornet's* return into port indispensable; and as it would have been extremely hazardous to approach our coast, being without guns, boats, or anchors, he concluded to go into St. Salvador, for the purpose of refitting and resuming his cruise. He arrived there on the 9th of June, and on his arrival, heard of the peace with Great Britain. He returned to New York, on the 30th of July.

Agreeably to the request of Captain Biddle, a court of inquiry was held on the 23d day of August, 1815, on board the *Hornet*, in the harbour of New York, to investigate the causes of the return of that ship into port, and to inquire into the circumstances attending the loss of armament, stores, &c. The following opinion was pronounced by the court, of which Captain Evans was President: "The court, after mature deliberation on the testimony adduced, are of opinion that no blame is imputable to Captain Biddle, on account of the return of the *Hornet* into port, with the loss of her armament, stores, &c.; and that the greatest applause is due to him for his persevering gallantry, and nautical skill, evinced in escaping, under the most disadvantageous circumstances, after a long and arduous chase by a British line-of-battle ship."

During his absence, Captain Biddle was promoted to the rank of post-captain.



MONROE'S ADMINISTRATION.



IN his inaugural address, President Monroe spoke with gratification of the increasing prosperity of the country, the capability of the people properly to administer their own laws, and the necessity, drawn from recent experience, of bestowing more than ordinary attention to the defences of the army and navy. But, while communicating this cheering intelligence, he warned them of the danger to be apprehended by the facilities which the nature of our institutions affords to designing men; assuring them, at the same time, that the only safeguard against such designers, is a pure, uncompromising system of morality. "Had the people of the United States," he says, "been educated in different principles, had they been less intelligent, or less virtuous, can it be believed that we should have maintained the same steady and consistent career, or been blessed with the same success? While, then, the constituent body retains its present sound and healthful state, every thing will be safe. They will choose competent and faithful representatives for every department. It is only when the people become ignorant and corrupt, when they degenerate into a populace, that they are incapable of exercising the sovereignty. Usurpation is then an easy attainment and a usurper soon found. The people themselves become the willing instruments of their own debasement and ruin. Let us, then, look to the great cause, and endeavour to preserve it in its full force. Let us, by all wise and constitutional mea-



tures, promote intelligence among the people, as the best means of preserving our liberties. It is particularly gratifying to me to enter on the discharge of these duties, at a time when the United States are blessed with peace. It is a state most consistent with their prosperity and happiness. It will be my sincere desire to preserve it, so far as depends on the executive, on just principles with all nations, claiming nothing unreasonable of any, and rendering to each what is its due."

In concluding his address, the President observes:—

"In the administrations of the illustrious men who have preceded me in this high station, with some of whom I have been connected by the closest ties of early life, examples are presented which will always be found highly instructive and useful to their successors. From these I shall endeavour to derive all the advantages which they may afford. Of my immediate predecessor, under whom so important a portion of this great and successful experiment has been made, I shall be pardoned for expressing my earnest wishes that he may long enjoy in his retirement, the affections of a grateful country, the best reward of exalted talents and the most faithful and meritorious services. Relying on the aid to be derived from the other departments of government, I enter on the trust to which I have been called by the suffrages of my fellow-citizens, with my fervent prayers to the Almighty, that he will be graciously pleased to continue to us that protection which he has already so conspicuously displayed in our favour."

The change of administration made no perceivable difference in the policy of government. Previous to entering on the duties of his office, Monroe was advised by General Jackson, with whom he was on friendly terms, to disregard former party divisions in the formation of his cabinet, and to use his influence and power to destroy party spirit, by appointing the best men to office, without regard to their political preferences. This course Mr. Monroe declined to pursue, confining his appointments generally, as did Jefferson and Madison, to those who professed his own political faith, and with but few exceptions, excluding federalists from office.

Mississippi was admitted into the Union as a state, in 1817. In the summer of the same year, the President made a tour through the northern states, being everywhere welcomed with the warmest demonstrations of a sovereign people. While this was going on, some adventurers, claiming to act under the authority of the revolted colonies of South America, undertook an expedition against East Florida. They were commanded by a man who called himself "Citizen Gregor McGregor, Brigadier-general of the armies of the United Provinces of New Granada and Venezuela, and General-in-chief, employed to liberate the provinces of both the Floridas, commissioned by the supreme governments of Mexico and South America." This man took possession of Amelia Island, at the mouth of

the St. Mary's river, near Georgia, and began extensive preparations for making it a dépôt for buccaneering.

The intelligence of this affair was officially communicated to Congress in the annual message of December. The President stated that, on account of the friendly relations existing between the South American colonies and the United States, it might well be doubted whether the late aggressive acts received any countenance from these powers; and that the doubt was further strengthened by some facts recently brought to light, and which went very far toward stamping it as a mere individual enterprise. He added, that the island had been made a channel for the illicit introduction of slaves from Africa, an asylum for fugitive slaves from the neighbouring states, and a port for smuggling of every kind.

The President also stated, that an institution of a similar kind and prior establishment had been made at Galveston, in the Gulf of Mexico. "This enterprise," says Mr. Monroe, "has been marked in a more signal manner by all the objectionable circumstances which characterized the other, and more particularly by the equipment of privateers which have annoyed our commerce, and by smuggling. These establishments, if ever sanctioned by any authority whatever, which is not believed, have abused their trust and forfeited all claims to consideration. A just regard for the rights and interests of the United States required that they should be suppressed, and orders have accordingly been issued to that effect."

At the head of this piratical establishment was an adventurer named Aury, who endeavoured to collect around him a regular civil government. Finding that he was watched by the American government, he left his first rendezvous and removed to Matagorda, about ninety miles west of his first station. The Lafittes and others of the Baratarian pirates were conspicuous in his company, and took several prizes. Some of these were sent to New Orleans for sale, where they were claimed by the Spanish consul, and delivered into his charge.

Finding smuggling difficult at so great a distance from the United States, Aury returned to Galveston, which had been resorted to by some thirty other smugglers, with whom he united his own. After giving notice that Galveston was no longer under his protection, he sailed to Amelia Island, where he found that McGregor had returned to the Spanish main, and that the island was under the control of Hubbard and Ironil, two of McGregor's associates. The two parties were soon united, and in a little while after joined by about twenty half-pay British officers who had been thrown out of employment by the general pacification of Europe. These had intended to join their fellow-countrymen; but finding Aury in command united themselves to him. The outlaws professed to capture only Spanish vessels; but the flag of no nation was respected by them when a rich cargo was within their grasp. In violation of law, they introduced

many slaves into the United States, and smuggling, to a considerable extent, was successfully practised.

This conduct finally became so outrageous, that the Executive determined to employ a force in ridding the coast of such troublesome neighbours. Captain Henly, in the ship *John Adams*, with a squadron, and a battalion of Charleston artillery, under Major Bankhead, was ordered to take possession of Amelia Island. On the 22d of December, a joint letter was addressed to Aury by the naval and military commanders, requiring him to evacuate the island with his company, leaving all property as he found it when he first occupied the station. On the 23d, quiet possession was taken of the island, and Aury left in February. He was arrested soon after, at Charleston, by the Spanish consuls, but his offence not falling within the jurisdiction of the United States court, he was discharged. Soon after, the Galveston party dispersed.

Before the end of this year, General Jackson was ordered to march against the Seminole Indians, who had, for some time, been committing depredations in the southern part of Georgia. The border region was under the immediate command of General Gaines, who had previously prepared his forces for service, and built Fort Scott at the junction of the Flint and Chatahouchee rivers; Fort Gaines, further up the Chatahouchee; and Fort Crawford, on the Escambia.

When General Jackson assumed the command, he notified the Spanish governor of West Florida, that resistance to his measures, on the part of that colony, would be considered as hostility against the United States. He then proceeded to organize his army, which consisted of four thousand three hundred men. These were to oppose about twelve hundred Indians and runaway negroes, destitute of all order or discipline, with scarce any arms or even clothing. Marching was all the active service performed by the Americans, and the whole affair was denominated by Jackson, a "war of movements."

A number of Tennessee volunteers joined the main body, on the 1st of April, and the whole army then pressed forward to the Mickasuky wigwams. Here they exchanged a few shots with some Indians, but found the villages deserted. A pole painted red, with scalps attached to it, (from which these Indians received the name of Red Sticks,) together with all their wigwams, was burned. A party of friendly Creeks, under McIntosh, was ordered to scour the neighbourhood, in pursuit of the fugitives; while Jackson marched to the Spanish fort at St. Mark's, which he took possession of, hoisting the American flag, and sending the Spanish garrison to Pensacola. Here he found a Scotch trader, named Arbuthnot, who had been carrying on secret intercourse with the enemy, and put him in close confinement. At the same time, he hung two Indian chiefs.

Leaving a small garrison at St. Marks, the general marched on the 9th

of April, to the Sawanay villages, which he reached on the 16th, killed eleven Indians and captured two. Two days after, he arrested Robert C. Ambrister, a late lieutenant of marines in the British service. This man and Arbuthnot were tried by a court-martial, on charges never clearly ascertained, found guilty, and executed on the same day. This summary proceeding, by a military tribunal, in the territory of a friendly power, which had been entered without authority, caused a great sensation throughout the United States. The conduct of General Jackson was loudly denounced by great numbers of our citizens; but, as he belonged to the same political party with the majority in Congress, he was acquitted of all blame by that body.

Soon after this transaction, Jackson removed to St. Marks, but soon after marched toward Pensacola to arrest some fugitive Seminoles. The Spanish governor remonstrated against this movement; but the general entered the town, and the governor and garrison took refuge in the fortress of Barancas. Here he was bombarded for three days, and finally surrendered. Soon after, General Gaines was ordered to proceed against St. Augustine, which being captured, the whole territory was in the military possession of the United States.

Congress re-assembled on the 15th of November, 1818. During this session Illinois was admitted into the Union, as a state, Alabama was authorized to form a constitution and state government, preparatory to admission, and an act was passed instituting Arkansas a separate territory. The citizens of Michigan Territory were also authorized to elect a delegate to Congress. Acts were also passed to protect our commerce; to provide for the civilization and education of the Indian tribes; to authorize the President to take possession of both Floridas, and establish a territorial government; and to provide for the prompt settlement of public accounts.

On the 22d of February, 1819, J. Q. Adams and Don Luis de Onis concluded a treaty between Spain and the United States, by which Florida and all the adjacent islands were secured to the latter country. All the territory east of the Mississippi was thus added to the original thirteen colonies. In October of the same year, a treaty was also made with Great Britain, by which the previous good understanding with that power was much strengthened.

In the summer, the President made a tour through the southern section of the country, similar to that which had been made in the north two years before. He was everywhere received in a like manner.

The sixteenth Congress assembled on the 6th of December. The business of the session was voluminous and important. The great subjects of a tariff, internal improvements, and the recognition of the South American independence, were fully and ably discussed. When these had been

generally disposed of, the Missouri question arose, and in proportion as debate depended upon it, it swallowed up all other considerations, and for a while threatened a dissolution, not only of all former political ties, but of the Union itself. It was not finally settled until 1821.

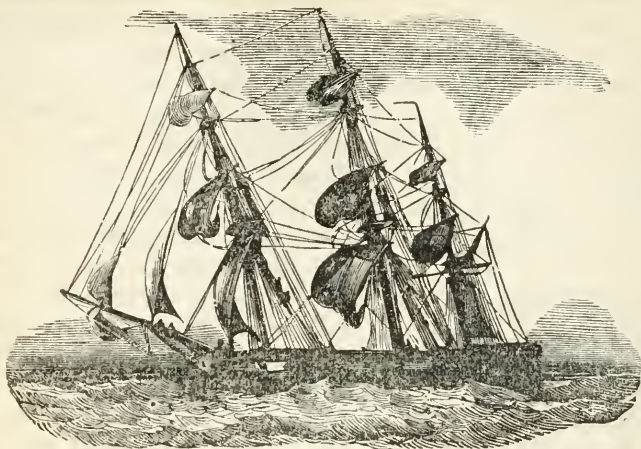
On the 5th of March, 1821, Mr. Monroe again took his seat, as President of the United States, having been elected by a large majority of the electoral college. Daniel D. Tompkins was elected Vice-President.

A convention of navigation and commerce was concluded between our country and France, in 1822. In the next year, Congress passed resolutions providing for the protection of American manufactures, and for internal improvements. From this time until the end of the administration, no measures of great general interest were adopted by that body.

The choice of a successor for Mr. Monroe now became the absorbing national topic. Many candidates were in the field; of whom five were particularly conspicuous. These were William H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury; J. Q. Adams, Secretary of State; Henry Clay, Speaker of the House of Representatives; J. C. Calhoun, Secretary of War; and General Andrew Jackson. The election by colleges gave Jackson ninety nine votes, Adams eighty-four, Crawford forty-one, Clay thirty-seven. There being no choice, the election was referred to the House of Representatives. In that body, Mr. Adams received the votes of thirteen states on the first ballot, and was declared elected. John C. Calhoun was the Vice-President.

The last year of Mr. Monroe's administration was signalized by the visit to the United States of the Marquis de Lafayette, the friend and ally of the Americans, during the war of the Revolution. He was received by a grateful people in a manner worthy of their adopted son.

The President retired from his high duties, on the 3d of March, 1825. His administration is ably described by his successor, in the inaugural address. "He strengthened his country for defence, by a system of combined fortifications, military and naval, sustaining her rights, her dignity, and honour abroad; soothing her dissensions, and conciliating her acerbities at home: confirming, by a firm though peaceful policy, the hostile spirit of the European alliance against republican Southern America; extorting, by the mild compulsion of reason, the shores of the Pacific, from the stipulated acknowledgment of Spain; and leading back the imperial autocrat of the north to his lawful boundaries, from his hastily asserted dominion over the southern ocean. Thus, strengthening and consolidating the federative edifice of his country's union, till he was entitled to say, like Augustus Cæsar, of his imperial city, that he had found her built of brick, and left her constructed of marble."



ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.



ON the 4th of March, 1825, at half-past twelve o'clock, the new President was introduced into the capitol, followed by Mr. Monroe and family, by the judges of the Supreme Court, in their robes of office, the Vice-president, members of the Senate and many of the House of Representatives. Here he delivered his inaugural address, which was listened to with intense silence by the vast multitude. The oath of office was then administered by Chief Justice Marshall; after which, the President organized his cabinet as follows:—Henry Clay, of Kentucky, Secretary of State; Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury; James Barbour, of Virginia, Secretary of War. The Attorney-general, William Wirt, of Virginia, and the Postmaster-general, John McLean, of Ohio, who had occupied those offices under Monroe, were retained.

In his inaugural message, Mr. Adams expressed his entire approbation of the general features of his predecessor's policy, and his determination to adhere to it in as great a degree as possible.

One of the prominent topics of public interest during the year 1825, was the controversy between the national government and the executive of Georgia, Governor Troup, concerning the Creek Indians. By a former compact with that state, the general government was to remove these Indians from Georgia, "whenever it could be peaceably done on reasonable



terms." Toward the end of the last administration, commissioners had been appointed to negotiate with the Creeks, for the sale of their lands; but having for some time enjoyed the comforts of civilized life, they refused to leave their territory to encounter hardships among the wilds of the west, and passed a law forbidding the sale of any of their lands under penalty of death. A few of their chiefs were induced, through fraud, to violate this law, ceding all the lands of the Creeks in Georgia and Alabama to the United States. The treaty was ratified by the Senate, on the last day of Monroe's administration; but when the Indians received intelligence of it, the excitement became so intense as to cause the death of the most prominent signers of the treaty, and an utter protestation on the part of the Creeks against the instrument. Governor Troup now clamoured for its execution, but the President refused to regard it as a legal proceeding, and appointed an agent to investigate the matter; and at the same time, General Gaines was ordered to repair to the disputed territory, to arrest any disturbance that might ensue. After receiving from the agent a report that bad faith and corruption had attended the treaty, the President decided not to suffer any interference with them until the meeting of Congress. Troup at first threatened to take the execution of the treaty into his own hands, but the firm and decided tone of the President induced him to leave the affair to the constituted authorities. The affair was soon afterwards settled by a compromise treaty with the Creeks.

About the same time, various efforts were made to remove all the Indians east of the Mississippi, to the other side of that river, in a territory to be provided for them by Congress. These were attended with but little success. The Indians absolutely refused to yield any more of their land, and government was unwilling to obtain treaties to that effect by force.

The Marquis Lafayette had now spent a year in America. During that time he had visited all the principal cities, and among other places Bunker Hill, at the time of laying the corner-stone for its monument, where he listened to an eloquent address from the mouth of Daniel Webster. He saw many of the revolutionary battle-grounds, together with the dwelling-house and tomb of Washington. On the 7th of September, he took leave of assembled thousands at Washington, on board the new frigate *Brandywine*, prepared expressly for his conveyance. He had previously passed a few weeks at the President's house. Mr. Adams took leave of him in an impressive address, delivered before the civil authorities of the District of Columbia, the heads of departments, and the multitude. The parting address was delivered with great dignity and evident emotion.

The Congress of this year presented rather a strange spectacle. It was composed of several elements, invincible to harmony, and entirely opposed to the administration, not so much from political as from personal motives. One-third of the session was consumed in the consideration of measures

censuring the President and his secretary of state ; and the most foolish and outrageous motives were imputed to them as the ground of their conduct. Mr. Adams was sustained, however, with great dignity by the Senate.

The subject of South American independence now engrossed a large share of attention. A convention of all the American republics was recommended by Simon Bolivar, and the concurrence of the United States requested. Government declined participating in this movement, until definitely assured of its objects ; this being settled, representatives were sent on the part of the United States. The convention, however, did not assemble at the appointed time, and the delegates returned to their country.

During the year 1825, a general convention of amity and commerce between our country and the Republic of Columbia was concluded by the plenipotentiaries at Bogota, and signed by the President on the 31st of May, at Washington. In the following year, similar conventions were concluded with Denmark and the confederation of Central America.

On the 26th of July, 1826, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson closed their eventful lives, the one, ninety-one years old, and the other eighty-three. The death of these two men, who were the pillars of the Declaration of Independence, on the same day, and just half a century after their signing that instrument, may be noticed as one of the most remarkable coincidences in our national history.

In 1828, after much angry discussion, Congress passed a bill of duties on foreign imports ; which, although highly approved of by the north, met with much opposition in the opposite section of the Union. It added another to the numerous causes which were soon to burst like a storm on the administration. The law, however, continued in force until 1832.

From this time, until the presidential election, all classes were engaged in angry discussion upon the merits of candidates. Every interest seemed for a while absorbed in the universal passion for and against party. The great contest took place in the fall of 1828, amid a state of feeling unprecedented in the history of America. The most strenuous exertions were used by each party, and the election was most animated. It resulted in the defeat of Mr. Adams, and the election of General Jackson, as President, and Mr. Calhoun, as Vice-president. The vote of the electoral colleges stood a hundred and seventy-eight for Jackson, and eighty-three for Adams. Mr. Calhoun was re-elected by a hundred and seventy-one votes, over Richard Rush, who received eighty-three.

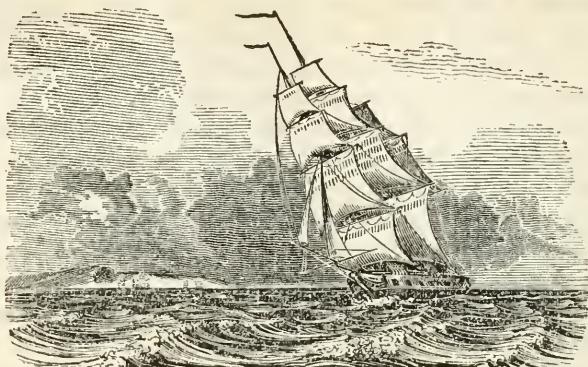
In his last annual message, the President entered into an able review of the condition of the country, and the state of our foreign and domestic relations. This paper differed from his three former messages, in discussing the subject of the tariff, which had before been omitted. Mr. Adams

hoped that the exercise of a constitutional power intended to protect the great interests of the country from the hostile legislation of foreign countries, would never be abandoned. Congress passed few bills of great interest. The feverish excitement of the political campaign was followed by a reaction both with that body and the people.

"Thus terminated," says the Annual Register, "the administration of John Quincy Adams; and whatever opinion may be entertained of its policy and its tendency, it cannot be denied that its character was marked and definite, and that it exercised a strong influence upon the interests of the country. The merits and demerits of his policy were positive and not negative. Certain definite objects were proposed as desirable, and the energies of the government were directed toward their attainment. The United States, during this administration, enjoyed uninterrupted peace; and the foreign policy of the government had only in view the maintenance of the dignity of the national character; the extension of its commercial relations, and the successful prosecution of the claims of American citizens upon foreign governments.

"It was, however, in the domestic policy of the government that the character of the administration was most strongly displayed. During its continuance in office, new and increased activity was imparted to those powers vested in the federal government, for the development of the resources of the country; and the public revenue liberally expended in prosecuting those national measures to which the sanction of Congress had been deliberately given as the settled policy of the government. More had been done in public improvement than during the administrations of all his predecessors. At the same time, the interest on the public debt was punctually paid, and the debt itself was in a constant course of reduction.

"In the condition which we have described, in peace with all the world, with an increasing revenue, and with a surplus of \$5,125,638 in the public treasury, the administration of the government of the United States was surrendered by Mr. Adams, on the 3d of March, he having previously left the government house, and relinquished the executive power. The next day, General Jackson entered upon the administration of the government."



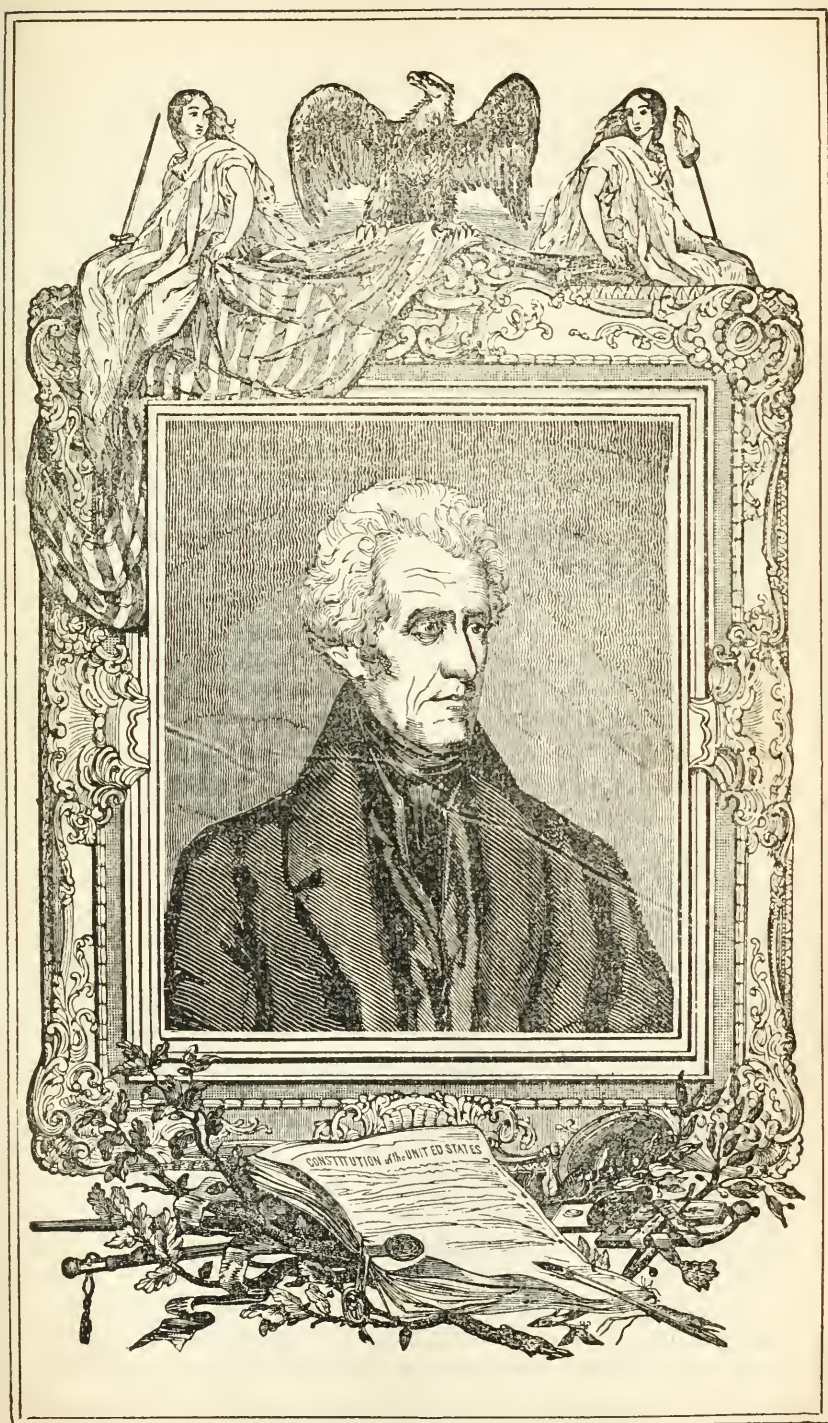
ADMINISTRATION OF ANDREW JACKSON.



GENERAL JACKSON delivered his inaugural address on the 4th of March, 1829, in the presence of Congress, the foreign ministers, and an immense concourse of spectators. Immediately after, the oath to support the Constitution was administered to him by Chief Justice Marshall. He then nominated the following gentlemen to fill his cabinet. Martin Van Buren, of New York, Secretary of

State ; Samuel D. Ingham, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury ; John H. Eaton, of Tennessee, Secretary of War ; John Branch, of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy ; John McPherson Berrien, of Georgia, Attorney-general.

Before this it had been distinctly avowed by the government organs, that the President would reward those who had contributed to his election by promotions to office, even at the expense of expelling others. Accordingly, the promised work began in earnest. Scarcely had the Senate adjourned, than a system of removal was commenced, unprecedented in the history of the nation. It even extended to men too humble to be claimed by any party, and who depended on their office for subsistence. Availing himself of the right to fill vacancies in the recess of Congress, the President, soon after their adjournment, removed the principal officers of the treasury, the marshals, and district attorneys, in most of the Eastern, Middle, and Western States, the revenue officers of the chief Atlantic ports, and the greater part of the receivers and registers of the land-office. An equally radical change was made in the diplomatic corps. During this recess of a few months, the number of appointments made in consequence of removal from office, was one hundred and seventy-six ; while the num-



ber during the forty years of all the preceding presidents was seventy-four, and most of these for official cause.

As these removals of the President were invariably made to favour political adherents, his conduct caused great excitement. Not only was he accused for his inconsistency in acting so oppositely to his former advice to Mr. Monroe, but of violation of the Constitution, which only gave him the right to fill vacancies either occasionally occurring, or caused by some official misconduct.

The twenty-first Congress assembled on the 7th of December, 1829. Its business was voluminous, and highly important, and the early part of the discussions showed no great harmony between the President and the representatives of the people. The tariff was modified, laws passed regarding Indians, and the slave trade, and regulating the expenses of the militia in different parts of the country. An interesting debate on the public lands commenced in the senate, through a resolution offered on the 29th of December, by Mr. Foot, of Connecticut. The greatest talent of the Senate was called forth in this discussion, and excitement upon it pervaded all parts of the country.

Meanwhile, a serious misunderstanding had been growing between the President and his Secretary of State, and which finally terminated in an open rupture. It professedly originated in the view taken by Mr. Calhoun, of Jackson's course in the Seminole war of 1818. The Secretary was sustained by Mr. Crawford, and other officers of distinction, and the discussions and correspondence upon the subject was protracted and deeply interesting.

On the 27th of May, 1830, the President returned to the house with his objections a bill authorizing a subscription to the stock of the Maysville and Lexington road company, in Kentucky. The reading of this veto caused much excitement in Congress, and the house refused, by a majority of four, to sustain the objections of the President. Other bills of similar import, which had been vetoed by the President, were sustained by subsequent ballot. The course of General Jackson gave such offence to many of his friends, that at the assembling of the next Congress, his former large majorities had dwindled down into a trivial minority.

Some difficulties with Great Britain were at this time amicably settled; and treaties were formed with Brazil, Denmark, and Prussia.

On the 20th of April, 1830, the official journal at Washington announced that the cabinet ministers had resigned. This added to the popular excitement, and speculation immediately became rife to ascertain the cause. This, however, was never clearly shown.

In 1832, General Jackson was elected to his second term of office.

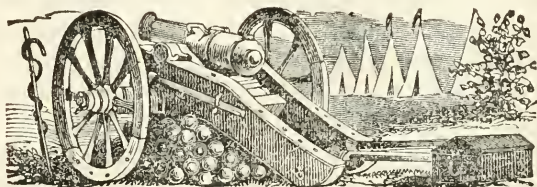
In February, 1833, Mr. Clay introduced into the Senate, a compromise tariff bill, in order to settle the question which had met with such long and

angry debate. It received the approval of Mr. Calhoun, and the southern men generally, and soon after became a law. The same senator introduced a bill for distributing the proceeds of the sales of public lands among the states, which passed both houses, and was submitted to the President. The latter retained it till the adjournment of Congress, and thus defeated the measure by an *absolute* veto.

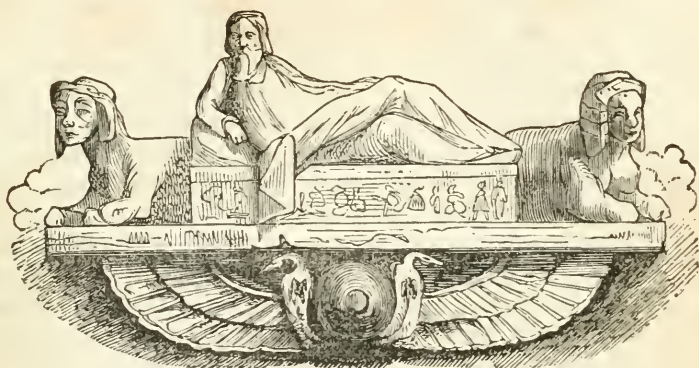
The nullification disputes, and removal of deposits from the national bank, were the absorbing events of Jackson's second term. Their history is so well known that it seems scarcely necessary to particularize. For a while one threatened a secession from the Union, and the other caused such intense excitement and commercial distress that numerous committees appointed by merchants, mechanics, tradesmen, and others in the principal cities and towns, waited on the President, asking that he would recommend some measures of relief. They were answered, that the government could give no relief, and provide no remedy; that the banks were the occasion of all the evils that existed, and that those who suffered by their great enterprise, had none to blame but themselves; and that those who traded on borrowed capital ought to break.

The presidential election, which took place in the fall of 1836, was warmly contested. Four candidates were in the field—Van Buren, Harrison, Webster, and White. The first was the especial friend of General Jackson, and was elected.

Before retiring from office, the President issued a farewell address to the people of the United States, in which he set forth, at length, his political views and principles. He remained at Washington long enough to witness the inauguration of his chosen friend and successor, and then set out for the Hermitage, in Tennessee.







ADMINISTRATION OF MARTIN VAN BUREN.



HE oath of office was administered to the new President by Chief Justice Taney; after which the cabinet was appointed as follows: John Forsyth, of Georgia, Secretary of State; Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire, Secretary of the Treasury; Joel R. Poinsett, of South Carolina, Secretary of War; Mahlon Dickenson, of New Jersey, Secretary of the Navy; Amos Kendall, of Kentucky, Postmaster; Benjamin F. Butler, of New York, Attorney-general.

In 1837, a pressure in money affairs took place, which will long be remembered in the civil history of our country. The primary causes of this terrible disaster, were the derangement of the currency, and loss of public credit, on account of the abolition of a national bank—the specie circular of General Jackson requiring all payment for public lands to be made in specie; the distribution of the surplus funds among the states, the excessive importation of merchandise from Europe, beyond the wants or abilities of the country, and the increase of speculation. Millions of dollars were thus lost, and thousands of families were reduced from affluence to beggary. The sufferings of the poor were extreme. Numerous memorials were laid before the President, and large committees exhorted him to provide some means for arresting the alarming losses. He accordingly issued a proclamation convening Congress in special session, on the first Monday of September.

The message of the President to this session did not promise relief to the people. It clearly asserted that the national legislature could do nothing to mitigate the evils which existed, and which, it stated, were occasioned by the unwise conduct of the business community. It recommended the plan known by the name of the Sub-treasury system, the

principal object of which was the demolition of the state banks, and the consolidation of their money transactions into branches of the national treasury, whose payments were to be principally in gold and silver. It was very unfavourably received by the friends of the President, who were interested in banks, and was represented by the opposition as a perfection of the attack upon the credit system, begun by President Jackson. It passed the Senate by a small majority, but was lost in the House. The same success attended it in the following session.

Troubles took place in Canada in 1838, which for a while threatened to involve the country in war with England; but happily this was averted. At nearly the same time, appropriations were made for the subjection of the Seminoles in Florida, who had now carried on war for some years, and cost the nation millions of money. Another act was passed at this session, locating and providing for the Seminole Indians, who had been removed from Florida; another, abolishing imprisonment for debt in certain cases.

During the summer of 1839, the President visited the state of New York, for the first time since his election. He travelled through the state, stopping at the principal cities and villages, where he was received with public honours, and followed by processions of citizens, civil and military.

The twenty-sixth Congress met on the 2d of December, 1839. Every member elect of the House of Representatives was present, except one; but five members from New Jersey were denied their seats, although they had in their possession the governor's certificate of election. This subject was of great importance, as upon these members the political character of the House depended. They were opposed by five democratic applicants, and the contest among the members was long, animated, and disorderly. This condition of things lasted until the 5th, when ex-president Adams addressed the members, and urged the necessity of organizing, by appointing a president *pro tem*. Mr. Rhett, of South Carolina, then nominated Lewis Williams, of North Carolina, who declined, and the final nomination fell upon Mr. Adams. The dispute about the contested seats continued until the 16th, when Robert T. Hunter, of Virginia, was chosen speaker. The Whig members elect then came forward, and claimed their seats, giving rise to a new debate, which continued till the 20th, when their claims were refused, and the friends of the administration obtained a majority.

During this session of Congress, a Whig national convention was held in Harrisburg, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for the presidency. The popular candidate was Henry Clay; but on account of the results of recent elections, held in the Southern and Middle States, the friends of that gentleman were induced to believe that he was more unpopular in those

quarters of the Union, than had been expected. In these doubts he himself acquiesced, and exhorted the convention and Whigs generally to reject him, if a more suitable candidate could be found. When the convention met, three candidates were proposed. Henry Clay, of Kentucky, William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, and General Winfield Scott, of the army. Mr. Clay had a decided plurality; but after three days' session, and a careful comparison of chances, General Harrison received a majority over the other two, and John Tyler, of Virginia, was nominated for vice-president.

Few bills of importance were passed by Congress this session; that to establish an independent treasury, although twice rejected by the late Congress, now received the sanction of both houses, and was signed by the President, July 4, 1840. The whole country seemed exhausted by a universal want of confidence and a destitution among the poorer classes, unknown in our previous history; and this feeling crept into the legislative chambers, and paralyzed almost every exertion.

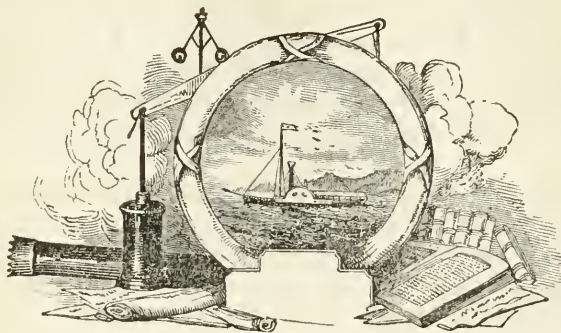
On the 5th of May, 1840, about two hundred and fifty representatives from twenty-one states, met in convention at Baltimore, to nominate a democratic candidate for the ensuing national contest. Their unanimous choice fell upon Mr. Van Buren for president; the nomination of a vice-president was left to the pleasure of the different states. A third party, called abolitionists, nominated James G. Birney, of Michigan, for their candidate.

The election of 1840 was the most exciting of any ever witnessed in the United States. Electoral tickets in favour of Mr. Van Buren were formed in every state in the Union; and the Whigs also formed tickets in every state, except South Carolina. The result was, the success of the Whig candidates, Harrison and Tyler, by a large majority both of the electoral colleges and the public vote.

The second session of the twenty-sixth Congress commenced on the 7th of December, 1840, and continued to the expiration of their term on the 3d of March, 1841. It was extremely barren in acts of public interest. Appropriations were made for certain fortifications, an act passed authorizing another issue of treasury notes, and a bankrupt law was discussed, but not acted upon.

The public expenditures during this administration greatly exceeded those of any previous four years since the war with Great Britain, exclusive of the public debt and the Florida war. Large sums were lost to the national treasury by the defalcations of officers and the failure of deposit banks.

On the 3d of March he retired from his dignified station, and was succeeded by the President elect.



ADMINISTRATION OF WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.



ON the 4th of March, 1841, the city of Washington was thronged with people from every part of the Union, to behold the inauguration of the new President. Mounted on a white charger, he passed through a mass of fifty thousand people, who rent the air with their shouts of exultation, and took his seat in the Senate-chamber at twenty minutes past twelve o'clock. On the plat-

form seats had been provided for the President elect and the chief justice, who were placed immediately in front. Behind sat members of both houses of Congress, officers of the army and navy, and many distinguished characters from different parts of the Union. On the right was the diplomatic corps. Large companies of ladies occupied not only the seats in the rear of the platform, but both the broad abutments of stone which support the steps on either side.

The ceremony of inauguration was grand and imposing. The President delivered an address to the countless multitude, received the oath of office from Chief Justice Taney, and immediately afterwards proceeded to his residence.

Soon after, General Harrison nominated the following cabinet: Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, Secretary of State; Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; John Bell, of Tennessee, Secretary of War; George E. Badger, of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy; Francis Granger, of New York, Postmaster-general; and John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, Attorney-general.



In his inaugural address, the President entered at some length into an expression of the policy with which he intended to be governed, and of the evils which had brought the late calamities upon the country. He concluded in a manner worthy of the chief magistrate of our republic. "I deem the present occasion sufficiently important and solemn to justify me in expressing to my fellow citizens a profound reverence for the Christian religion, and a thorough conviction that sound morals, religious liberty, and a just sense of religious responsibility, are essentially connected with all true and lasting happiness; and to that good Being who has blessed us by the gifts of civil and religious freedom, who watched over and prospered the labours of our fathers, and has hitherto preserved to us institutions far exceeding in excellence those of any other people, let us unite in fervently commending every interest of our beloved country in all future time."

Here the oath of office was administered, and the President continued:

"Fellow citizens,—Being fully invested with that high office to which the partiality of my countrymen has called me, I now take an affectionate leave of you. You will bear with you to your homes the remembrance of the pledge I have this day given to discharge all the high duties of my exalted station according to the best of my ability; and I shall enter upon their performance with entire confidence in the support of a just and generous people."

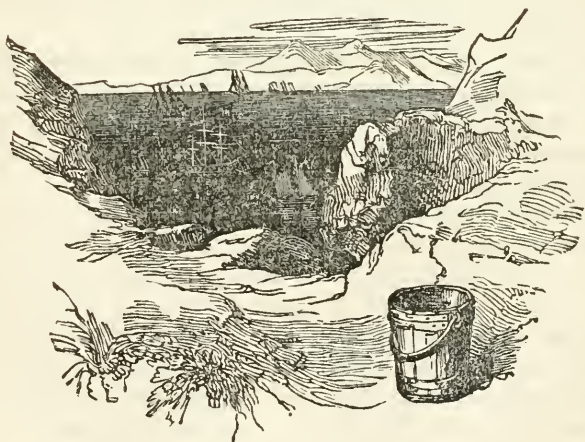
In consideration of the alarming condition of the country, Harrison issued a proclamation on the 17th of March, calling an extra session of Congress, to be held on the last Monday (31st) of the ensuing May. This measure was viewed with universal satisfaction, and a radical reform of the administration was confidently expected.

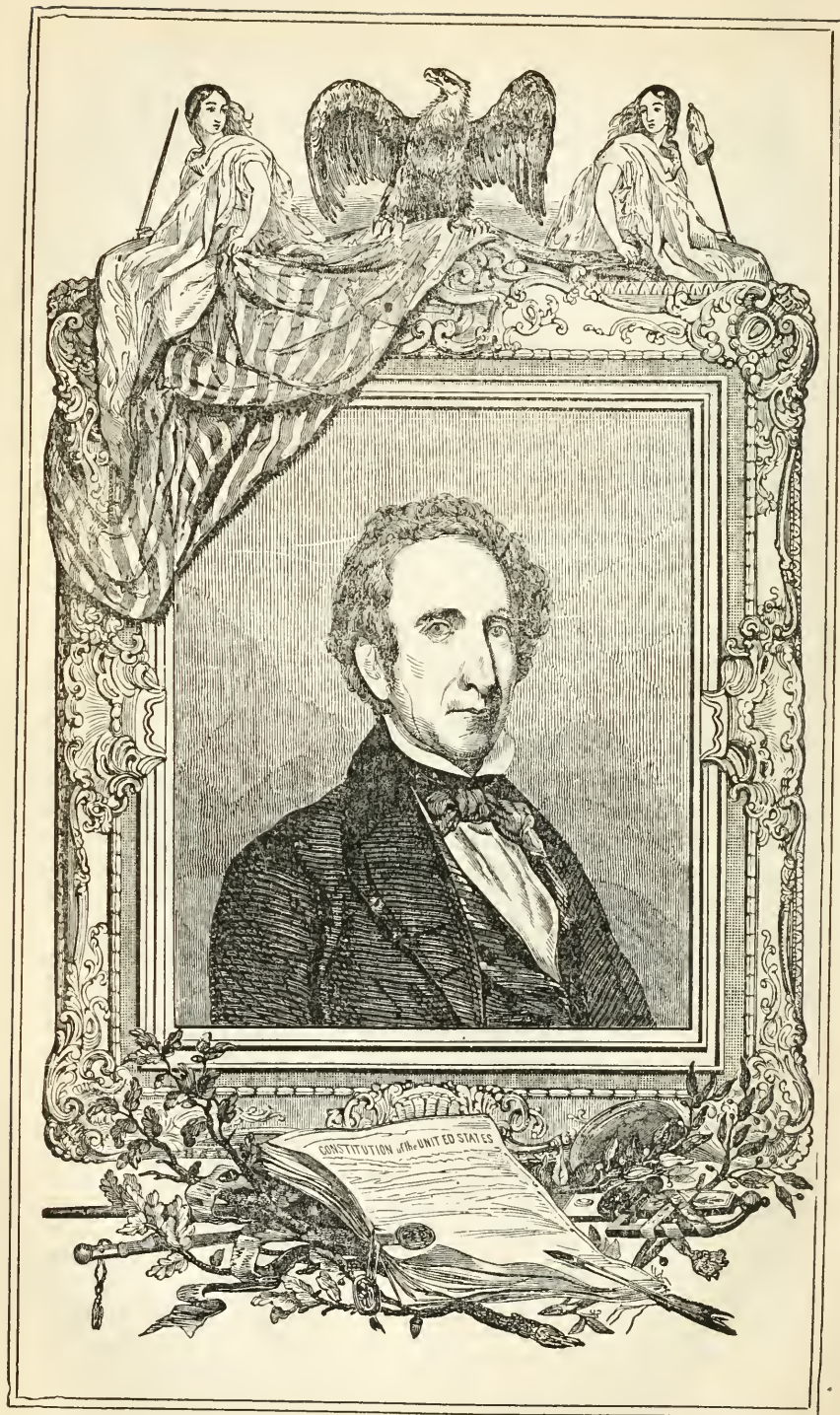
The venerable Harrison was destined by Providence never to witness the consummation of his ardent wishes for the nation's welfare. On the 27th of March, after several days' indisposition, he was seized with a chill and other symptoms of fever. These terminated in a bilious pleurisy, which baffled medical skill, and terminated his life on Sunday morning, the 4th of April, at the age of sixty-eight. His last words were, "Sir, I wish you to understand the principles of the government; I wish them carried out; I ask nothing more." They appeared to be intended for the Vice President, although he was not in the room.

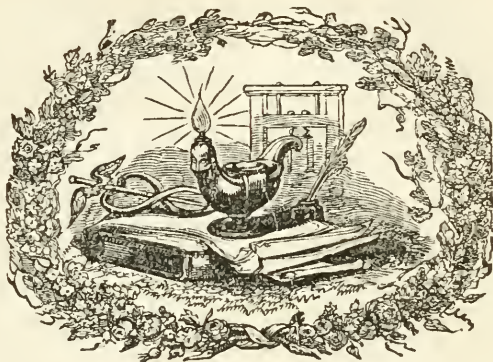
"So brief had been the late President's illness," remarks the National Intelligencer, "that now, as in the case of Washington, there had scarce been time for us to begin to fear, when the stunning blow of the reality fell upon us like the stroke of thunder from a cloudless sky. Men looked aghast, and staggered as if amazed by something they could scarce believe. * * * * * When the words 'the President is dead,' met the ear, the man of business dropped his pen, the artizan dropped his tools—children looked

into the faces of their parents, and wives into the countenances of their husbands, and the wail of sorrow arose as if each had lost parent or some near and dear friend."

On the 7th his funeral took place in Washington, and was the longest ever witnessed in that city. Crowds of citizens thronged the streets, from Baltimore, Philadelphia, and other places. The body was interred in the Congressional burying ground, but afterwards removed to North Bend, Ohio, at the request of the general's family. All party feelings were merged into respect for his memory. A public fast was proclaimed by Mr. Tyler, and the whole nation mourned the death of one of its best and greatest sons. The courts and different legislative bodies showed their sense of the heavy dispensation by appropriate resolutions; and the clergy of all denominations expressed their sorrow in their public and official capacity.







ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN TYLER.



IN the death of General Harrison, the presidency of the United States, by a clause of the Constitution, providing for such an emergency, devolved upon the Vice-president. He arrived at the capital on the 6th of April, and was immediately waited upon by the members of the cabinet, to whom he expressed his deep sense of the national loss, and his hope that they would continue in office and lend him all necessary assistance. He attended the funeral of the late President, and confirmed all his nominations.

Much anxiety was manifested among the friends of the administration, as to the course which Mr. Tyler would pursue, as he was known to be favourable to what is called the old Virginian school of democracy. The inaugural address appears to have been pretty generally satisfactory, which feeling was increased by the policy respecting the recent appointments. He also sanctioned the special meeting of Congress, as in his own words, "his own first wish, in the circumstances in which he was so unexpectedly placed, would have been to have called to his aid, in the administration of public affairs, the combined wisdom of the two houses of Congress, in order to take their counsel and advice as to the best mode of extricating the government and the country from the embarrassments weighing heavily on both."

Congress met in extra session on the day appointed. The Whigs had a large majority in both houses. One of the first measures which they proposed was the establishment of a new national bank. A bill to that effect

was reported by the Secretary of the Treasury, and referred to a committee, of which Mr. Clay was chairman. The institution was to be located in the District of Columbia, with a capital of thirty millions, augmentable at the will of Congress, with a power to establish branches in different states. It was passed by decided majorities, and presented to the President on the 6th of August. He retained it the whole constitutional period, during which time the most intense anxiety was felt for its fate, by friends of the administration. Various committees visited him, frankly stated their fears, and exhorted him to consider the state of the country and the wishes of his party. Mr. Botts, of Virginia, addressed to him a powerful but respectful letter, entering at length into the absolute necessity for a national bank. On the 16th, the bill was sent to the Senate with his veto.

The veto message bewildered the Whig members of Congress, and was received by the party throughout the country as the knell of hope—the precursor to destruction and dissolution. The President, however, had hinted at a bank which would be likely to meet his approval, and Congress immediately hastened to mould it into a tangible form. In order not to be again deceived, they appointed Mr. Berrien, from the Senate, and Mr. Sergeant, from the House, to wait upon the chief magistrate, and ascertain from him, personally, exactly the kind of bill that he would approve. This was done, and the new bill shaped accordingly. Nothing could exceed the astonishment of the whole country, when this bill, also, was returned vetoed to the Congress. All confidence between the President and his former friends was immediately lost; and, with a single exception, the whole cabinet resigned.

Twenty-five acts and five joint-resolutions were passed at the extra session. Of these, the most important were the repeal of the Sub-treasury, the establishment of a uniform system of bankruptcy; reviving and extending the charters of banks within the District of Columbia; appropriating the proceeds arising from the sales of the public lands, and regulating the post-office law.

About this time, the arrest of McLeod, for murder and piracy, threatened the country with a repetition of the scenes of 1812. On the 29th of December, 1837, a party from Canada, acting under British authority, attacked the United States steamboat *Caroline*, at Fort Schlosser, on the American side of the Niagara river, drove off the crew, and sent her over the Falls. McLeod was in this affair, and, being arrested by the authorities of New York, was accused of having murdered an American, Amos Durfee. Being claimed by the British government, the United States made efforts to have him tried by the national court, but the governor of New York refused to deliver him. The trial caused much excitement, it being a question of interest to both nations. McLeod, however, was acquitted.

The second session of the 27th Congress commenced on the 6th of December, and is remarkable as being the longest session of any Congress since the formation of the Constitution. An immense amount of business was done by it, and no less than two hundred and ninety-nine bills passed. The leading measure was a new tariff; a bill for which was signed by the President, after he had rejected two others of similar import. Acts were also passed for the apportionment of representation, for various purposes of defence, and to authorize the issue of treasury notes. At the beginning of the session, a plan of an exchequer was reported by the Secretary of the Treasury, but not acted upon.

In 1842, an important treaty with Great Britain was negotiated at Washington, by which the long-vexed question of the north-eastern boundary was definitely settled, in a manner satisfactory to all parties. Lord Ashburton was the representative of England, appointed especially for the purpose, and Mr. Webster, for the United States. In addition to the boundary question, the treaty provided for the final suppression of the African slave trade, and the delivery of fugitive criminals in certain cases. Soon after this amicable adjustment of a troublesome dispute, the Secretary of State resigned.

In July, 1843, the President reorganized his cabinet as follows:—Abel P. Upshur, of Virginia, Secretary of State; John C. Spencer, of New York, Secretary of the Treasury; James M. Porter, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of War; David Henshaw, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy; Charles A. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, Postmaster-general; John Nelson, of Maryland, Attorney-general. At the next meeting of Congress, the Senate refused to sanction the appointment of Porter and Henshaw; and William Wilkins, of Pennsylvania, and Thomas Gilmore, of Virginia, were substituted. On the 28th of February, 1844, Messrs. Upshur and Gilmore were killed by the bursting of a large gun on board the Princeton, and John C. Calhoun became Secretary of State. Some other changes took place in the cabinet during the same year.

About the same time, a valuable treaty was concluded with the Chinese empire.

On the 12th of April, 1844, a treaty of annexation between our government and that of Texas was signed by Messrs. Calhoun, Henderson, and Van Zandt, but was rejected by the Senate. The measure, however, became one of considerable popularity in the south, and was subsequently made a political article by the democratic party throughout the country.

The Whig national convention met in Baltimore, on the 1st of May, 1844, to nominate candidates. Henry Clay was unanimously chosen for president by acclamation. Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, was chosen for vice-president. On the 27th of the month, the democratic convention met in the same city. Van Buren was the popular candi-

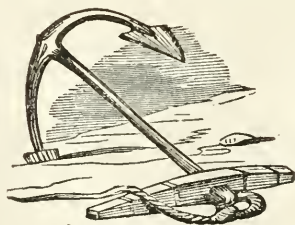
date, but on account of his opposition to the annexation of Texas, he was rejected by what was called the two-third rule, and after much excitement, the nomination fell upon James Knox Polk, of Tennessee. At the same time, Silas Wright, of New York, was appointed as the candidate for vice-president; but he declined, and the honour was conferred upon George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania. A resolution was also passed, declaring, "that our title to the whole of the territory of Oregon is clear and unquestionable; that no portion of the same ought to be ceded to England, or any other power; and that the reoccupation of Oregon, and the reannexation of Texas, at the earliest practical period, are great American measures, which this convention recommends to the cordial support of the democracy of the Union."

At the same time, a third convention met at Baltimore, and nominated John Tyler. He accepted the nomination, but subsequently withdrew his name.

The presidential election, in the fall of 1844, gave the two first offices in the nation to the democratic candidates, Polk and Dallas.

The most exciting topic for the second session of the twenty-eighth Congress was the annexation of Texas. The act finally passed, and was ratified by the President, on the 1st of March, 1845. A river and harbour bill was passed, but was retained by the executive, until after the session.

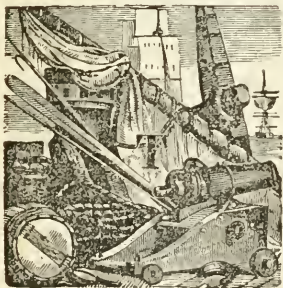
On the 3d of March, the administration of President Tyler terminated, and on the following day, his successor was inaugurated at the capitol.







COMMENCEMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES K. POLK.



HE 4th of March, 1845, was gloomy and lowering; and this circumstance considerably impaired the splendour of the inauguration. A very large concourse of citizens had assembled at Washington, and the civil and military procession was long and imposing. Both parties united in demonstrations of respect for the chief magistrate. The oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Taney, after which the President repaired to the White

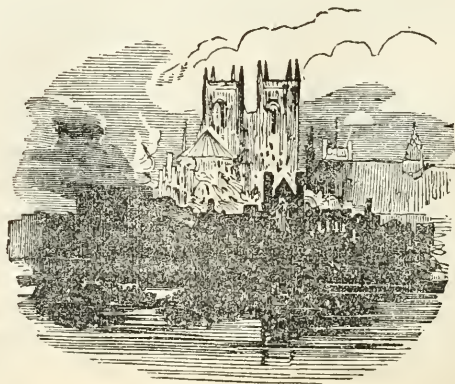
House, where he spent the remainder of the day, in receiving the congratulations of his friends.

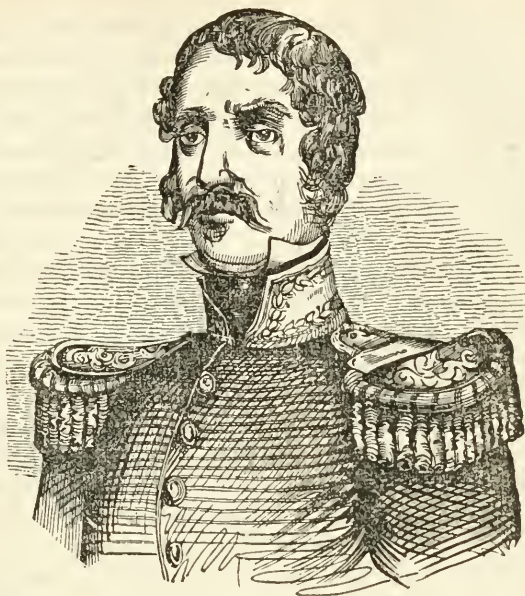
The first annual message gave assurance to the democracy of the nation, that the principles which they desired carried out would be conformed with. One of the most important subjects was the annexation of Texas, on which the President fully concurred with the course of his predecessors. The attention of Congress was also called to the dispute about Oregon, and urged the propriety of claiming the whole of that territory, in opposition to the claims of Great Britain. He also recommended a reduction of the rate of duties under the tariff of 1842, a further restriction of banks, and the adoption of measures for the national defence. The proposed alteration in the tariff law caused alarm and disappointment throughout the north, especially in the manufacturing districts, where it had been tacitly understood at the presidential election that Polk was in favour of the law of 1842.

All the obstacle now remaining against the final acquisition of Texas was the consent of that nation's Congress. Prior to their action upon it, Mexico assumed an aspect utterly opposed to that measure, and protested against it as an encroachment upon her territory, and a violation of the law of nations. The minister at Washington demanded his papers, and the American envoy was refused all intercourse with Mexico. As she had never acknowledged the independence of Texas, that fact was appealed to as a justification of these measures. Much negotiation then ensued, and special ministers were appointed to adjust the difficulty. But, for several unhappy reasons, this could not be effected, and it was evident that an appeal to arms would soon follow the diplomatic contest. During this time, the Texan Congress sanctioned the act of annexation, and their territory became part of the United States.

In 1845, a corps of observation was organized under the command of General Taylor, to march into Texas, and repel any invasion of the Mexicans in that quarter. The troops were concentrated at Corpus Christi, where they remained for a considerable time. Having received orders to advance towards the Rio Grande, Taylor broke up his camp on the 11th of March, 1846, and marched to the east bank of that river, opposite Matamoras. Here he built Fort Brown, and soon after opened the Mexican war by the battles of Palo Alto, and Resaca de la Palma.

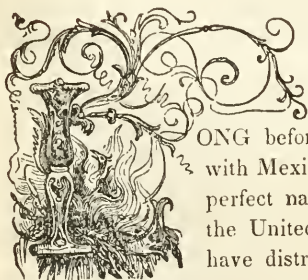
In the winter of 1845-6, Congress repealed the tariff law, and substituted another, generally known by the title of the tariff of 1846. It reduced the rate of duties on almost all commodities, and was received throughout the north and manufacturing states generally, with dismay and indignation. The Senate also ratified a treaty with Great Britain, by which our title to the whole of Oregon was relinquished, and the northern boundary line fixed at 49° 50' north latitude.





PAREDES.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE MEXICAN WAR



LONG before the commencement of the present war with Mexico, various unhappy causes had hindered a perfect national friendship between that country and the United States. The different revolutions which have distracted her since the establishment of nationality, together with the fact that the views and policy of each ruler were generally the very opposite of those of his predecessor, rendered it almost impossible for a neighbouring republic, whose foreign diplomacy had usually been stationary, to maintain strict amity. The war with Spain having drained the treasury, it became necessary to replenish it by some extraordinary means; and the various rulers, as they

successively attained to power, understanding little of the laws of nations, and being always accustomed to raise money by seizure or impressment, now exercised their appropriating code to the capture of the property and vessels of other nations. From the relative situation of the United States, and the state of her commerce in the Gulf, she was particularly exposed to these outrages. "Our citizens engaged in lawful commerce were imprisoned, their vessels seized, and our flag insulted in her ports. If money was wanted, the lawless seizure and confiscation of our merchant vessels and their cargoes were a ready resource; and if, to accomplish their purposes, it became necessary to imprison the owners, captains, or crews, it was done. In rapid succession rulers succeeded rulers, but still there was no change in the system of depredation. The government of the United States made repeated reclamations on behalf of its citizens, but these were answered by the perpetration of new outrages. Promises of redress made by Mexico in the most solemn forms were postponed or evaded. The files and records of the Department of State contain conclusive proofs of numerous lawless acts, perpetrated upon the property and persons of our citizens by Mexico, and of wanton insults to our national flag. The interposition of our government to obtain redress was again and again invoked, under circumstances which no nation ought to disregard.

"It was hoped that these outrages would cease, and that Mexico would be restrained by the laws which regulate the conduct of civilized nations in their intercourse with each other, after the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation of the 5th of April, 1831 was concluded between the two republics; but this hope soon proved to be vain. The course of seizure and confiscation of the property of our citizens, the violation of their persons, and the insults to our flag pursued by Mexico previous to that time, were scarcely suspended for even a brief period, although the treaty so clearly defines the rights and duties of the respective parties, that it is impossible to misunderstand or mistake them."*

It is not to be supposed that the United States could receive these insults with impunity. Remonstrances were continually being made to the Mexican government for redress, and a removal of further causes of aggravation. On account of the distracted state of her politics, it was not thought proper to appeal to "the last resort" of injured nations, and, accordingly, all the remonstrances of the aggrieved nation were marked with the spirit and tone of forbearance and magnanimity. Mexico did not appreciate this kindness. She even seemed to view it as a manifestation of weakness and pusillanimity on the part of her neighbours, and continued her unjust policy. In 1837, her aggressions had become so glaring, that President Jackson called the attention of Congress to them in the following terms: "The length of time since some of the injuries have been com-

* President Polk's Message, December, 1846.

mitted, the repeated and unavailing applications for redress, the wanton character of some of the outrages upon the persons and property of our citizens, upon the officers and flag of the United States, independent of recent insults to this government and people, by the late extraordinary Mexican minister, would justify in the eyes of all nations immediate war." Still desirous of avoiding this last and dreadful alternative, the President adds:

"It has occurred to me that, considering the present embarrassed condition of that country, we should act with both wisdom and moderation, by giving to Mexico one more opportunity of atoning for the past, before we take redress into our own hands. To avoid all misconception on the part of Mexico, as well as to protect our national character from reproach, this opportunity should be given with the avowed design and full preparation to take immediate satisfaction, if it should not be obtained on a repetition of the demand for it. To this end I recommend that an act be passed authorizing reprisals, and the use of the naval force of the United States, by the executive, against Mexico, to force them, in the event of a refusal by the Mexican government, to come to an amicable adjustment of the matters in controversy between us, upon another demand thereof made from on board of one of our vessels of war on the coast of Mexico."*



OTH houses of Congress fully concurred with the views of the President concerning the enormities of Mexico, as well as in his plan for the prosecution of measures of redress. The report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, in the House of Representatives, has the following paragraph:

"The Committee fully concur with the President, that ample cause exists for taking redress into our own hands, and believe that we should be justified, in the opinion of other nations, for taking such a step. But they are willing to try the experiment of another demand, made in the most solemn form, upon the justice of the Mexican government, before any further proceedings are adopted."

The similar committee of the Senate speak as follows:

"After such a demand, should prompt justice be refused by the Mexican government, we may appeal to all nations not only for the equity and moderation with which we shall have acted towards a sister republic, but for the necessity which will then compel us to seek redress for our wrongs, either by actual war or by reprisals. The subject will then be presented before Congress, at the commencement of the next session, in a clear and distinct form; and the committee cannot doubt but that such measures will be immediately adopted as may be necessary to vindicate the honour of our country and insure ample reparation to our injured citizens."

* Message, February, 1837.

In consequence of these proceedings, a special messenger was despatched to Mexico, to make a final demand for redress; and on the 20th of July, 1837, the demand was made. The reply of the Mexican government, dated on the 29th, contains assurances of the "anxious wish not to delay the moment of that final and equitable adjustment which is to terminate the existing difficulties between the two governments;" that "nothing should be left undone which may contribute to the most speedy and equitable determination of the subjects which have so seriously engaged the attention of the American government;" that "the Mexican government would adopt, as the only guides for its conduct, the plainest principles of public right, the sacred obligations imposed by international law and the religious faith of treaties;" and that "whatever justice and reason may dictate respecting each case will be done." The decision of the Mexican government upon each cause of complaint for which redress had been made, was also promised to be communicated to the government of the United States, through the Mexican minister at Washington.

Notwithstanding this amicable appearance, reparation was not made by the Mexicans. President Van Buren, in his message of December 5th, 1837, uses the following language:

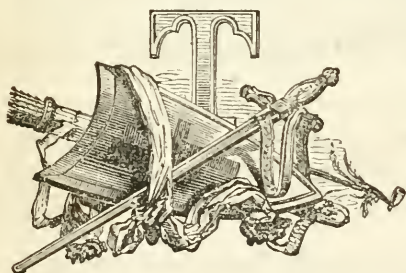
"Although the large number [of our demands for redress], and many of them aggravated cases of personal wrongs, have been now for years before the Mexican government, and some of the causes of national complaint, and those of the most offensive character, admitted of immediate, simple, and satisfactory replies, it is only within a few days past that any specific communication in answer to your last demand, made five months ago, has been received from the Mexican minister. * * * * * For not one of our public complaints has satisfaction been given or offered; that but one of the cases of personal wrong has been favourably considered, and that but four cases of both descriptions, out of all those formally presented and earnestly pressed, have as yet been decided upon by the Mexican government. * * * * * On a careful and deliberative examination of the contents [of the correspondence with the Mexican government], and considering the spirit manifested by the Mexican government, it has become my painful duty to return the subject as it now stands, to Congress, to whom it belongs, to decide upon the time, the mode, and the measure of redress."

Notwithstanding the evidently belligerent disposition of the new president, Congress did not think proper to declare war at that time, but entered into a new negotiation with Mexico. After unavoidable delay of more than a year, a convention of delegates met on the 11th of April, 1839, "for the adjustment of claims of citizens of the United States of America upon the government of the Mexican republic."

The joint board of commissioners created by this convention, to examine

and decide upon these claims, was not organized until the month of August, 1840. By the terms of the convention, they were to terminate their duties within eighteen months from that time; but four months were consumed in preliminary discussions; and it was not until December, 1840, that the main subject was entered into. The claims were found to be so numerous and difficult, that it was impossible to consider them all within the specified term, which expired in February, 1842.

The claims which were allowed by the board, and by the umpire authorized by the convention to decide in case of disagreement between the Mexican and American commissioners, amounted to \$2,026,139 68. There were pending before the umpire, when the commission expired, additional claims which had been examined and awarded by the American commissioner, and had not been allowed by the Mexican commissioner, amounting to \$928,627 88, upon which he did not decide, alleging that his authority had ceased with the termination of the joint commission. Besides these claims, there were others of American citizens, amounting to \$3,336,837 05, which had been submitted to the board, and upon which they had not time to decide before their final adjournment.



THE sum acknowledged by the convention was recognised by the Mexican government as a legal debt, but they asked a postponement of the time of payment upon which the commissioners had agreed. This was agreed to, and, in the language of a second convention of the 30th of January,

1843, solely "for the accommodation of Mexico." By the terms of this last convention, "all the interests due on the awards which had been made in favour of the claimants, under the convention of the 11th of April, 1839, were to be paid to them on the 30th of April, 1843, and the principal of the said awards, and the interest accruing thereon, were stipulated to be paid in five years, in equal instalments every three months."

Although the calling of this convention, and the terms adopted by it, had originated with Mexico, yet that power, either through inability or otherwise, did not meet the engagements thus imposed upon her. This led to proposals for calling a third convention, which was however postponed by the annexation of Texas, and the consequent war between the two countries.

Before entering upon our main subject, it may not be improper to give a concise view of the political and civil history of the country which, by its union with our own, has occasioned a war between the two great republics of North America.

By the treaty between France and England in 1803, Texas became a part of the United States, with the rest of the territory then known as *Louisiana*. By the Florida treaty of 1819, the United States ceded to Spain all that part of the territory within the present limits of Texas; and Mexico, by the revolution which separated her from Spain, and rendered her an independent nation, succeeded to the rights of the mother country over it. The whole region formed the principal part of the ancient department of Tamaulipas.

In the year 1824, Mexico established a federal constitution, under which the republic was divided into a number of sovereign states, confederated into a *federal* union similar to our own. Each of these states had its own executive, legislature and judiciary, and, for all except federal purposes, was as independent of the general government, and that of each of the other states, as is Pennsylvania or Virginia under our Constitution. Texas and Coahuila united and formed one of these Mexican states. The state constitution which they adopted, and which was approved by the Mexican confederacy, asserted that they were free and independent of the other Mexican states, and of every other power and dominion whatsoever; and proclaimed the great principle of human liberty, that "The sovereignty of the state resides originally and essentially in the general mass of the individuals who compose it."

Emigrants from the United States and other countries were invited, by the colonization laws, to settle in Texas, and many, profiting by the invitation, settled upon its fertile fields, and in a short time formed a population wholly different in principles and pursuits from their southern neighbours.

In the year 1835, a military revolution broke out in the city of Mexico, which entirely subverted the federal and state constitutions, and placed a military dictator at the head of the government. Under his jurisdiction a decree of Congress abolished the state constitutions, established a Central Republic, and converted each state into a dependent department. The people of Texas remonstrated against this measure as unconstitutional and tyrannical; and their remonstrance being disregarded, they arose in open resistance. Several small battles were fought, and with various success, until the 21st of April, 1836, when an army of Texan citizens and soldiers under General Samuel Houston defeated the Mexican dictator, Santa Anna, on the plains of San Jacinto. This battle was decisive. Santa Anna was taken prisoner, and the Mexican army entirely incapacitated for further offensive operations in Texas. While a captive in the United States, the dictator signed a treaty in which he stipulated the complete independence of Texas, but this treaty was disapproved of by the Mexican government, and that country still declared a part of Mexico. The distracted state of the latter country, however, prevented her from carrying out her



GENERAL HOUSTON.

intended subjugation, and the independence of Texas was soon acknowledged by all Christian nations.

As early as 1836, the inhabitants of Texas expressed their wish, in a general election, to be annexed to the United States; and in the following November their republican Congress authorized the appointment of a minister to bear their request to the sister government. The United States, however, rejected the proposal at that time.

On the 12th of April, 1844, during the administration of President Tyler, a treaty of *annexation* was signed by joint commissioners, but rejected by the United States Senate. Finally, on the 1st of March, 1845, our Congress passed a joint resolution for annexation, upon certain preliminary conditions, to which the assent of Texas was required. The solemnities which characterized the deliberations and conduct of the government and people of Texas, on the deeply interesting questions presented by this resolution, are well known. The executive Congress and people of that country accepted the proposed terms of annexation in a convention appointed for the purpose; and thus was consummated the important act, which not only restored to our government the vast territory formerly ceded to Spain by the Florida treaty, but which, in its conse

quences, has been productive of the gravest results to all the nations immediately concerned. During the whole proceedings pending this negotiation, the Mexican nation had opposed the course of the United States, and formally protested against it. After the joint resolution had been passed by Congress, the Mexican minister at Washington addressed a note to the American secretary of state, dated 6th of March, 1845, protesting against it as "an act of aggression, the most unjust which can be found recorded in the annals of modern history; namely, that of despoiling a friendly nation, like Mexico, of a considerable portion of her territory." He also protested against the resolution of annexation, as being an act "whereby the province of Texas, an integral portion of the Mexican territory, is agreed and admitted into the American Union," announcing that, as a consequence, his mission to the United States had terminated, and demanded his passports. These were granted, and he returned to Mexico.

Things continued in this unpropitious condition until September, when President Polk authorized the secretary of state to inquire of the Mexican government, through the United States consul at Mexico, if it would be willing to receive an American envoy, entrusted with ample powers to terminate all difficulties. The inquiry was made, and on the 15th of October, the Mexican minister of foreign affairs addressed a note to the consul, containing a favourable response, but requesting that the American naval force might be withdrawn from Vera Cruz while negotiations should be pending. This request was complied with, and a minister with full powers sent to Mexico. He reached Vera Cruz on the 30th of November, 1845, but had the disappointment of finding that the politics of the country had undergone a change unfavourable to the United States. President Herrera, who had ever been favourable to peace, was opposed by a strong faction, under General Paredes, who founded his rebellion principally upon the assertion that Herrera, by consenting to receive a minister of peace from the United States, intended to dismember the territory of Mexico, by ceding to a hostile country the department of Texas. Prior to this revolution, the government of Herrera is believed to have been well disposed to a pacific adjustment of difficulties; but, probably alarmed for its own security and destiny, to ward off the danger threatened by Paredes, it adopted the unhappy course of refusing to receive the minister, although it had stipulated to do so. The principal reason assigned for this policy was, that the minister had not come upon a *special* mission, confined alone to the Texas question, but that his duties also included a consideration of the long-disputed outrages upon the flag and citizens of his country.

On the 30th of December, 1845, General Herrera resigned the presidency, and General Paredes assumed the government without opposition

On the 1st of March following, the American envoy addressed a note to the Mexican minister of foreign affairs, requesting him to present his credentials to the new government, in order that he might be accredited in the diplomatic character in which he had been commissioned. On the 12th, he received an answer refusing his request, and, in consequence, he demanded his passports, and returned to the United States.

While this negotiation was going forward, other and different operations were in progress. Anticipating war, the President of the United States was organizing a force to be sent into Texas, to defend that country in case of an invasion, or to invade Mexico, should war be declared. Of this measure the President speaks thus in his annual message of December, 1845 :

"Both the congress and the convention of the people of Texas invited this government to send an army into their territory to protect and defend them against a menaced attack. The moment the terms of annexation, offered by the United States, were accepted by Texas, the latter became so far a part of our country as to make it our duty to afford such protection and defence. I, therefore, deemed it proper, as a precautionary measure, to order a strong squadron to the coasts of Mexico, and to concentrate an efficient military force on the western frontier of Texas. Our army was ordered to take positions in the country between the Neuces and the Del Norte, and to repel any invasion of the Texan territory which might be attempted by the Mexican forces.

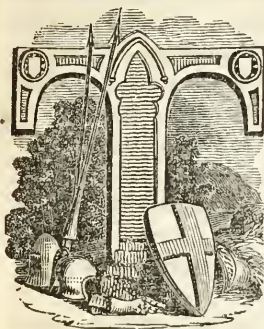
"Our squadron in the Gulf was ordered to co-operate with the army. But, though our army and navy were placed in a position to defend our own and the rights of Texas, they were ordered to commit no act of hostility against Mexico, unless she declared war, or was herself the aggressor by striking the first blow."

Of the organization of this force, he speaks as follows :

"When orders were given, during the past summer, for concentrating a military force on the western frontier of Texas, our troops were widely dispersed, and in small detachments, occupying posts remote from each other. The prompt and expeditious manner in which an army, embracing more than half of our peace establishment, was drawn together, on an emergency so sudden, reflects great credit on the officers who were intrusted with the execution of these orders, as well as upon the discipline of the army itself."

The important duty of appointing a commander-in-chief to this army was next to be attended to. General Gaines was the superior officer of that section, but for some reasons not well understood, he was overlooked, and at the suggestion of General Scott, General Zachary Taylor was appointed. Accordingly, on the 21st of March, 1845, orders were despatched to that offi-

cer, then at Fort Jessup, in Louisiana, to prepare the forces at that place, and have them in readiness to march into Texas as soon as commanded.



HE resolutions for the annexation of Texas had passed the United States Congress on the 3d of March, but had not yet been adopted by the Texan government. As the President, however, considered that there would be no opposition to them by that body, he issued further orders, through Mr. Marcy, Secretary of State, dated the 28th of May, and directing General Taylor "by order of the President, to cause the forces now under your command, and those which may be assigned to it, to be put in a position where they may most promptly and efficiently act in the defence of Texas, in the event it should become necessary or proper to employ them for that purpose."

On the 15th of June, other instructions were given by Mr. Bancroft, acting secretary, in the absence of Mr. Marcy. As this paper is highly important, in consequence of defining the exact position laid down to General Taylor by the government, we give it in full:

“*[Confidential.]*”

“WAR DEPARTMENT, *June 15, 1845.*”

“SIR,—On the 4th day of July, or very soon thereafter, the convention of the people of Texas will probably accept the proposition of annexation, under the joint resolution of the late Congress of the United States. That acceptance will constitute Texas an integral portion of our country.

“In anticipation of that event, you will forthwith make a forward movement with the troops under your command, and advance to the mouth of the Sabine, or to such other points on the Gulf of Mexico, or its navigable waters, as in your judgment may be most convenient for an embarkation, at the proper time, for the western frontier of Texas. * * * * * The point of your ultimate destination is the western frontier of Texas, where you will select and occupy, in or near the Rio Grande del Norte, such a site as will consist with the health of your troops, and will be best adapted to repel invasion, and to protect what, in the event of annexation, will be our western border. You will limit yourself to the defence of the territory of Texas, unless Mexico should declare war against the United States.

“Your movement to the Gulf of Mexico, and your preparations to embark for the western frontier of Texas, are to be made without delay; but you will not effect a landing on that frontier, until you have yourself ascertained the due acceptance by Texas, of the proffered terms of annexation.”

These instructions were somewhat modified by the following language of Mr. Marcy, addressed to General Taylor, under date of the 8th of July. "This department is informed that Mexico has some military establishments on the east side of the Rio Grande, which are, and for some time have been in the actual occupancy of her troops. In carrying out the instructions heretofore received, you will be careful to avoid any acts of aggression unless an actual war should exist. The Mexican forces, at the posts in their possession, and which have been so, will not be disturbed, as long as the relations of peace between the United States and Mexico continue."

On the 20th of July, General Taylor acknowledges the receipt of this letter, and expresses his gratification at the instructions it contained, "as they confirm," says he, "my views previously communicated, in regard to the proper line to be occupied at present by our troops; those instructions will be closely followed, and the department may rest assured, that I will take no step to interrupt the friendly relations between the United States and Mexico."

On the 30th, the General was still further instructed as follows:

"WAR DEPARTMENT, *Washington, 30th July.*

"He (the President) has not the requisite information in regard to the country, to enable him to give any positive directions as to the position you ought to take, or the movements which it may be expedient to make; these must be governed by circumstances. While avoiding, as you have been instructed to do, all aggressive measures towards Mexico, as long as the relations of peace exist between that republic and the United States, you are expected to occupy, protect, and defend the territory of Texas, to the extent that it has been occupied by the people of Texas. The Rio Grande is claimed to be the boundary between the two countries, and up to this boundary you are to extend your protection, only excepting any posts on the eastern side thereof, which are in the actual occupancy of Mexican forces, or Mexican settlements, over which the republic of Texas did not exercise jurisdiction at the time of annexation, or shortly before that event. It is expected that, in selecting the establishment for your troops, you will approach as near the boundary line, the Rio Grande, as prudence will dictate. With this view the President desires that your position, for part of your forces at least, should be west of the Nueces."

On the 6th of August, the adjutant-general stated, that the seventh infantry and three companies of dragoons were ordered to join General Taylor in Texas, "for," says the letter, "although a state of war with Mexico, or an invasion of Texas, by her forces may not take place, it is nevertheless deemed proper and necessary that your forces should be fully equal to meet, with certainty of success, any crisis which may arise in Texas, and which would

require you by force of arms to carry out the instructions of the government." The letter further called upon General Taylor to report what auxiliary troops, in case of an emergency, he could rely upon from Texas, and "what additional troops, designating the arms, and what supply and description of ordnance, ordnance stores, small arms, &c., judging from any information you may possess as to the future exigencies of the public service," he (General Taylor) might deem necessary to be sent into Texas; informing him at the same time that ten thousand muskets and one thousand rifles had already been issued for Texas.

During all this time the movements and intentions of Mexico remained, to a great degree, wrapped in obscurity. She was known to be most bitterly opposed to the course of the United States, respecting Texas: it was also pretty evident that she would not be willing to accede to the annexation without a struggle to prevent it; and in addition, the president was the avowed enemy of the United States, and had gained his elevation from an uncompromising declaration of his principles. But whether the civil and political state of the country would enable the government to raise an army, and if so, whether it would so far confide in its strength as to risk a war with the United States, were utterly unknown. Under this embarrassing state of affairs, the secretary of war wrote to General Taylor, on the 23d of August, further *instructions*, from which we select the following:

"The information hitherto received as to the intentions of Mexico, and the measures she may adopt, does not enable the administration here to give you more explicit instructions in regard to your movements, than those which have already been forwarded to you. There is reason to believe that Mexico is making efforts to assemble a large army on the frontier of Texas, for the purpose of entering its territory and holding forcible possession of it. Of their movements you are doubtless advised, and we trust have taken, or early will take, prompt and efficient steps to meet and repel any such hostile incursion. Should Mexico assemble a large body of troops on the Rio Grande, and cross it with considerable force, such a movement must be regarded as an invasion of the United States, and the commencement of hostilities. You will, of course, use all the authority which has been or may be given you to meet such a state of things. Texas must be protected from hostile invasion, and for that purpose you will, of course, employ to the utmost extent all the means you possess or can command.

"An order has this day been issued for sending one thousand more men into Texas to join those under your command. When the existing orders are carried into effect, you will have with you a force of four thousand men of the regular army. We are not enabled to judge what auxiliary force can, upon an emergency, be brought together from Texas, and, as a precautionary measure, you are authorized to accept volunteers from the states of Louisiana and Alabama, and even from Mississippi, Tennessee,

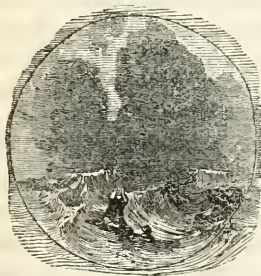
and Kentucky. Should Mexico declare war, or commence hostilities by crossing the Rio Grande with a considerable force, you are instructed to lose no time in giving information to the authorities of each or any of the above-mentioned states as to the number of volunteers you may want of them respectively. Should you require troops from any of these states, it would be important to have them without the least possible delay. It is not doubted that at least two regiments from New Orleans, and one from Mobile, could be obtained and expeditiously brought into the field. You will cause it to be known at these places, what number and description of troops you desire to receive from them in the contemplated emergency. The authorities of these states will be apprized that you are authorized to receive volunteers from them, and you may calculate that they will promptly join you when it is made known that their services are required. Arms, ammunition, and camp equipage for the auxiliary troops that you may require, will be sent forward subject to your orders. You will so dispose of them as to be most available in case they should be needed, at the same time with a due regard to their safety and preservation. Orders have been issued to the naval force in the Gulf of Mexico to co-operate with you. You will, as far as practicable, hold communication with the commanders of our national vessels in your vicinity, and avail yourself of any assistance that can be derived from their co-operation. The Lexington is ordered into service as a transport ship, and will sail in a few days from New York, with a detachment of United States troops for Corpus Christi. She will be employed as the exigency of the public service may require. In order to keep up a proper communication between the army in Texas and the United States, the On-ka-hy-e, the Harney, and the Dolphin will be put into service as soon as they can be made ready as despatch vessels to convey intelligence, supplies, &c. You will avail yourself of these vessels, and all other proper means, to keep the government here advised of your operations, and the state of things in Texas and Mexico."

In the same month, General Taylor, having concentrated his forces, marched for Texas, where he soon arrived and took up a position at Corpus Christi. On the 13th of January, orders to move from this place were issued: we give the reasons in the President's own words:—

"Instructions have been issued to the general in command, to occupy the left bank of the Del Norte. This river, which is the south-western boundary of the state of Texas, is an exposed frontier; from this quarter invasion was threatened; upon it and in its immediate vicinity, in the judgment of high military experience, are the proper stations for the protecting forces of the government. In addition to this important consideration, several others have occurred to induce this movement. Among these are the facilities afforded by the ports at Brazos Santiago and the mouth of the Del Norte, for the reception of supplies by sea; the stronger and more

healthful military positions; the convenience for obtaining a ready and a more abundant supply of provisions, water, fuel, and forage; and the advantages which are afforded by the Del Norte, in forwarding supplies to such ports as may be established in the interior and upon the Indian frontier."

Pursuant to these instructions, the army left Corpus Christi on the 11th of March, and moved westward toward the Rio Grande. Their march was slow, and in it they encountered the most frightful difficulties. The country is the southern portion of the great American desert, which is almost entirely destitute of water, and literally filled with every variety of venomous insect and reptile, which render a march through it almost insufferably annoying and dangerous. Besides this, the heat of the soil parched the feet of the soldiers, and rendered it extremely difficult for artillery to proceed at all. The soldiers, however, bore all without murmuring; a fact the more creditable to them as they were almost entirely new recruits. On the 20th, the general reached the *Arroyo Colorado*, a salt lagoon or river, about thirty miles east of the Rio Grande. Here he perceived that a small force of stragglers and soldiers was drawn up on the other bank with a view to oppose his passage; and soon after he was waited upon by a delegation from their cavalry, informing him, that if he persisted in crossing the stream, it would be considered a declaration of war. The general now placed his army in order of battle, and sent a party to open a passage to the beach. At the same time notice was given to General Mejia, the bearer of the Mexican communication, that the enemy would be fired upon in case of opposing the intended crossing. The artillery were placed so as to cover the ford, all the port-fires lighted, and the passage commenced. Strange to say, no sign of resistance was offered by the enemy, notwithstanding that the point of landing was one which afforded most excellent opportunities to make such resistance successful.



On the 22d, the march was resumed, the army moving on slowly towards Matamoras. It halted on the 24th, in consequence of General Taylor having received information that the Mexicans had taken possession of Point Isabel on the Brazos Santiago. This had been selected by the General as a convenient site to establish a depôt for his stores, and thereby keep up a constant intercourse both by land and water, with the position which he intended to fortify on the Rio Grande. He determined, therefore, to leave the main body of his army on the Matamoras road, and push forward to Point Isabel without delay. When near this place with his dragoons, he was met by a delegation of citizens, who through the Prefect of the Department of Ta-

maulipas, protested against the march of an American army into a country claimed by Mexico. The General was replying, when some troops announced that the station was on fire. He therefore postponed his answer until the army should have arrived before Matamoras, and despatched the dragoons under Colonel Twiggs to stop the conflagration. The barracks and a few public buildings had been fired, but the perpetrators, together with citizens and military, had fled. The Colonel succeeded in saving some property, and he was soon after joined by General Taylor, who immediately gave orders to fortify the place. Major John Munroe was intrusted with the command. He had with him two companies of artillery, consisting of about four hundred and fifty men, with six brass six-pounders, two long eighteens and two ship's guns; and the fort was amply provided with provisions, powder and ball.

Having completed these arrangements, the commander departed to join the main army, which, under General Worth, had encamped a few miles from the junction of the Matamoras with the Point Isabel road. The whole army then moved forward to the Rio Grande, where it arrived on the 28th, and planted the United States flag on the bank opposite Matamoras.

It is worthy of notice, that during the whole course of this march, as well as while the army was at Corpus Christi, General Taylor took great pains to impress upon the people and authorities, that he was not advancing as an enemy, nor to make war upon Mexico, but solely to assert the right of the United States to Texas up to the Rio Grande, including the free navigation of that river—free alike to Mexicans and Americans. The protest of the Prefect of Tamaulipas and the warning at the Arroyo Colorado, had led to no ill words or ill conduct, and thus far all was bloodless. Two dragoons, who, on the approach of General Taylor towards Matamoras, had fallen into the hands of the Mexicans, were upon requisition returned to him, and notwithstanding the commotion which his encampment over against Matamoras naturally excited there, no acts of hostility were perpetrated. The appearance of the country in which the Americans were now encamped is thus described by an eye-witness:

"Tamaulipas, in which we are encamped, is a beautiful, a delightful region. Far as the eye can reach, one level surface presents itself to view, dotted with cotton and sugar-cane fields, interspersed with lovely gardens after the Spanish fashion, the whole cut up and divided in all sorts of ways by groves of the finest trees, among which the *lignum vitæ* figures largely; and the entire picture is cut in twain by the muddiest, crookedest, and swiftest river in North America. Neither mountain, hill, nor elevation of any sort, varies the everlasting level of the country around. The scene is rich and peaceful, with nought to mar its appropriate character, save the armies of two nations. Our nights here, for the most part, are remarkable for their serenity. The stars stand forth in numerous

crowds, with rare brilliancy ; not a leaf is moved, not a cloud is seen ; while ever and anon, a meteor of surpassing brightness shoots across the azure vault."

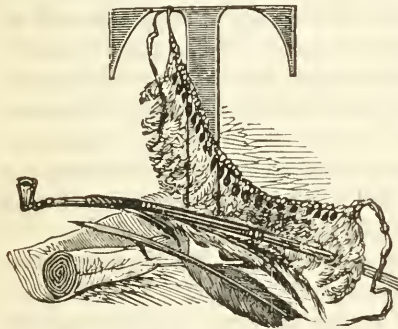
On the 23d of April, President Paredes issued a proclamation to the people of Mexico, from which we extract the following :

"At the time Mr. Slidell presented himself, the troops of the United States occupied our territory, their squadrons threatened our ports, and they prepared to occupy the peninsula of the Californias, of which the question of Oregon with England is only a preliminary. Mr. S. was not received, because the dignity of the nation repelled this new insult. Meanwhile the army of the United States encamped at Corpus Christi, and occupied the *Isla del Padre* ; following this, they then moved to the Point *Santa Isabel*, and their standard of the stars and stripes waved on the right bank of the Rio Bravo del Norte, opposite the city of Matamoras, blockading that river with their vessels of war. The village of Laredo was surprised by a party of their troops, and a small party of our men, reconnoitering there, were disarmed. Hostilities, then, have been commenced by the United States of North America, beginning new conquests upon the frontier territories of the departments of Tamaulipas and New Leon, and progressing at such a rate, that troops of the same United States threaten Monterey, in Upper California. No one can doubt which of the two republics is responsible for this war ; a war which any sense of equity and justice, and respect for the rights and laws of civilized nations, might have avoided. I have commanded the general-in-chief of our forces on the northern frontier to repel all hostilities offered to us, which is actual war against any power making war on us, and calling upon the God of battles, he will preserve the valour of our troops, the unquestionable right to our territory, and the honour of those arms which are used only in defence of justice. Our general will govern himself by the established usages of civilized warfare. With orders from me to prevent, if possible, the effusion of blood, he will intimate to the general-in-chief of the American troops that he shall return to the other side of the Rio de las Nueces, the ancient limits of Texas. Those nations interested in preserving the peace of so many years, and who may be injured in their commercial relations with the Mexican republic, will perceive the hard alternative to which they are reduced by the *politic* invasion of the United States, and they [the nations] must succumb or defend their existence thus compromised. I solemnly announce that I do not declare war against the United States of America, because it pertains to the august Congress of that nation, and not to the Executive, to settle definitely the reparation which so many aggressions demand.

"But the defence of the Mexican territory, which the United States troops invade, is an urgent necessity, and my responsibility would be

immense before the nation if I did not give commands to repel those forces who act like enemies, and I have so commanded. From this day commences a defensive war, and those points of our territory which are invaded or attacked will be energetically defended."

On the arrival of the American army opposite Matamoras, General Worth and his staff were ordered to cross the river in order to bear despatches to the commanding officer and civil authorities. He did so, and was met by a Mexican delegation, bearing a white flag, of whom he requested an interview with the authorities. After some delay, this was granted. The Mexican officers present were General La Vega, the Licenciado Censortes, Juan N. Garza, and an interpreter. The reception of the despatches was refused, as was also permission for an interview with the American consul.



works, labouring day and night with the most indefatigable perseverance.

In the early part of April, the following proclamation was secretly distributed in the American camp. It is an ingenious appeal to a class of citizens, who appeared to its wily author as the most proper subjects for the principles contained in it.

The Commander-in-chief of the Mexican Army, to the English and Irish under the orders of the American General Taylor:

Know ye: That the government of the United States is committing repeated acts of barbarous aggression against the magnanimous Mexican nation; that the government which exists under "the flag of the stars," is unworthy of the designation of Christian. Recollect that you were born in Great Britain; that the American government looks with coldness upon the powerful flag of St. George, and is provoking to a rupture the warlike people to whom it belongs; President Polk boldly manifesting a desire to take possession of Oregon, as he has already done of Texas. Now, then, come with all confidence to the Mexican ranks; and I guaranty to you, upon my honour, good treatment, and that all your

expenses shall be defrayed until your arrival in the beautiful capital of Mexico.

Germans, French, Poles, and individuals of other nations! Separate yourselves from the Yankees, and do not contribute to defend a robbery and usurpation which, be assured, the civilized nations of Europe look upon with the utmost indignation. Come, therefore, and array yourselves under the tri-coloured flag, in the confidence that the God of armies protects it, and that it will protect you equally with the English.

Head-quarters, upon the road to Matamoras, April 2, 1846.

PEDRO DE AMPUDIA.

FRANCISCO R. MORENO, *Adj't of the Commander-in-chief.*



REVIOUS to this a number of desertions had happened in the American camp. Several of the soldiers escaped to Matamoras, where they were favourably received by the Mexicans, and some of them even treated with distinguished honour. In order to abolish so dangerous a practice, orders were issued to shoot every one who should leave his lines, and several were thus put to death.

The position of General Taylor at this period may be gathered from the following extract of one of his letters :

"Strong guards of foot and mounted men are established on the margin of the river, and thus efficient means have been adopted on our part to prevent all intercourse. While opposite to us, their pickets extend above and below for several miles, and we are equally active in keeping up a strong and vigilant guard to prevent surprise or attacks under disadvantageous circumstances. This is the more necessary whilst we have to act on the defensive, and they are at liberty to take the opposite course whenever they are disposed to do so. Nor have we been idle in other respects: we have a field-work under way, besides having erected a strong battery and a number of buildings for the security of our supplies, in addition to some respectable works for their protection. We have mounted a respectable battery, two pieces of which are long eighteen-pounders, with which we could batter or burn down the city of Matamoras, should it become necessary to do so. When our field-work is completed, (which will soon be the case,) and mounted with its proper armament, five hundred men could hold it against as many thousand Mexicans. During the twenty-seven days since our arrival here, a most singular state of things has prevailed all through the outlines of the two armies, which, to a certain extent, have all the feelings as if there were actual war.

• "Fronting each other for an extent of more than two miles, and

within musket range, are batteries shotted, and the officers and men, in many instances, waiting impatiently for orders to apply the matches, yet nothing has been done to provoke the firing of a gun, or any act of violence.

"Matamoras, at the distance we are now from it, appears to cover a large extent of ground, with some handsome buildings; but I would imagine the greater portion of them to be indifferent, one-storied houses, with roofs of straw, and walls of mud, or unburnt brick. During peace, the population is said to be five or six thousand, but it is now filled to overflowing with troops. Report says from five to ten thousand of all sorts, regular and militia.

"Since writing the above, an engagement has taken place between a detachment of our cavalry and the Mexicans, in which we were worsted. So the war has actually commenced."

Under these circumstances, General Taylor made the following requisition for troops on the Governor of Louisiana, according to authority previously granted him by President Polk:

HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF OCCUPATION,

Camp near Matamoras, April 26, 1846.

SIR,—I have the honour to apprise you that hostilities have actually commenced between my forces and those of the Mexicans, and that I have need of the services of a considerable number of volunteers. Four regiments have been called from Texas, but as there will be considerable delay in assembling them here, and as my further operations will require still stronger force, I have the honour, under the authority of the War Department, to call upon the state of Louisiana for four regiments of infantry, to be ordered into service with the utmost despatch, and for the longest period authorized by law.

I shall communicate immediately with General Gaines, and request him to give you every facility in the organization and equipment of these troops, and forwarding them to Point Isabel. I subjoin the organization of a regiment of volunteers, and respectfully desire that it may be observed, and that the number of prescribed officers be not exceeded. The battalions may be mustered into service at New Orleans, or at Point Isabel, as most convenient. I beg that they may be sent forward as rapidly as they can be raised.

I would suggest that a brigadier-general be commissioned to command the force called from Louisiana; and, from my experience of his excellent qualities as an officer, I would be particularly gratified if General Persifor F. Smith could be selected for such appointment.

I cannot doubt that the gallant state of Louisiana will respond with alacrity to this call upon the patriotism of her sons; and I feel assured that

632 COMMENCEMENT OF THE MEXICAN WAR.

no effort will be wanting, on the part of the state authorities, to organize the force and have it in readiness to embark at the earliest practical moment.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

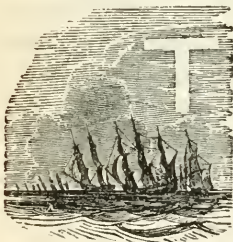
Z. TAYLOR,

Bt. Brigadier-General U. S. A. Commanding.

HON. ISAAC JOHNSON, *Governor of Louisiana, New Orleans, La.*

On the 10th of April, Colonel Truman Cross rode out in the morning to take his customary exercise. As the day wore away, and he did not return, fears began to arise for his safety, and scouts were sent out in order to ascertain, if possible, his fate. Their search being unsuccessful, General Taylor wrote to the Commandant of Matamoras, who, however, disclaimed all connection or knowledge of his disappearance.

On the 21st, a Mexican straggler came into camp, and reported that he knew where was the body of an American soldier. He was followed, and a corpse was found among some bushes, which was recognised as the remains of the late colonel. There can be no doubt that he was murdered by some of the wandering *rancheros*, or brigands, acting without consent or knowledge of the Mexican army. An officer of the army thus relates the circumstances attending the recovery of the body :



HE remains were found a short distance from a road leading near the river, and not on the Point Isabel road, as formerly stated. He was stripped of his clothing, and the flesh was picked off his body by the vultures. He had been dragged some distance into the thicket after the murder. It was recognised to be the body of Colonel Cross by his teeth, a part of his scalp, which had been torn off by the vultures, his stock, and one of the straps from the shoulder of his military frock-coat. His watch, his pistols, and his horse are now in possession of the Mexican officers in Matamoras.

The same writer states that "Colonel Cross was killed by one Romano Falcon in the presence of a lieutenant of the Mexican army." This, however, is extremely doubtful.

Upon the recovery of the body, the following order was issued by General Taylor :

HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF OCCUPATION,

Camp near Matamoras, April 25, 1846.

The commanding general has the painful duty of announcing to the army, that the doubt which has so long prevailed, in regard to the fate of the late Colonel Cross has at length, been resolved into the melancholy

certainty of his death, and, there is too much reason to fear, by violent hands.

The high rank of the deceased, and the ability and energy which he carried into the discharge of the important duties of his office, will cause his loss to be severely felt in the service, while the untoward circumstances of his demise will render it peculiarly afflicting to his family and personal friends.

The remains of the late colonel will be interred with military honours, at 4 o'clock, P. M., to-morrow. The funeral escort will be composed of a squadron of dragoons and eight companies of infantry; the whole to be organized and commanded by Colonel Twiggs.

The necessary arrangements for the funeral ceremonies will be made by Lieutenant-colonel Payne, inspector-general.

All officers off duty are respectfully invited to attend the funeral. By order of

BRIGADIER-GENERAL TAYLOR.

(Signed,) W. W. S. BLISS, *Assistant Adjutant-general*.

This melancholy event is thus noticed by one of our leading Journals:*

"War is a horrible evil. The news of the death of the first victim in this new war into which our country is plunged, has brought with it a deepening sense of the evils inseparable from the mad conflict of man with man, be the occasion what it may. An acquaintance, formed in early life—a warm and steadfast friend from the commencement of that acquaintance—a generous, open-hearted, ardent, intelligent, and talented man—one who was in all attributes a MAN among men—is the first victim. His father, forty years since, through many an ardent struggle, political and national, was shoulder to shoulder with us in war with arms in his hand, and in peace or war, with as ardent patriotism at heart as ever animated a citizen and a republican. His son is snatched from our hopes, as well as from a wide circle of friends, and from his own wife, now widowed and left with her orphans to a life—how desolate and lonely! Wreaths may encircle the brow of victors in the coming contest, but what shall compensate for sufferings of which this is but the type, of what must be the price at which they are purchased?"

On the 11th, General Ampudia arrived in Matamoras with a large army. He had been appointed to supersede General Arista, and his entrance was hailed by every demonstration of joy on the part of both citizens and soldiery. The Americans expected an early attack, but, instead of this, a messenger reached General Taylor on the following day with a despatch, of which we give a translation.

* Niles's National Register.

FOURTH MILITARY DIVISION, *General-in-chief.*

To explain to you the many grounds for the just grievances felt by the Mexican nation, caused by the United States government, would be a loss of time, and an insult to your good sense ; I, therefore, pass at once to such explanations as I consider of absolute necessity.

Your government, in an incredible manner—you will even permit me to say an extravagant one, if the usage or general rules established and received among all civilized nations are regarded—has not only insulted, but has exasperated the Mexican nation, bearing its conquering banner to the Rio Bravo del Norte ; and in this case, *by explicit and definite orders of my government*, which neither can, will, nor should receive new outrages, *I require you, in all form, and at latest in the peremptory term of twenty-four hours, to break up your camp and retire to the other bank of the river*, while our governments are regulating the pending question in relation to Texas.

If you insist in remaining upon the soil of the department of Tamaulipas, *it will clearly result that arms, and arms alone, must decide the question* ; and in that case, *I advise you that we accept the war to which*, with so much injustice on your part, *you provoke us*, and that, on our part, this war shall be conducted conformably to the principles established by the most civilized nations : that is to say, that the law of nations and of war shall be the guide of my operations ; trusting, that, on your part, the same will be observed. With this view, I tender the consideration due to your person and respectable office.

God and liberty !

Head-quarters at Matamoras, 2 o'clock, P. M., April 12, 1846.

PEDRO D'AMPUDIA.

Senor General-in-chief of the United States army,

DON Z. TAYLOR.

To this epistle, General Taylor replied in the following note :

HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF OCCUPATION,

Camp near Matamoras, Texas, April 12, 1846.

SEÑOR,—I have had the honour to receive your note of this date, in which you summon me to withdraw the forces under my command from their present position, and beyond the river Nueces, until the pending question between our governments, relative to the limits of Texas, shall be settled. I need hardly advise you, that, charged as I am, in only a military capacity, with the performance of specific duties, I cannot enter into a discussion of the international question involved in the advance of the American army. You will, however, permit me to say that the government of the United States has constantly sought a settlement, by negotiation, of the question of boundary ; that an envoy was despatched to Mexico for that purpose, and that up to the most recent dates said envoy had not

been received by the actual Mexican government, if indeed he has not received his passports and left the republic. In the mean time, I have been ordered to occupy the country up to the left bank of the Rio Grande, until the boundary shall be definitely settled. In carrying out these instructions, I have carefully abstained from all acts of hostility, obeying, in this regard, not only the letter of my instructions, but the plain dictates of justice and humanity.

The instructions under which I am acting will not permit me to retrograde from the position I now occupy. In view of the relations between our respective governments, and the individual suffering which may result, I regret the alternative which you offer; but, at the same time, wish it understood that I shall by no means avoid such alternative, leaving the responsibility with those who rashly commence hostilities.

In conclusion, you will permit me to give you the assurance that, on my part, the laws and customs of war among civilized nations shall be carefully observed.

I have the honour to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR.

SR. GEN. D. PEDRO DE AMPUDIA.

Notwithstanding the peremptory assertions of General Ampudia, the specified time expired without being followed by any occurrence of interest.

On the 17th, the American army lost another promising officer in the person of Lieutenant Porter, who was killed by a party of Mexicans, while endeavouring to find the body of Colonel Cross. The particulars of this affair are thus given in a letter from an officer in Taylor's camp:

"Lieutenant Dobbins, 3d infantry, and Lieutenant Porter of the 4th, left camp on the 17th instant, each with a detachment of two non-commissioned officers and ten privates, to reconnoitre the surrounding country, from ten to twenty miles, in search of a band of robbers known to have been in that vicinity, and who were supposed to have murdered Colonel Cross, and also to learn, if possible, something of his fate. The two parties took different directions, it raining hard during the night. On the second day Lieutenant Porter met a party of Mexicans, one of whom snapped his piece at him. In return he discharged both barrels of his gun at the Mexican, who disappeared in the thorny thicket. The Americans captured the camp of the marauders, ten horses, saddles, &c.

"This was at noon of the 19th, about eighteen miles above General Taylor's camp, and six from the Rio del Norte. The lieutenant continued his search, and about 4 P. M. of the same day, fell in with another party of Mexicans, which, probably, had been joined by those whom he had already left. It was now raining heavily. The Americans were fired on and one

of their privates killed. They made an attempt to return the fire, but their powder had been wetted, and they were exposed to the full range of the enemy without the ability to defend themselves. The lieutenant, as was reported by his serjeant, made a sign with his hand for his men to extend to the right. The party thus became separated in the thickets. The sergeant and four privates returned to camp on the 20th, and gave the above account.



DETACHMENT of thirty dragoons was despatched early the next morning to reconnoitre the position, and search for Lieutenant Porter and those of his party who were missing. They returned the same night, without having learned any thing of them, the thickets being so dense that it was impossible for horses to move through them. They, however, fell in with Lieutenant Dobbins, who said that he would continue to look for Lieutenant Porter a day or two longer. The next day, about noon, the corporal and three men of the lieutenant's party returned, saying that they feared he had been killed. One of them stated that he had seen him fall from his horse; and another, that he dismounted and staggered towards a thicket while volleys of musketry were poured around him."

A letter, dated the 24th, gives the following additional particulars:

"The whole of Lieutenant Porter's party have returned to camp, except himself and the soldier who was killed by the first fire of the Mexicans in the rencounter of the 19th. Private Arns, who came in last of the company, states that he was within five or six feet of Lieutenant Porter when he fell. He received a ball which penetrated his thigh, and no doubt parted the artery. He immediately laid down, and expired very soon afterwards. The soldier previously killed lay within five yards of him.

"Private Arns remained near the bodies of the lieutenant and the soldier for some time, concealed in the dense thicket, and hoping that relief would come to bear the bodies away. He was at last obliged to make his own way to camp."

The first party of Mexicans which Porter encountered was supposed to number about a hundred and fifty, and the second was still more numerous. No doubt the Americans would have suffered more severely, but that the attack was made at night.

On the 22d, a correspondence took place between the two commanders, in consequence of General Taylor having issued orders on the 19th, for the United States brig Lawrence, and the revenue cutter Santa Anna, to pursue two vessels bound with supplies to Matamoras. The following is the letter of General Ampudia:

DIVISION OF THE NORTH, *Second General-in-chief.*

From various sources worthy of confidence, I have learned that some vessels bound for the mouth of the river have not been able to effect an entrance into that port, in consequence of your orders that they should be conducted to Brazos Santiago.

The cargo of one of them is composed in great part, and of the other entirely, of provisions which the contractors charged with providing for the army under my orders had procured to fulfil the obligations of their contracts.

You have taken possession of these provisions by force, and against the will of the proprietors, one of whom is vice-consul of her Catholic majesty, and the other of her Britannic majesty; and whose rights, in place of being religiously respected, as was proffered, and as was to be hoped from the observance of the principles which govern among civilized nations, have, on the contrary, been violated in the most extraordinary manner, opposed to the guarantee and respect due to private property.

Nothing can have authorized you in such a course. The commerce of nations is not suspended or interrupted, except in consequence of a solemn declaration of blockade, communicated and established in the form prescribed by international law. Nevertheless, you have infringed these rules, and, by an act which can never be viewed favourably to the United States government, have hindered the entrance to a Mexican port of vessels bound to it, under the confidence that commerce would not be interrupted. My duties do not allow me to consent to this new species of hostility, and they constrain me to require of you, not only that the vessels taken by force to Brazos Santiago, shall be at liberty to return to the mouth of the river, but the restoration of all the provisions which, besides belonging to private contractors, were destined for the troops on this frontier. I consider it useless to inculcate the justice of this demand, and the results which may follow an unlooked-for refusal.

I have also understood that two Mexicans, carried down in a boat by the current of the river, near one of the advanced posts of your camp, were detained, after being fired upon, and that they are still kept and treated as prisoners. The individuals in question do not belong to the army, and this circumstance exempts them from the laws of war. I therefore hope, that you will place them absolutely at liberty, as I cannot be persuaded that you pretend to extend to persons not military the consequences of an invasion, which, without employing this means of rigour against unarmed citizens, is marked in itself with the seal of universal reprobation.

I avail myself of this opportunity to assure you of my distinguished consideration.

God and Liberty! Matamoras, April 22, 1846.

PEDRO DE AMPUDIA

SR. GEN. DON Z. TAYLOR.



HE reply of the American general is worthy of particular attention, as it not only gives a clear view of his policy, previous to the cause of complaint, but also exhibits the coolness and dignity which characterizes all his public actions.

HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF OCCUPATION,

Camp near Matamoras, Texas, April 22, 1846.

SIR,—I have had the honour to receive your communication of this date, in which you complain of certain measures adopted by my orders to close the mouth of the Rio Bravo against vessels bound to Matamoras, and in which you also advert to the case of two Mexicans, supposed to be detained as prisoners in this camp.

After all that has passed since the American army first approached the Rio Bravo, I am certainly surprised that you should complain of a measure which is no other than a natural result of the state of war so much insisted upon by the Mexican authorities as actually existing at this time. You will excuse me for recalling a few circumstances to show that this state of war has not been sought by the American army, but has been forced upon it, and that the exercise of the rights incident to such a state cannot be made a subject of complaint.

On breaking up my camp at Corpus Christi, and moving forward with the army under my orders, to occupy the left bank of the Rio Bravo, it was my earnest desire to execute my instructions in a pacific manner; to observe the utmost regard for the personal rights of all citizens residing on the left bank of the river, and to take care that the religion and customs of the people should suffer no violation. With this view, and to quiet the minds of the inhabitants, I issued orders to the army, enjoining a strict observance of the rights and interests of all Mexicans residing on the river, and caused said orders to be translated into Spanish, and circulated in the several towns on the Bravo. These orders announced the spirit in which we proposed to occupy the country, and I am proud to say, that up to this moment the same spirit has controlled the operations of the army. On reaching the Arroyo Colorado, I was informed by a Mexican officer, that the order in question had been received in Matamoras; but was told at the same time that if I attempted to cross the river, it would be regarded as a declaration of war. Again, on my march to Frontone, I was met by a deputation of the civil authorities of Matamoras, protesting against my occupation of a portion of the department of Tamaulipas, and declaring that, if the army was not at once withdrawn, war would result. While this communication was in my hands, it was discovered that the village of Frontone had been set on fire and abandoned. I viewed this as a direct act of war, and informed the deputation that their communication would be

answered by me when opposite Matamoras, which was done in respectful terms. On reaching the river, I despatched an officer, high in rank, to convey to the commanding general in Matamoras the expression of my desire for amicable relations, and my willingness to leave open to the use of the citizens of Matamoras the port of Brazos Santiago, until the question of boundary should be definitely settled. This officer received for reply, from the officer selected to confer with him, that my advance to the Rio Bravo was considered as a veritable act of war, and he was absolutely refused an interview with the American consul, in itself an act incompatible with a state of peace.

Notwithstanding these repeated assurances on the part of the Mexican authorities, and notwithstanding the most obviously hostile preparations on the right bank of the river, accompanied by a rigid non-intercourse, I carefully abstained from any act of hostility, determined that the onus of producing an actual state of hostilities should not rest with me. Our relations remained in this state until I had the honour to receive your note of the 12th instant, in which you denounce war as an alternative of my remaining in this position. As I could not, under my instructions, recede from my position, I accepted the alternative you offered me, and made all my dispositions to meet it suitably. But, still willing to adopt milder measures before proceeding to others, I contented myself in the first instance with ordering a blockade of the mouth of the Rio Bravo by the naval forces under my orders—a proceeding perfectly consonant with the state of war so often declared to exist, and which you acknowledge in your note of the 16th instant, relative to the late Colonel Cross. If this measure seems oppressive, I wish it borne in mind that it has been forced upon me by the course you have seen fit to adopt. I have reported this blockade to my government, and shall not remove it, until I receive instructions to that effect, unless indeed you desire an armistice pending the final settlement of the question between the governments, or until war shall be formally declared by either, in which case I shall cheerfully open the river. In regard to the consequences you mention as resulting from a refusal to remove the blockade, I beg you to understand that I am prepared for them be they what they may.

In regard to the particular vessels referred to in your communication, I have the honour to advise you that, in pursuance of my orders, two American schooners, bound for Matamoras, were warned off on the 17th instant, when near the mouth of the river, and put to sea, returning probably to New Orleans. They were not seized, or their cargoes disturbed in any way, nor have they been in the harbour of Brazos Santiago to my knowledge. A Mexican schooner, understood to be the "Juanita," was in or off that harbour when my instructions to blockade the river were issued, but was driven to sea in a gale, since which time I have had no report

concerning her. Since the receipt of your communication, I have learned that two persons, sent to the mouth of the river to procure information respecting this vessel, proceeded thence to Brazos Santiago, where they were taken up and detained by the officer in command, until my orders could be received. I shall order their immediate release. A letter from one of them to the Spanish vice-consul is respectfully transmitted herewith.

In relation to the Mexicans said to have drifted down the river in a boat, and to be prisoners at this time in my camp, I have the pleasure to inform you that no such persons have been taken prisoners or are now detained by my authority. The boat in question was carried down empty by the current of the river, and drifted ashore near one of our pickets, and was secured by the guard. Some time afterwards an attempt was made to recover the boat under the cover of the darkness; the individuals concerned were hailed by the guard, and, failing to answer, were fired upon as a matter of course. What became of them is not known, as no trace of them could be discovered on the following morning. The officer of the Mexican guard, directly opposite, was informed next day that the boat would be returned on proper application to me, and I have now only to repeat that assurance.

In conclusion, I take leave to state that I consider the tone of your communication highly exceptionable, where you stigmatize the movement of the army under my orders as "marked with the seal of universal reprobation." You must be aware that such language is not respectful in itself, either to me or my government; and while I observe in my own correspondence the courtesy due to your high position, and to the magnitude of the interests with which we are respectively charged, I shall expect the same in return.

I have the honour to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR.

Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A. Commanding.

SR. GEN. D. PEDRO DE AMPUDIA, *Commanding in Matamoras.*

We have already mentioned the address of Ampudia to the foreigners of the American army. A similar one was disseminated by Arista, dated the 20th of April, and worded still more artfully than its predecessor. The *rewards* of desertion are implicitly defined in this artful appeal, of which we insert a copy.

HEAD-QUARTERS AT MATAMORAS, *April 20, 1846.*

SOLDIERS!—You have enlisted in time of peace to serve in that army for a specific term; but your obligation never implied that you were bound to violate the laws of God, and the most sacred rights of friends! The United States government, contrary to the wishes of a majority of all honest

and honourable Americans, has ordered you to take *forcible* possession of the territory of a *friendly* neighbour, who has never given her consent to such occupation. In other words, while the treaty of peace and commerce between Mexico and the United States is in full force, the United States, presuming on her strength and prosperity, and on our supposed imbecility and cowardice, attempts to make you the blind instruments of her unholy and mad ambition, and *force* you to appear as the hateful robbers of our dear homes, and the unprovoked violators of our dearest feelings as men and patriots. Such villany and outrage, I know, is perfectly repugnant to the noble sentiments of any gentleman, and it is base and foul to rush you on to certain death, in order to aggrandize a few lawless individuals, in defiance of the laws of God and man!

It is to no purpose if they tell you, that the law for the annexation of Texas justifies your occupation of the Rio Bravo del Norte; for by this act they rob us of a great part of Tamaulipas, Coahuila, Chihuahua, and New Mexico; and it is barbarous to send a handful of men on such an errand against a powerful and warlike nation. Besides, the most of you are Europeans, and we are the *declared friends* of a majority of the nations of *Europe*. The North Americans are ambitious, overbearing, and insolent as a nation, and they will only make use of you as vile tools to carry out their abominable plans of pillage and rapine.

I warn you in the name of justice, honour, and your own interests and self-respect, to abandon their desperate and unholy cause, and become *peaceful Mexican citizens*. I guaranty you, in such case, a half-section of land, or three hundred and twenty acres, to settle upon, gratis. Be wise, then, and just and honourable, and take no part in murdering us who have no unkind feelings for you. Lands shall be given to officers, sergeants, and corporals, according to rank, privates receiving three hundred and twenty acres, as stated.

If in time of action you wish to espouse our cause, throw away your arms and run to us, and we will embrace you as true friends and Christians. It is not decent nor prudent to say more. But should any of you render important service to Mexico, you shall be accordingly considered and preferred.

M. ARISTA,

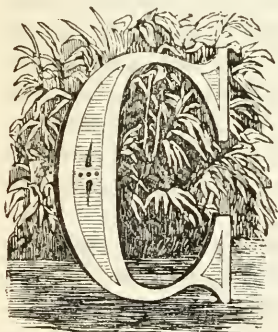
Commander-in-chief of the Mexican army.

Large detachments of the enemy now appeared from time to time on the opposite bank of the river, and reports were daily received that they had crossed above Matamoras, and were marching down, in the rear of the American fort. Accordingly, several parties were sent out to reconnoitre, and one of them, commanded by Captain Thornton, was surprised and captured by the enemy. The particulars of this event we extract from Niles' National Register of May 23d.

"On the evening of the 23d, General Taylor's spies brought in intelligence to the effect that about two thousand five hundred Mexicans had crossed the Rio Grande to the Texas side, above the American fort, and that about fifteen hundred of the same had crossed below. The general immediately despatched a squadron of dragoons to each place of crossing, for the purpose of reconnoitering them and ascertaining their position. The squadron ordered below was in command of Captain Ker; the one above was commanded by Captain Thornton, and composed of Captain Hardee, Lieutenants Kane and Mason, with sixty-one privates and non-commissioned officers.

"The former commander, Captain Ker, on arriving at the point where it was supposed they had crossed, found that the report was false, but that they had crossed above.

"Thornton's command had proceeded up the Rio Grande about twenty-four miles, and, as was supposed, to within about three miles of the Mexican camp, when the guide refused to go further, stating for his reason that the whole country was infested with Mexicans. The captain, however, proceeded on with his command about two miles, when he came to a farm-house, which was entirely enclosed by a chapparel fence, with the exception of that portion of it which bordered on the river, and this was so boggy as to be impassable.



CAPTAIN THORNTON entered this enclosure through a pair of bars, and approached the house for the purpose of making some inquiry, his command following him. When the whole party had entered the enclosure, the enemy, having been concealed in the chapparel, about two thousand five hundred in number, completely surrounded him and commenced firing upon his command. He then wheeled his command, thinking he could charge through the enemy, and pass out where he had entered, even though it should be attended with considerable loss. This he attempted, but, on account of the strength of the enemy, did not succeed.

"At this moment Captain Hardee approached him for the purpose of suggesting the means to extricate themselves, the fire of the enemy still continuing. Thornton's horse, having received a shot, ran with him toward the chapparel fence, which he leaped, and plunged into a precipice, where he fell with the captain underneath, who remained insensible for five or six hours. This casualty placed Captain Hardee in command, who attempted with the residue to make his escape by the river, intending, on arriving at its margin, to swim it. In this he failed, finding the

ground so boggy that he could not reach the river. He then returned, taking the precaution to keep out of musketry range, dismounted and examined the arms of his men, determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible.

"Before he had succeeded in the inspection of the arms, a Mexican officer rode up and asked him to surrender. The captain replied that he would surrender on one condition, which was, that if the Mexican general would receive them as prisoners of war and treat them as the most civilized nations do, they would give themselves up, but on no other condition. The officer bore this message to the commanding general, and returned with the assurance that their request should be complied with. Captain Hardee then surrendered. Captains Thornton and Hardee, with Lieutenant Kane and the residue of the non-commissioned officers and privates, were made prisoners of war, but were remarkably well treated by the enemy.

"Lieutenant George Mason was a fine young officer, and his death is much regretted. His sabre-belt was recognised among some articles that were subsequently captured from the enemy."

The capture of this party was a source of unbounded joy to the Mexicans. The commander wrote to one of his officers in terms of the most extravagant compliments, and the ruin of the invading army was confidently and exultingly foretold. After the capture of Thornton, the Mexicans threw off the reserve which had hitherto marked their movements, and, crossing the river in large detachments, spread themselves between General Taylor and Point Isabel. The situation of both the American stations was now becoming critical, as all communication between them was cut off. In addition to the latter circumstance, there were but eight days' rations in the fort, all the provisions and military stores having been left at Point Isabel. This was a season of gloomy anxiety for the army; being entirely ignorant of the designs of the Mexicans, they knew not what moment they would either be attacked themselves, or hear the report of a cannonade upon Major Munroe.

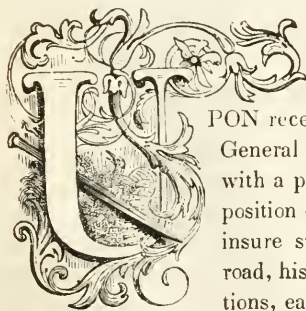


MEANWHILE the garrison at Point Isabel were not idle. As soon as intercourse with General Taylor was stopped, they placed every thing in a condition for immediate resistance, and, in addition to the regular force, the masters and crews of vessels landed and occupied stations with the troops. The works were as perfect as it was possible to make them under the circumstances, and it was generally believed that, should they be attacked by a force not superior to fifteen hundred men, they would be able to sustain themselves.

During this state of affairs, Captain Samuel Walker, with a small body of Texan rangers, arrived at Point Isabel. He is quite a young officer, but served with great distinction in the Texan revolution, when he was taken prisoner, and sent to Mexico. On his arrival he was ordered by Major Munroe to occupy a station west of the point, in order to open, if possible, a communication with General Taylor. He accordingly took a position about twelve miles distant; but soon after receiving intelligence from some teamsters who had been detached from the point with supplies for Taylor, that the Mexicans were completely obstructing the road, he set out on the 28th with his whole force of about seventy-five men, intending to cut his way to the Rio Grande. He had proceeded about twelve miles, when he unexpectedly encountered a large Mexican force, who immediately commenced an attack. A great part of the troops were raw; these the captain ordered to keep on the right, and directed the whole to retire under a neighbouring chapparel. But the fresh soldiers, panic struck at the first view of an enemy, scattered in confusion, and the Mexicans rushing on in overwhelming numbers, he was obliged to retreat. He was pursued to within cannon range of Point Isabel, which he entered with a few men. He estimates the number of Mexicans as fifteen hundred men, and supposes that at least thirty of them fell in the fifteen minutes that the engagement lasted. They were believed to be a portion of the detachment which had crossed the Rio Grande, twenty-five miles above Matamoras, and which was estimated at three thousand men. They had arrived at their position by a circuitous route on the east of General Taylor's camp.

So far from being discouraged by this disaster, Captain Walker volunteered his services, immediately upon arriving at Point Isabel, to carry any communication from Major Munroe to General Taylor, providing four men would accompany him. Although the proposal was regarded as reckless, yet six immediately volunteered their services, and received permission

from the major. The party set out on the 29th, and, after a number of almost providential escapes, reached the camp opposite Matamoras in safety.



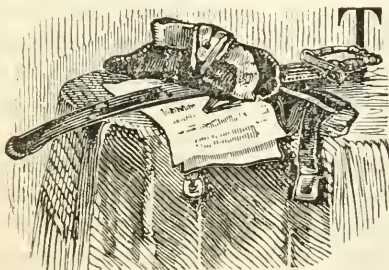
UPON receiving news of the situation of his main dépôt, General Taylor formed the bold design of marching with a part of his army to its relief. A glance at the position of affairs will show the energy necessary to insure success to such a movement. While on the road, his force would be divided into three small sections, each threatened by a vastly superior force of the enemy; and even though he should reach Point Isabel unmolested, yet the enemy might concentrate their armies in order to dispute his

return, or by a rapid movement overwhelm the little force he would leave behind him. But the General saw his duty, and determined to perform it.

On the 1st of May the general marched from the fort, leaving it in possession of Major Brown, with the seventh regiment of infantry, under Captain Lowd, and two companies of artillery, under Lieutenant Bragg, comprising, in all, six hundred men. He reached Point Isabel at evening of the next day, without having encountered any opposition.

The march of the Americans was mistaken by the enemy for a retreat, and the whole population of the city, both civil and military, exhibited the most extravagant demonstrations of joy. The press adopted this opinion, as will be seen by the following extract from the *El Monitor Republicano* of May 4th :

"On the first of this month, at 11 o'clock in the morning, the general-in-chief [Arista] left this place to join the army, which, several hours before, had left with the intention of crossing the river at a short distance from the camp of the enemy. In consequence of the orders given, so that this dangerous operation might be performed with due security, and according to the rules of military art, when our troops arrived at the spot designated for the crossing of the river, the left bank was already occupied by General D. Anastasia Torrejon, with all the force under his command. The enthusiasm of our soldiers to conquer the obstacles which separated them from the enemy was so great, that they showed themselves impatient of the delay occasioned by the bad condition of some of the flat boats which had been very much injured in the transportation by land, and could not be used, as they would fill up with water as soon as they were launched. In spite of that obstacle, the work went on with such activity, and so great was the ardour of the most excellent general-in-chief, whose orders were obeyed with the greatest promptitude and precision, that a few hours were sufficient to transport to the opposite bank of the Bravo a strong division, with all its artillery and train.



THIS rapid and well-combined movement ought to have proved to the invaders not only that the Mexicans possess instruction and aptness for war, but that those qualities are now brought forward by the purest patriotism. The northern division, fearless of fatigue, and levelling all difficulties,

ran to seek an enemy who, well sheltered under parapets, and defended by guns of a large calibre, could wait for the attack with indisputable advantage. With deep trenches, with a multitude of fortifications, the

defence was easy against those who presented themselves with their naked breasts.



UT General Taylor dared not resist the valour and enthusiasm of the sons of Mexico. Well did he foresee the intrepidity with which our soldiers would rush against the usurpers of the national territory. Well did he know the many injuries which were to be avenged by those who had taken up arms, not to aggrandize themselves with the spoils of the property of others, but to maintain the independence of their country. Well did he know, we repeat it, that the Mexicans would be stopped neither by trenches nor fortresses, nor large artillery. Thus it was that the chief of the American forces, frightened as soon as he perceived, from the situation and proximity of his camp, that our army was preparing to cross the river, left with precipitation for Point Isabel, with almost all his troops, eight pieces of artillery and a few wagons. Their march was observed from our position, and the most excellent General D. Francisco Mejia immediately sent an express extraordinary to communicate the news to the most excellent general-in-chief. Here let me pay to our brave men the tribute which they deserve. The express verbally informed some of the troops which had not yet arrived at the ford, of the escape of the Americans; in one instant all the soldiers spontaneously crossed the river, almost racing one with another.

"Such was the ardour with which they crossed the river to attack the enemy. The terror and haste with which the latter fled to the fort, to shut themselves up in it and avoid a conflict, frustrated the active measures of the most excellent Senor General Arista, which were to order the cavalry to advance in the plain, and to cut off the flight of the fugitives. But it was not possible to do so, notwithstanding their forced march during the night. General Taylor left his camp at two o'clock in the afternoon, and, as fear has wings, he succeeded in shutting himself up in the fort. When our cavalry reached the point where they were to detain him, he had already passed and was several leagues ahead. Great was the sorrow of our brave men, not to have been able to meet the enemy face to face. Their defeat was certain, and the main body of that invading army, who thought that they had inspired the Mexicans with so much respect, would have disappeared in the first important battle. But there was some fighting to be done, and the Americans do not know how to use other arms but those of duplicity and treachery. Why did they not remain with firmness under their colours? Why did they abandon the ground which they pretend to usurp with such iniquity? Thus has an honourable general kept his word. Had not General Taylor said in all his communications, that he was prepared to repel all hostilities? Why, then, does he fly in so cowardly a manner to shut himself up at the point? The com-

mander-in-chief of the American army has covered himself with opprobrium and ignominy in sacrificing a part of his forces, whom he left in the fortifications, to save himself; for it is certain that he will not return to their assistance—not that he is ignorant of their peril, but he calculates that his would be greater if he had the temerity of attempting to resist the Mexican lances and bayonets in the open plain.”



HE “flight” of the American general afforded an excellent opportunity for the destruction of the fort and garrison opposite Matamoras; and the Mexicans were too sagacious not to improve it. Early on the morning of the 3d, a brisk fire opened upon the fort from a battery of seven guns, placed in the town. This was answered by the eighteen-pounders, and for fifteen

minutes both parties maintained a spirited cannonade. At the end of this time, the Mexican battery ceased, one of their guns having been shot from its carriage, and another disabled. The Mexicans now fired shells and shot from the lower fort and a mortar battery, until half-past seven o'clock in the evening.

Soon after this time it was resumed, and continued with occasional intermissions until midnight. During all this time a part of the troops laboured to complete the fortifications, although exposed to the full range of the enemy's guns. The enemy discharged about fifteen hundred shot during this first day's attack, yet but one man was killed, (Serjeant Weigant, of the seventh infantry,) the principal damage being to property. An officer, under date of May 4th, thus speaks of the cannonade:

“Yesterday morning the Mexicans opened their batteries from the town, which was returned from our eighteen-pounder, and a brisk fire was kept up for an hour or more, during which time one of their batteries was silenced by our guns, and a number of shots fired on the town. My station being in one of the batteries opposite the fort, I could sometimes hear the shot crashing through the houses. Our guns stopped firing about ten or eleven o'clock, as we were only wasting our ammunition and did but little injury, except to the town. They kept on firing through the day and part of the night, but have done us little injury, one man only being killed. They have a mortar and annoy us considerably with their shells, several of which have exploded in the fort, but with no serious injury. We are hourly expecting an attack from their forces, and are prepared to make a vigorous defence.”

The Mexicans mistook the silence of the Americans as symptoms of fear, and were full of sanguine expectations of a surrender. We give an extract from the *El Monitor Republicano* of May 4th.

“But let us relate the glorious events of yesterday. As Aurora dawned, we began to fire from our ramparts on the fortifications of the enemy, and the thunder of the Mexican cannon was saluted by the reveille from every point of our line, by the bell of the parochial church, and by the *vivas* of the inhabitants of Matamoras. In a moment the streets were filled, and all were rejoiced to see at last the hour arrived, when we were to give a terrible lesson to the American camp, whose odious presence could no longer be tolerated. The enemy answered, but they were soon convinced that their artillery, although of a superior calibre, could not compete with ours. After a fire of five hours, our ramparts remained immovable, on account of the solidity of their construction, and the intelligence with which the rules of art had been observed. The same did not happen to the American fortifications, whose bastions were so completely demolished that their artillery ceased to play, and their fire was hushed. We continued to fire with alacrity during the day, without the enemy’s daring to respond to us, because the parapets, under which they would shelter themselves, being destroyed, they had not courage to load their guns, which remained uncovered. This result shows us of what, in reality, consists the exalted skill of the American artillerists. They have eighteen-pounders, and we have nothing larger than eight-pounders; and yet the intelligence and practice of the Mexicans sufficed to conquer those who had superior arms. Unequalled glory and eternal honour to our brave artillerymen!

“The enemy, in their impotent rage, and before they concealed their shame behind the most distant parapets, had the barbarous pleasure of aiming their guns towards the city to destroy its edifices, as it was not in their power to destroy the fortifications from which they received so much injury. This wicked revenge, which only springs from cowardly and miserable souls, did not meet with the success expected by those who so unworthily adorn themselves with the title of *savants* and philanthropists. Their stupidity was equal to their wickedness. Almost all the balls passed too high; and those which touched the houses, although they were eighteen-pounders, did not cause any other mischief but that of piercing one or two walls. If those who conceived the infamous design of destroying Matamoras had seen the contemptuous laughter with which the owners of those houses showed their indifference for the losses which they might sustain, they would have admired the patriotism and disinterestedness of the Mexicans, always ready to undergo the greatest sacrifices, when it is necessary to maintain their nationality and independence. The glorious 3d of May is another brilliant testimony of this truth; through the thickest of the firing, one could remark the most ardent enthusiasm on all faces, and hardly had a ball fallen, when even the children would look for it, without fearing that another aimed in the same manner should fall in th

saine place. That, we saw ourselves, in the public square, where a multitude of citizens were assembled.

"The triumph of our arms has been complete ; and we have only to lament the loss of a sergeant and two artillerymen, who fell gloriously in fighting for their country. The families of those victims ought to be taken care of by the supreme government, to whose paternal gratitude they have been recommended by the most excellent senor general-in-chief. We must also be consoled by the thought, that the blood of these brave men has been revenged by their bereaved companions. As many of our balls passed through the embrasure, the loss to the Americans must be very great ; and, although we do not know exactly the number of their dead, the most accurate information makes it amount to fifty-six. It is probable that such is the case. Since 11 o'clock in the morning, the abandonment of their guns, merely because two of them were dismounted, and the others were uncovered ; the panic-terror with which, in all haste, they took refuge in their furthest intrenchments, taking away from the camp all that could suffer from the attack of our artillery ; the destruction which must have been occasioned by the bombs, so well aimed, that some would burst at a yard's distance from the ground, in their descent to the point at which they were to fall ; every thing contributes to persuade that, indeed, the enemy have suffered a terrible loss. If it were not the case, if they preserved some remnant of valour, why did they not dare to repair their fortifications in the night ? It is true that, from time to time, a few guns were fired on them in the night, but their aim could not be certain, and cowardice alone could force them not to put themselves in an attitude to return the fire which was poured on them again at daylight. No American put out his head ; silence reigned in their camp ; and for this reason we have suspended our fire to-day—that there is no enemy to meet our batteries.

"To conclude, we will give a brilliant paragraph relating to the contest, by the most excellent senor general-in-chief, as to the part which he took in the events of yesterday. He says thus : 'Mexico must glorify herself, and especially the valiant men of the division of the north, that a force inferior in its elements, and perhaps in number also, and which required nearly two months to swell itself with the auxiliaries coming from the capital, should meet in an immense plain, defying the armies of the United States, and the whole power of that republic, without their opponents, who could receive succour in the space of fifty hours, should dare to leave the fort to give us battle.'

[From the Bulletin of the Northern Division.]

"So rapid is the fire of our guns, that *the batteries of the enemy have been silenced*. But what is most worthy of notice, as showing the great enthusiasm of this place, is the fact that many of the inhabitants of both

sexes, in the hottest of the cannonade, remained firm in front of the enemy, filled with enthusiasm; indeed, fear is always unknown to those whose mission it is to avenge an outrage upon the sacred right of their beloved country.

"From our account of the war, the world will judge of the great superiority of our troops, in courage as well as skill, over the Americans. It is indeed wonderful to witness the dismay of the enemy; rare is the occurrence when an American ventures outside of the breastworks. There can be no doubt of this, that the Mexicans will be considered by foreign nations as the very emblems of patriotism. How evident that they inherit the blood of the noble sons of Pelayo! Happy they who have met with so glorious a death, in defending the territory bequeathed to them by their fathers!

"The nation with which we are at war is most savage in its proceedings; no regard being paid to the flags of friendly nations; even those usages and customs respected by civilized nations, to divest war of some of its horrors, have been shamefully disregarded. The enemy have fired red shot against this innocent city, and we publish it to the world in proof that, with all their boasted wisdom and liberty, they are unworthy of being counted among enlightened nations.

"His excellency, the general-in-chief of the northern division, and his intrepid soldiers, are ready to fight the enemy in any numbers, and we are certain that our arms will be successful; but the nation against whom we have to contend is excessively proud; and it is also possessed of resources which may perhaps surpass those within our reach. Let us then make an immense effort to repel their aggressions. Let us contribute every thing most dear to us—our persons, our means—to save our country from its present danger. Let us oppose to the unbridled ambition of the Anglo-American that patriotic enthusiasm so peculiar to us. Indeed, we need only follow the glorious example of Matamoras, that noble city, which will be known in future by the name of Heroic. Its inhabitants have emulated the examples of Menamia and Saguntum; they have determined to die at the foot of the eagle of Anahuac, defend their fort whilst they retain the breath of life—this plan is settled. The supreme government is making strenuous exertions in order to protect the territory placed under its care by the nation, and nothing is now wanting but for the people to rush in a mass to the frontier, and the independence of Mexico is safe."

Between two and three o'clock on the morning of the 4th, Captain Walker, with six rangers, arrived before the fort, and being hailed by the sentinel, announced himself and party as "friends from Frontone."* After some delay he was admitted, and delivered messages from General Taylor to Major Brown.

* Frontone is the Texan designation of Point Isabel.

THE noise of the cannonading had reached Point Isabel, and, on account of the paucity of military stores in the fort, had created the most intense excitement. As it continued, the general determined to know something of the garrison, and accordingly selected Captain May, with about one hundred men, including ten rangers under Captain Walker, to open the wished-for communication. His orders were, to proceed to within a few miles of the fort, and, in the event of hearing no cannonading, to conceal his party behind some chapparel, while Captain Walker, with his rangers, advanced towards the fort; and upon the return of the captain, to make a general reconnoitering of the country, and especially the enemy's position, but under no circumstances to risk an engagement.

Early in the afternoon the party left Point Isabel, and at nine arrived within view of the enemy's watch-fires, on the plain of Palo Alto. By skilful manœuvring, May escaped observation, extended his party so as to encircle the Mexicans, and, marching round them, reached a station within seven miles of the American fort. Here he covered his party by rows of chapparel, and detached Captain Walker to Major Brown. After waiting until daylight for the return of the rangers, he decided to return, imagining that Walker had been captured by some of the numerous parties who were known to be on the alert for him. May returned at a full gallop, passing within half a mile of the enemy's camp. When within twelve miles of Point Isabel, he encountered a body of one hundred and fifty lancers, whom he charged and pursued nearly three miles. As their horses were superior to his own, he was obliged to relinquish the pursuit, and returned to Point Isabel at nine o'clock.

IT was believed by the army that Captain Walker had been captured, and as he was a general 'favourite, as' well as a most active officer, his supposed loss cast a gloom over both officers and men. Suddenly, however, he was observed approaching the point, and in addition to the joy attending his personal safety, reported the gratifying intelligence that Major Brown was able to maintain his position. His passage from the fort to the position of General Taylor was a daring and skilful feat, and it was alone owing to his accurate knowledge of the face of the country, that it was so successful. In fact, this whole adventure of Captain May must be regarded as one of the most brilliant of all the events which have yet transpired in Mexico.

The fire of the enemy was not renewed on the 4th, and thus an excellent opportunity was afforded to finish the defences of the fort. On the following morning, a battery was observed in the field on the east side of the Rio Grande, and for several hours troops continued to pour from all

quarters towards that station. At the same time the army in Matamoras were unusually active, and the Americans now felt certain that an assault was intended. Late in the afternoon, the field-battery opened upon the fort, and, after firing for a few minutes, was assisted by a severe discharge of shells and shot from the army in the city. The Americans replied to this combined fire by their six-pounder howitzer batteries, and after a short time the Mexicans ceased.

In the evening, bodies of Mexican light troops, with some lancers and rancheros, being observed in various parts of the field, north and east of the fort, Lieutenant Hanson asked permission of the commandant, to issue out with a small party in order to reconnoitre. This was granted, and he approached one party, who fled at perceiving him. The remainder then endeavoured to surround him and intercept his return, but by vigilant movements he eluded them, and having effected his object, returned to the fort. The enemy then marched several detachments below the fort, so that before night they had entirely surrounded it. General Taylor had advised the major, that in case of this extremity he should discharge his two eighteen-pounders at regular intervals as a signal; and this was accordingly done.



ON the 6th, the cannonade was renewed, and conducted with far more vigour than on any previous day. At 10 o'clock, the Americans lost their brave commander, Major Brown, who was mortally wounded by a cannon-shot. His right leg was completely shattered, and although amputation was immediately, as well as skilfully effected, he survived but three days. In the official despatch of General Taylor, his death is thus

noticed :

“The field-work opposite Matamoras has sustained itself handsomely during a cannonade and bombardment of one hundred and sixty hours. But the pleasure is alloyed with profound regret, at the loss of its heroic and indomitable commander, Major Brown, who died to-day from the effect of a shell. His loss would be a severe one to the service at any time, but to the army under my orders it is indeed irreparable.”

Major Brown was succeeded by Captain Hawkins.

The fire of the Mexicans continued with but little intermission until noon. It then ceased and every thing remained quiet for two hours, when a battery commenced a languid fire which soon ceased. About the same time, the companies which had moved to the rear of the fort on the preceding night, approached so near as to be almost within musket range. Here, however, they were repulsed with some loss, by a discharge from the battery of Lieutenant Lowd.

About five o'clock, the Mexicans sounded a parley, and immedia

after, two officers with a white flag were seen approaching the fort. By command of Captain Hawkins, they were met by Major Sewell and Lieutenant Britton, to whom they delivered a message from General Arista, to the commandant of the fort. The following is a translation:

MEXICAN ARMY, DIVISION OF THE NORTH, *General-in-chief.*

You are besieged by forces sufficient to take you, and there is, moreover, a numerous division encamped near you which, free from other cares, will keep off any succours which you may expect to receive.

The respect for humanity acknowledged at the present age by all civilized nations, doubtless imposes upon me the duty of mitigating the disasters of war.

This principle, which Mexicans observe above all other nations, obliges me to summon you, as all your efforts will be useless, to surrender, in order to avoid, by a capitulation, the entire destruction of all the soldiers under your command.

You will thus afford me the pleasure of complying with the mild and benevolent wishes above expressed, which distinguish the character of my countrymen, whilst I at the same time fulfil the most imperious of the duties which my country requires for the offences committed against it.

God and Liberty !

Head-quarters at the Fauques del Raminero, May 6th, 1846.

MARIANO ARISTA.

One hour was allowed for the American commander's reply. Accordingly a council of officers was convened, and the opinion of each one asked, commencing at the youngest. The response was unanimous—to defend the fort till death ; and before the hour expired, Arista received the following reply :

HEAD-QUARTERS U. S. FORCES,

Near Matamoras, May 6th, 1846, 5 P. M.

SIR,—Your humane communication has just been received, and, after the consideration due to its importance, I must respectfully decline to surrender my forces to you.

The exact purport of your despatch I cannot feel confident that I understood, as my interpreter is not skilled in your language ; but if I have understood you correctly, you have my reply above.

I am, sir, respectfully. your obedient servant, E. S. HAWKINS,

Commanding U. S. forces opposite Matamoras.

Gen. M. ARISTA, *Commanding Division of the North.*

The reception of this answer was the signal for a general burst of heavy shot upon the fort, and until sunset the cannonading was more severe than it had yet been. The American ammunition was nearly exhausted, and they were obliged to remain quiet, lest, by throwing it away now, they

would be unprepared in case of an assault. During the night the troops slept upon their arms, the number of sentinels was increased, and every preparation made to repel successfully the expected night attack.

The 7th was a day of activity to both armies. Not only was a heavy cannonade maintained all day, but various parties fired into the fort from almost every position, and large detachments of cavalry formed in the field with the evident design of making an assault. Orders had been issued, however, to the garrison not to fire upon the enemy unless they would approach within eighty yards of the fort; and as this was not done, they were obliged to remain silent.

In the evening, a small party, under Captain Mansfield, advanced into the plain and levelled the traverse formerly occupied by the Americans, and which now served to shelter the enemy while firing upon the fort. They also cut down large quantities of chapparel which the Mexicans used for a similar purpose, and returned to the city unmolested. At midnight the garrison were roused by volleys of musketry; and the noise of bugles, which continued for some time, the Americans expecting each moment a charge; in a short time all was again quiet. The firing was renewed at daybreak of the 8th, and continued until afternoon, without loss however to the fort.

In the afternoon, the sound of heavy cannonade, in the direction of Point Isabel, announced to the garrison that for the first time General Taylor had met with the enemy. In the evening, a Mexican fugitive arrived at the fort, and gave an account of the battle of Palo Alto.

On the following morning the batteries re-opened on the fort, and continued until afternoon, when the cannonade of the previous day was renewed, apparently much nearer to the garrison. The Mexican batteries were now all silent, and the intensest excitement pervaded the fort. At evening the tale was told. A confused mass of infantry, lancers, and cavalry, burst from the adjoining thicket, and rushed toward the river, throwing aside every thing which might impede their flight. Some were crushed to death by the horses, others precipitated into the water, and many murdered by their own lancers; while the terrified citizens of Matamoras, who had so exultingly witnessed the retreat of General Taylor, now saw his dark columns moving in stern pursuit of the flying legions of Mexico.





GENERAL TAYLOR

BATTLES OF PALO ALTO AND RESACA DE LA PALMA.



GENERAL TAYLOR left Point Isabel on the evening of the 7th of May, and moved with the main body of the army toward the Rio Grande. They marched about seven miles, and bivouacked on their arms. The march was resumed on the following morning, and about noon, the army came in sight of the enemy, stretched in one unbroken line of more than a mile in length.

The battle of Palo Alto is described in the official report of General Taylor, which we insert.

HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
Camp near Matamoras, Texas, May 16, 1846.

Sir,—I have now the honour to submit a more detailed report of the action of the 8th instant.

The main body of the Army of Occupation marched under my immediate orders from Point Isabel, on the evening of the 7th May, and bivouacked seven miles from that place.

Our march was resumed the following morning. About noon, when our advance of cavalry had reached the water-hole of "Palo Alto," the Mexican troops were reported in our front, and were soon discovered occupying the road in force. I ordered a halt on reaching the water, with a view to rest and refresh the men and form deliberately our line of battle. The Mexican line was now plainly visible across the prairie, and about three-quarters of a mile distant. Their left, which was composed of a heavy force of cavalry, occupied the road, resting upon a thicket of chapparel, while masses of infantry were discovered in succession on the right, greatly outnumbering our own force.

Our line of battle was now formed in the following order, commencing on the extreme right: fifth infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel McIntosh; Major Ringgold's artillery; third infantry, commanded by Captain L. M. Morris; two eighteen-pounders, commanded by Lieutenant Churchill, third artillery; fourth infantry, commanded by Major G. W. Allen; the third and fourth regiments composed the third brigade, under command of Lieutenant-colonel Garland, and all the above corps, together with two squadrons of dragoons, under Captains Ker and May, composed the right wing, under the orders of Colonel Twiggs. The left was formed by the battalion of artillery, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Childs, Captain Duncan's light artillery, and the eighth infantry, under Captain Montgomery, all forming the first brigade under command of Lieutenant-colonel Belknap. The train was parked near the water, under directions of Captains Crossman and Myers, and protected by Captain Ker's squadron.

About 2 o'clock, we took up the march by heads of columns in the direction of the enemy, the eighteen-pounder battery following the road. While the other columns were advancing, Lieutenant Blake, Topographical Engineers, volunteered a reconnoissance of the enemy's line, which was handsomely performed, and resulted in the discovery of at least two batteries of artillery in the intervals of their cavalry and infantry. These batteries were soon opened upon us, when I ordered the columns halted and deployed into line, and the fire to be returned by all our artillery. The eighth infantry, on our extreme left, was thrown back to secure that flank. The first fires of the enemy did little execution, while our eighteen-pounders and Major Ringgold's artillery soon dispersed the cavalry which formed his left. Captain Duncan's battery, thrown forward in advance of the line, was doing good execution at this time. Captain May's squadron was now detached to support that battery and the left of our position. The Mexican cavalry, with two pieces of artillery, were now reported to be



BATTLE OF PAIO ALTO.

moving through the chapparel to our right, to threaten that flank, or make a demonstration against the train. The fifth infantry was immediately detached to check this movement, and, supported by Lieutenant Ridgely, with a section of Major Ringgold's battery, and Captain Walker's company of volunteers, effectually repulsed the enemy—the fifth infantry repelling a charge of lancers, and the artillery doing great execution in their ranks. The third infantry was now detached to the right, as a still further security to that flank, yet threatened by the enemy. Major Ringgold, with the remaining section, kept up his fire from an advanced position, and was supported by the left infantry.

The grass of the prairie had been accidentally fired by our artillery, and the volumes of smoke now partially concealed the armies from each other. As the enemy's left had evidently been driven back, and left the road free, and as the cannonade had been suspended, I ordered forward the eighteen-pounders on the road nearly to the position first occupied by the Mexican cavalry, and caused the first brigade to take up a new position, still on the left of the eighteen-pounder battery. The fifth was advanced from its former position, and occupied a point on the extreme right of the new line. The enemy made a change of position corresponding to our own, and after a suspension of nearly an hour, the action was resumed.

The fire of artillery was now most destructive; openings were constantly made through the enemy's ranks by our fire, and the constancy with which the Mexican infantry sustained this severe cannonade was a theme of universal remark and admiration. Captain May's squadron was detached to make a demonstration on the left of the enemy's position, and suffered severely from the fire of artillery, to which it was for some time exposed.

The fourth infantry, which had been ordered to support the eighteen-pounder battery, was exposed to a most galling fire of artillery, by which several men were killed, and Captain Page dangerously wounded. The enemy's fire was directed against our eighteen-pounder battery, and the guns under Major Ringgold in its vicinity. The major himself, while coolly directing the fire of his pieces, was struck by a cannon-ball and mortally wounded.

In the mean time, the battalion under Lieutenant-colonel Childs had been brought up to support the artillery on our right. A strong demonstration of cavalry was now made by the enemy against this part of our line, and the column continued to advance under a severe fire from the eighteen-pounders. The battalion was instantly formed in square, and held ready to receive the charge of cavalry, but when the advancing squadrons were within close range, a deadly fire of canister from the eighteen-pounders dispersed them. A brisk fire of small arms was now opened upon the square, by which one officer (Lieutenant Luther, second artillery) was

slightly wounded; but a well-directed volley from the front of the square silenced all further firing from the enemy in this quarter. It was now nearly dark, and the action was closed on the right of our line, the enemy having been completely driven back from his position, and foiled in every attempt against it.

While the above was going forward on our right, and under our own eye, the enemy had made a serious attempt against the left of our line. Captain Duncan instantly perceived the movement, and, by the bold and brilliant manœuvring of his battery, completely repulsed several successive efforts of the enemy to advance in force upon our left flank. Supported in succession by the eighth infantry, and by Captain Ker's squadron of dragoons, he gallantly held the enemy at bay, and finally drove him, with immense loss, from the field. The action here and along the whole line continued until dark, when the enemy retired into the chapparel, in rear of his position.

Our loss this day was nine killed, forty-four wounded, and two missing. Among the wounded were Major Ringgold, who has since died, and Captain Page dangerously wounded, Lieutenant Luther slightly so. I annex a tabular statement of the casualties of the day.

Our own force engaged is shown by the field-report, herewith transmitted, to have been one hundred and seventy-seven officers, and two thousand one hundred and eleven men; aggregate, two thousand two hundred and eighty-eight. The Mexican force, according to the statements of their own officers, taken prisoners in the affair of the 9th, was not less than six thousand regular troops, with ten pieces of artillery, and probably exceeded that number—the irregular force not known. Their loss was not less than two hundred killed, and four hundred wounded—probably greater. This estimate is very moderate, and formed upon the number actually counted on the field, and upon the reports of their own officers.

As already reported in my first brief despatch, the conduct of our officers and men was every thing that could be desired. Exposed for hours to the severest trial—a cannonade of artillery—our troops displayed a coolness and constancy which gave me throughout the assurance of victory.

I purposely defer the mention of individuals, until my report of the action of the 9th, when I will endeavour to do justice to the many instances of distinguished conduct on both days. In the mean time, I refer for more minute details to the reports of individual commanders. I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A. Commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army, Washington.

An officer writing from the field of battle gives the following thrilling account of some of the incidents to which he was an eye-witness :

DEATH OF MAJOR BINGGOLD



"When we arrived within good artillery range, their batteries opened upon us, some of their balls bouncing along the plain, and passing us in ricochet; others flying over our heads and falling in our rear, showing us in a few moments that their pieces were served with skill and precision. The infantry were destined to give the strongest evidence of courage that a soldier can exhibit—to stand in squares four hours under fire of the enemy's artillery so as to protect our own artillery from the cavalry, whilst it was mowing down the enemy's ranks. In the mean time, the whole order of battle had been changed to conform to the manœuvres of the enemy, and our brigade, which was the left, now turned itself in advance on the right—the artillery battalion being on the extreme right and the most in advance. In these different changes, our general was always slowly but steadfastly gaining ground to the front, and the enemy gradually falling back. The enemy's fire having slackened, and then ceased, General Taylor, from his new and more advanced position, ordered all his batteries to open, and in his turn attacked the enemy with such fury, as to cause evident destruction in their ranks; but still they remained firm. By a charge on them they might have been routed entirely, but then we must have exposed our wagons to be captured by their cavalry, and that could not be thought of. At this moment the enemy were discovered coming down with his left flank in great force of cavalry and infantry, on the artillery battalion and eighteen-pounders, which that battalion supported. The eighteen-pounders were served by thirty men, and the artillery battalion was about three hundred and sixty strong. Both the batteries and battalion were in such a position that they could not be supported by the other portion of the army, and at the time the charge commenced, the battalion had deployed into line. However, it was thrown into square by a prompt manœuvre, and awaited steadily the Mexican charge. On they came, 'horse, foot, and dragoons,' shouting and yelling, when a single horseman rode into the square and said, 'Men, I place myself in your square.' The general was immediately recognised by the men, who gave him three cheers for this evidence of his confidence. At this moment Lieutenant Churchill discharged one of his eighteen-pounders, loaded with grape, into the advancing ranks, but not checking entirely their onward movement. They marched forward to within good musket range, some one hundred and fifty yards of us, halted and delivered their fire, which our men received quietly at a shoulder.

"Our army slept on their arms precisely as night found them, and occupied the position in which the enemy commenced the battle. The two armies slept quietly almost in presence of each other. The night was serene and beautiful, the moon casting the softest light on every thing around us, and but for the groans of the wounded, and the screams of those who were suffering under the knife of the surgeons, no one could

have imagined the scenes which had occurred but a few hours previously.

"Many dragoon horses were killed, and the escapes were almost incredible. In Magruder's company, two men, whilst at an order, had the bayonets of their muskets cut off by cannon-balls passing just over their shoulders and between their heads. He had also a man killed on his immediate right, and one on his left. Some of the balls fell in the centres of the squares and ricocheted out again without touching any one. Others fell just on the outside and bounced over. To stand patiently and coolly in square under such a fire, for five hours, without returning a shot, is the best evidence of discipline and invincible courage that troops can give. But more,—the effect of the conduct which none but regulars could have shown, must be considered. The next morning the enemy retreated, leaving the field strewn with their dead, and having lost, by their own confession, five hundred in killed and wounded; but we have found out since that his loss was much greater. The enemy's artillery was numerous, and served with great rapidity and precision; while we had little cavalry, and they had an immense proportion of that arm. Hence our shell and grape-shot told briskly among them. In short, we gained on that day a great victory. When we consider the enemy's numbers, his numerous and effective regular cavalry, and well-drilled infantry and artillery, and, above all, that he had chosen his own ground, that upon which he is most accustomed to fight—the plain; and compare all this with our inferiority in arms, and that we were encumbered by a train we could not afford to lose; we can only account for the result by the impression made on the enemy by our firm and unshaken advance; by the steadiness with which we repulsed their cavalry, and by the unrivalled skill of our artillery officers and men; to which must be added a perfect knowledge on the part of both men and officers, that if we lost that battle, the fort at Matamoras must fall, the army be destroyed, and our depôt—Point Isabel—be taken, to the eternal disgrace of the American army, and the ruin of the interests of our government, for some time at least, in this part of the world. We could not afford to be driven back a single inch, and all were prepared for any thing but retreat."

The following remarks upon this battle are from a correspondent of the *Portsmouth Mercury*, and give a clear and concise account of the very active manœuvring which formed an essential feature at Palo Alto:

"At Palo Alto, the view before the battle was beautiful in the extreme. The Mexican lines were of great extent, and were drawn up, with much skill, in terrible array. They outnumbered us more than four to one; nevertheless, there was no hesitation on our part; our little army was formed into line at once, and continued to advance in the order of battle with ten pieces of artillery, till we drew the fire from their battery of fourteen guns. We

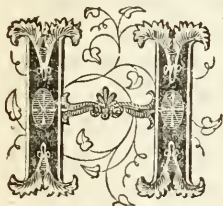
then halted, corrected our alignment with the precision of a dress parade, and took our part in the ball. The enemy made increasing exertions to outflank us, but without success; every such attempt uniformly ended in their being obliged to give ground. Whenever their demonstrations threatened our left, that wing of the army half-wheeled to the right, by regiments, and marched by its left flank upon a point, slightly beyond the enemy's extreme right. You will readily perceive, that this diagonal movement enabled us always to pour in a destructive raking fire, scathing their whole line. When they attempted our right, that wing half-wheeled by regiments to the left, and marched, by its right flank, upon a point beyond their left. These movements would leave a large interval in our centre, and then the Mexican cavalry would prepare to charge through; but they never could succeed, for a simple 'By companies right and left into line,' re-formed our whole force in the same order as at first, but on ground considerably in advance of its former position. The consequence was that they would recede and try the same manœuvres over again.

"In the mean time, clouds of dense smoke obscured the light of day, and hung over the scene in huge festoons like a funeral pall; while the thunder of the death-dealing charge, the roaring of cannon, and continued volleys of musketry, deafened the ears and excited the imagination. Round, grape, and canister came hustling through the air, crushing skulls, mutilating limbs, and mangling bodies, till the whole plain was covered with the dying and the dead. For four hours we stood against the tremendous odds arrayed against us, gradually forcing them to yield ground, till darkness put an end to the slaughter. By the lurid light of a burning prairie, we collected the wounded and buried the dead; then, fatigued and supperless, we sank in repose upon the bare earth, with the full assurance of a hard day's fight on the morrow. Nor were we disappointed. Daylight found the enemy retiring to a strong position in the chapparel of Resaca de la Palma. Here, screened by the bushes, the Mexicans waited our approach. General Taylor caused a detail of skirmishers, of whom I was one, to constitute the advance. We drew their fire at about 3 o'clock P. M., and maintained our ground till our regiments came up. The fifth and eighth infantry, with Captain May's squadron of dragoons, charged the enemy's battery, and carried nine brass pieces, when the enemy began to give way. We assisted them with the points of our bayonets, and chased them into the river, where many hundreds of them were drowned."

In this first day's battle the Mexicans fought with much determination, and, notwithstanding their repulse, remained almost within sight of the American army during the night. General Arista, in his despatch to the Mexican minister of war, written on the field of battle, claims it as a victory.

After the battle, the first care of General Taylor was to visit the wounded, and see that every comfort was supplied. The constant and well-directed energies of the medical department left but little for him to do; every one, whether officer or soldier, having been attended with unwavering care and watchfulness. The troops having partaken of their meal, order was given to get the command under arms. The general then summoned a council of war, composed of the heads of the different commands, in all thirteen, exclusive of himself. After returning thanks for their support and bravery during the day, he called on each to give his opinion as to the proper course to be pursued on the morrow. It was then ascertained that but four out of thirteen were in favour of advancing. Of the others, some voted to intrench where they were, and await the assistance of the volunteers, and others to retire at once to Point Isabel; the general merely remarked, "I will be at Fort Brown before night, if I live."*

On the following morning the army recommenced its march for the Rio Grande, which General Taylor denominated Fort Brown, in honour of its lamented defender. When within about four miles of it, they again encountered the enemy encamped on chosen ground, considered impregnable. It was denominated the pass of *Resaca de la Palma*.†



HERE they were not only concealed and defended by dense rows of chapparel, prickly pear, &c., but had also placed their artillery in such a position as completely to sweep the narrow road which wound along the *dry bed*, or gorge, which gave name to the pass. Seeing this, General Taylor ordered the supply train to be strongly parked, and leaving four pieces of artillery to defend them, he pushed toward the enemy. Captain McCall was sent forward to ascertain their position, and was soon engaged in a severe skirmish. The Americans advanced, and the action became general. The enemy were sure of victory, and fought with a determination rarely evinced by Mexican soldiery. As the battle advanced, it became evident that victory could not be completed by the Americans, without capturing the enemy's batteries. This was a dangerous undertaking; but the commander intrusted it to Captain May. That gallant officer rode to the front of his men, and the next

* "Lieutenant Ridgely, who was entitled to a vote in the council, was, at the time, in attendance on the lamented Ringgold, and, therefore, had no voice in the matter; but as he galloped up to the battery, on returning from his visit to the major, some one asked—'Ridgely, were you at the council?' 'No,' he replied, 'I did not know that one had been called, but I hope old Zack will go ahead, and bring the matter to close quarters.'"

† *The Dry River of Palma.*

moment they were sweeping toward the Mexicans. He charged the batteries, drove away the cannoneers, captured the guns, and dispersed the Tampico veterans, who several times attempted their rescue. In this assault, the Americans lost Lieutenant Inge, and seven men killed and a few wounded. The Mexican loss was heavy, and their general, La Vega, was captured by Captain May.

This bold charge decided the fate of the battle. The Mexicans fled in disorder through the ravines and chapparel, and were closely pursued by the Americans. Captain Ker's dragoons and Duncan's artillery led the pursuit, and captured a large number of the fugitives.

The American force actually engaged in this battle was about seventeen hundred men. They lost three officers, and thirty-one men killed and seventy-one wounded. The loss of the enemy was very great—they left two hundred on the battle-field. Eight pieces of artillery, several standards, a large amount of baggage and public property, together with many prisoners, were the rewards of the victors.

A writer previously quoted, thus relates several incidents not fully described in the official report:

"At 2 o'clock P. M., we found the enemy drawn up in great force, occupying a ravine which our road crossed; with thick chapparel or thorny bushes on either side before it reached the ravine, and a pond of water on either side where it crossed the ravine, constituting a defile. They were seven thousand strong; we fifty-four weaker than on the previous day. The general ordered an immediate attack by all the troops, except the first brigade, which was kept in reserve; and soon the rattling fire of musketry, mingled with the heavy sound of artillery, announced the commencement of the action. The enemy had chosen his position, which he considered impregnable—was vastly superior to us in numbers, and had ten pieces of artillery planted in the defile, which swept the road with grape, and which it was absolutely necessary for us to take before they could be beaten. These pieces were flanked on either side by a regiment of brave veteran troops, from Tampico, and we were obliged to stand an awful shower of grape and bullet before a charge could reach them. The battle had lasted some two hours with great fury on both sides, and many heroic deeds had been done, but no serious impression made, when General Taylor sent for Captain May of the second dragoons, and told him he must take that battery with his squadron of dragoons, if he lost every man. May instantly placed himself at the head of his men, and setting off at full speed, with cheers and shouts, dashed into the defile, where he was greeted with an overwhelming discharge of grape and bullets, which nearly annihilated his first and second platoons; but he was seen, unhurt, darting like lightning through this murderous hail-storm, and, in a second, he and his men drove away or cut to pieces the artillerists.

"The speed of his horses was so great, however, that they passed through the battery, and were halted in its rear. There, turning, he charged back, and was just in time to rescue a Mexican general officer, who would not leave his guns, and was parrying the strokes of one of his men. The officer handed his sword to May, announced himself as General La Vega, and gave his parole. May turned him over to an officer, and galloping back to General Taylor, reported that he had captured the enemy's battery, and the gallant General La Vega, bravely defending it, whose sword he had the honour to present his commanding officer. The general was extremely gratified, and felt no doubt that a blow had been given, from which it would be difficult for the enemy to recover. . . . Colonel Belknap, leading his regiment into the thickest of the fight, seized a Mexican standard, and waving it over his head, dashed on in front of his men, until his horse stumbled over some dead bodies, and threw him. Being a heavy man, he was helped on his horse by a soldier, who in the act received a ball through his lungs, and at the same moment a shot carried away the Mexican flag, leaving but the handle with the colonel. He dashed ahead with that, however, and his regiment carried every thing before it. At this moment the Mexicans gave way entirely, and, throwing down their arms, fled in every direction, leaving all their stores, munitions of war, arms, standards, &c. The killed, wounded, and prisoners, including those who were drowned in the Rio Grande, do not fall short of eighteen hundred—so that the enemy's loss in two days amounts to at least two thousand men, something more than the number we had in our army.

"When Lieutenant Magruder introduced General La Vega to General Taylor, the latter expressed his deep regret that such a misfortune should have happened to an officer whose character he so highly esteemed, and returned to him his sword which he had so bravely won."

Another officer thus writes :

"On reaching the point of the road where May would have been discovered by the enemy, he was stopped by Ridgely, who told him that the enemy had just loaded their pieces, and if he charged them, he would be swept away, adding, 'Stop, till I draw their fire.' He then deliberately fired each gun. So terrible was the effect of the grape that the Mexicans poured their fire upon his pieces, and then May charged like a bullet, drove off their cannoneers, took La Vega prisoner, and retreated. Here Lieutenant Inge, a gallant soldier, was killed just behind May, and afterwards stripped. Lieutenant Sackett had his horse shot under him, and was precipitated into the pond, but rose again and escaped, covered with mud and water. The squadron suffered very much. I am sure May feels grateful to Ridgely for his cool judgment and timely advice. Had he charged on the battery, loaded with grape as it was, I do not believe he would have saved a man."

The battle-fields of the 8th and 9th are thus described by eye-witnesses :

"Our troops were resting on the battle-ground. Alas! what a sad picture presented itself. Around were lying heaps of dead, dying, and disabled men. The sigh, the groan, the shriek of agony filled the air, whilst the eye could not rest upon a spot, but it met with a head, a leg, an arm, a body cut off by the waist, or the more fortunate dead, who had received their death-wound from the rifle or musket."

"*Resaca de la Palma* battle-ground is covered with the graves of our fallen countrymen, who fell many of them fighting hand to hand with the enemy. Terribly were they avenged, however, on the spot, for their antagonists are buried around them by hundreds. I was shown one grave near the spot where the brave Cochrane is interred, in which some eight Mexicans are said to have been placed, and there are many more which each contain a score or two of the slaughtered foe. The grave of poor Inge was pointed out to me. It is near where one of the enemy's batteries was posted. It was with feelings of deep sadness that I recalled to mind the many virtues of this gallant and noble-hearted officer. He had left a young wife in Baltimore, and had arrived at Point Isabel, with a body of recruits just in time to march with General Taylor. He had distinguished himself in both battles by his heroic daring, and fell at the moment when that brilliant victory, to which he contributed so largely, was about to declare itself in favour of our arms. Mexican caps and remnants of their clothing are scattered here and there, and the whole field is dotted with marks of the enemy's camp fires. It is a wild-looking place, and so advantageous was the position of the enemy, that it will ever remain a wonder to me that our little army was not cut to pieces by their greatly superior force. Over a great portion of the ground on which our army prepared to attack them, the thickets are so dense that a dog would find it difficult to penetrate them. The men actually pushed each other through these thickets, and became divided into small squads of from three to six.



THE Palo Alto battle-field, on this side, near the edge of the chapparels, is an open prairie, quite level, and a most magnificent place for the meeting of two armies. The positions of the Mexican lines were pointed out to me, and we rode over a part of the field where the battle raged the hottest. They are represented as having presented a very warlike as well as wild and picturesque appearance, as our troops approached them. Their compact lines extended from an elevated point of chapparels on their right about a mile; while their left stretched across the road near its entrance to the pass. I visited the place where some of their heavy artillery opened upon our army, and against which our two eighteen-pounders were for a time

directed. Convincing evidences of the skill with which our artillery was used were still perceptible upon that part of the field; for although they were permitted to bury their dead, and afterwards returned in numbers and spent considerable time in that employment, I counted some thirty dead bodies, stretched out as they fell in that immediate vicinity.



SOME had been nearly severed in two by cannon-ball; others had lost a part of the head, both legs, a shoulder, or the whole stomach. Of many of them nothing but the bones, encased in uniform, was left; whilst others had been transformed into mummies, retaining the expression of countenance which their death agonies had stamped upon them. One man, who had been shot between the hips with a large ball, lay doubled up as he fell, with his hands extended, and his face downward, between his knees. Another, whose shoulders and back were shot away, seemed to have died in the act of uttering a cry of horror. Dead horses were scattered about in every direction, and the buzzards and wild dogs were fattening upon their carcasses."

The daring reconnoissance of Lieutenant Blake is thus related by the officer who accompanied him:

"After the line of battle had been formed, General Taylor rode along it to survey his command. Every man was perfectly cool, and had they been about to take dinner, they could not have been more indifferent. At this time the general had not the slightest knowledge as to whether the enemy had any artillery or not. The long prairie grass prevented any one from distinguishing it, when masked by men in front of the pieces. What was to be done? It was an all-important point. Captain May was ordered to go forward with his squadron, reconnoitre the enemy, and, if possible, draw a fire from their artillery, but to no purpose; they took no notice of him. Lieutenant Blake then proposed to go forward alone and reconnoitre. I was close to him, and volunteered to accompany him. He consented, and we dashed forward to within *eighty yards of their line*, the whole army looking on us with astonishment. Here we had a full view. The lieutenant alighted from his horse, and, with his glass, surveyed the whole line, and handed it to me. After making a similar observation, I returned the glass. Just then two officers rode out toward us. I mentioned it to Blake, and requested him to mount. He quietly told me to draw a pistol on them. I did so, and they halted. Had they thought proper, they could have fired a volley from their main line and riddled us both. We then galloped along their line to its other end, there examined them again, and returned. Scarcely had Blake reported, when their batteries opened upon our line, and the work of destruction commenced. Our examination proved to be correct."

The particulars of Major Ringgold's death are given from the letter of a distinguished officer in the United States navy.

"The engagement of the 8th was entirely in the hands of the artillery, and the major took a most active and important part in it. About 6 o'clock he was struck by a six-pound shot. He was mounted, and the shot struck him at right angles, entering the right thigh, passing through the holsters and upper part of the shoulders of his horse, and then striking the left thigh in the same line. On the evening of the 9th, he reached this camp (Camp Isabel) under charge of Dr. Byrne, of the army. An immense mass of muscles and integuments were carried away from both thighs, but the arteries were not divided, nor the bones broken. I remained with him all night. He had but little pain, and, at intervals, had some sleep. On dressing his wounds, in the morning, they presented a most unfavourable aspect. During the night he gave many incidents of the battle, and spoke with much pride of the execution of his shot. He directed his shot not only to groups and masses of the enemy, but to particular men in their line. He saw them fall, and their places occupied by others, who in their turn were shot down, he pointing his gun to the same place, and feeling as confident of hitting his mark as though he had been using a rifle.

"He continued to grow worse, and a medical officer remained constantly by his side. Dr. Byrne was with him during the night, using every means which could be devised to save his valuable life, but without effect. He continued to grow worse, and finally expired, having survived his wounds sixty hours. During the whole time he had but little pain, conversed cheerfully, and made all his arrangements for his approaching end, with the greatest composure and resignation."

Upon receiving news of the battle of the 8th, and the defeat of the 9th, the Mexican general, Parrode, issued a proclamation exhorting the Mexicans to use greater exertions, and promising success for the future.

The victory of the 9th was complete. So great was the hurry of the Mexicans to escape the ardour of their pursuers, that scores of them were drowned in the river, and immense quantities of baggage, military stores, and camp equipage fell into the hands of the Americans. Among the latter was the property, both personal, public and private, of General Arista, together with all his despatches.

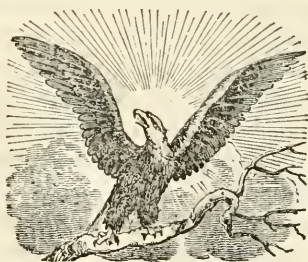
The American army passed the night on the battle-field, and on the following morning an exchange of prisoners took place, by which they recovered all those held in Matamoras, including Captain Thornton. General Vega was offered his parole, but refused accepting it, on the ground that the Mexicans would not allow him to remain neutral in his own country.

On the 11th, General Taylor again left Fort Brown for Point Isabel, in order to have an interview with Commodore Connor, commander of the

American Gulf squadron. While at the point, he despatched a hasty letter to Washington, from which we give such extracts as may serve to illustrate his plans at that time.

"I avail myself of this brief time at my command to report, that the main body of the army is now occupying its former position, opposite Matamoras. The Mexican forces are almost disorganized, and I shall lose no time in investing Matamoras, and opening the navigation of the river. I am under the painful necessity of reporting, that Lieutenant Blake, Topographical Engineers, after rendering distinguished service in my staff, during the affair of the 8th instant, accidentally shot himself with a pistol the following day, and expired before night.

"I have exchanged a sufficient number of prisoners to recover the command of Captain Thornton. The wounded prisoners have been sent to Matamoras—the wounded officers on their parole. General Vega and a few other officers have been sent to New Orleans, having declined a parole, and will be reported to Major-general Gaines. I am not conversant with the usages of war in such cases, and beg that such provision may be made for these prisoners as may be authorized by law. Our own prisoners have been treated with great kindness by the Mexican officers."





GENERAL WORTH.

CAPTURE OF MATAMORAS.



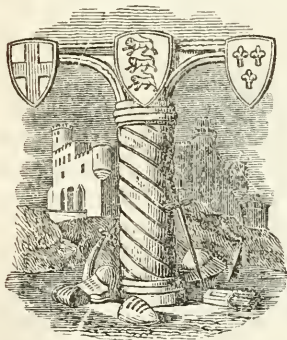
AT the interview with Commodore Conner, General Taylor arranged the plan of a combined land and naval attack upon the Mexican posts on the Rio Grande. Early on the 13th, he left Point Isabel, accompanied by his staff, and proceeded toward Fort Brown. After riding a short distance, he received intelligence that the Mexicans were assembling a large force at Barita, a post on the river below Matamoras. He, therefore, altered his original plan, and in order to prepare for this danger, returned to Point Isabel. Here he was gratified with the sight of a large number of volunteers and regular troops, who had just arrived from New Orleans. They were from the states of Louisiana and Alabama, and composed a part of the force for which the general had formerly petitioned. This accession enabled him to draw from the point a force of over six hundred men, accompanied by a train of artillery, nearly three hundred wagons, and a large quantity of military and other stores. With this force, he set out on the morning of the 14th, and reached Fort Brown without interruption.

The first object of the general was an attack upon Barita. As ne there anticipated considerable opposition, he took every precaution to organize such a force for its reduction as would ensure success. The commander of the assailants was Lieutenant-colonel Wilson, of the first infantry. He had three companies of volunteers, two from Louisiana, under Captains J. F. Stockton, and G. H. Tobin, and the other from Alabama, under General Desha.

The colonel crossed the river, and marched down toward the depôt, which, contrary to all expectation, he entered without opposition. Many of the inhabitants fled at his approach; but after hearing that the Americans not only offered no injury to the citizens, but also permitted them to pursue their accustomed avocations, they returned, and soon business not only revived, but Barita became an important station to the American army.

The position of this place, together with the movements of Colonel Wilson, are thus described by an officer of the command:

"La Barita, May 17th.—I am here to select a site for the depôt of our new base of operations, and to intrench. This village is about ten miles from the mouth of the river, and the same distance from Brazos Santiago, or Fort Polk. (Point Isabel.) The prominent features which might induce me to decide upon this, as the proper point for the depôt, are, that it is the first high land you reach in ascending the river, that it is above hurricane tides, that the ground is naturally formed for a military position, commanding every thing around it, and commanded by nothing. It is equi-distant, and not very inaccessible from our other depôts. The worst road is to Fort Polk; while the direct line is only ten miles, the only road for wagons is over twenty. Colonel Wilson has four companies of his own regiment here, and four of volunteers.



HIS movement up the river was intended to have been a combined one with Commodore Conner. It has been delayed two days in consequence of unfavourable weather rendering the bar too rough. The commodore's limited stay here compelled him to notify the general not to count upon his co-operation in an expedition up the river. This morning at daylight I started the *Neva* (a river boat) out from the Brazos. She entered the Rio Bravo without difficulty about 8 A. M., and some time after I rode

down the beach. Colonel Wilson's command has been bivouacking for two days on our side of the mouth. We crossed them all over by 12; and before 1 P. M. the column was *en route* up the river. The banks of the river are but slightly higher than the surface of the water for some miles

up. The whole country low, and filled with lagoons. There is a high ridge of sand hills, some twenty feet high, extending up and down the coast directly on the beach. The country back of this ridge is one vast plain of prairie and lagoon. The road up the river is tolerably good. The river is very serpentine. The road runs from bend to bend, the distance by river being nearly double that by road. The road up the right bank is skirted to the left and south by lagoons, until you reach Barita; so that a march of a column up this side is by no means exposed to a thick attack.



AFTER the capture of this station, General Taylor hurried his preparations to cross the Rio Grande, and attack Matamoras. So great, however, was his want of the necessary means of transportation, that he was not able to complete all his arrangements before the evening of the 17th. Orders were then issued, for Colonel Twiggs to cross above the city, while, simultaneous with his movements, Colonel Wilson was to make a demonstration from Barita. At this moment the Mexican general, Reguena, arrived at the American camp, and stated to General Taylor that he had been empowered by Arista to negotiate for an armistice.

To this the general replied that an armistice was out of the question; that a month ago he had proposed one to Ampudia which was declined, but that circumstances were now changed; that he had not provoked the first hostilities, but in consequence of receiving large reinforcements, he would not now suspend them; and finally, that he was determined to take the town. He added, however, that the Mexicans might withdraw their troops and public property.

The Mexican general promised an answer in the afternoon; but none coming, General Taylor commenced his preparations for crossing, which was done on the following morning. No opposition was experienced, and it was soon ascertained that the army had evacuated the city during the night. A message was then sent to the prefect demanding a surrender, and assuring him that every right of the citizens should be respected. To this an answer was returned that the city was at Taylor's disposal, and accordingly the Americans encamped, and commenced preparations to march into it on the following morning.

The following letter, from a member of the army, gives a graphic description of the city, as well as many interesting incidents connected with its capture.

"We reached this point (Matamoras) on the 25th of May. The country through which we passed was lovely in the extreme—being as level as a ball-room floor, and full of little chapparels and muskeet groves. Our road, though not exactly following the meanderings of the river, touched

its banks often enough to obtain water every mile or two. The citizens were friendly to us, and showed little displeasure at the invasion. In fact, some of them expressed their wish that the country should be governed by Americans or some other people, that would guaranty them a liberal and stable government, so much had they been annoyed by the internal convulsions of their own. At every house we found three or four men, which induced me to believe that the press-gang had met with poor success among them. They say that it is not their disposition to play the soldier at any time, particularly the present, and when the call is made for troops they leave their homes in possession of the women, and find business in the chapparel. They are a happy, simple people, whose aim seems to be to make provision for to-day, leaving to-morrow to look out for itself. All along the road they were found waiting with milk, a sort of bread, which they call *tortillias*, cheese, *poloncas*, or maple sugar, and a sort of liquor resembling, in looks and taste, San Croix rum. We paid them liberally for all we obtained, which to them must have presented a strong contrast to the Mexican soldiery, who spread dismay and devastation among their own people wherever they go. It seems to have been the desire of every man in our ranks to make the line of disparity between the American and Mexican soldiers as palpable as possible; and the good effect of such conduct, if not immediately developed, will in the course of time be more apparent. Our march was very heavy, particularly during the day we left the Baritas, and some of our young men were very much used up. Two from Company A were so much affected by the scorching sun as to be unable to proceed further, and stopped at the house of a Mexican, where they received the utmost kindness and attention during the night, and were furnished with horses in the morning to catch up with us.

"It was about ten o'clock in the morning when we reached the town of Matamoras, though its white buildings, so different from those we had passed on the route, had attracted the eye long before that time. There was something far more attractive to the eye than the white buildings of the town—something to awaken a thrill of pleasure in the breasts of the whole regiment—the *stripes* and *stars* were majestically floating in the breeze from the highest point in Matamoras, and between the river and the town hundreds and hundreds of white tents were pitched in such admirable order as to induce the beholder to think it a great town.

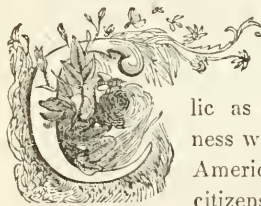
"As we entered the town at the east end, thousands of people sallied out of their houses to look upon us, whose looks more bespoke a welcome to their own army than to that of the invaders. At many a half-opened door or window was to be seen the head of a senora, whose timidity or modesty (albeit they allow so little to the Mexicans) forbade their emerging into the streets. Some of these women are indeed beautiful, though a great majority are indolent, slovenly and destitute of that female delicacy which ch-

racterizes our own women. Their common dress is a white muslin skirt tied quite loosely around the body, without any bodice; their chemise being the only covering for their breast, in which they wear their jewelry and cross. I did not see one pair of stockings in all the town. From this style of dressing you will infer that pride of dress gives way to comfort and ease, and that, too, in a greater degree than I think the largest liberty would warrant them indulging in. I went into a house yesterday evening, occupied by an old man and two daughters, both speaking a sufficiency of English to be understood. After being seated for a few moments, the eldest of the daughters went to the bed and brought to me a lovely and interesting child, as white almost as any of our own people. She informed me that she was married about two years ago to a Texan prisoner, and that he had been killed whilst fighting under General Taylor. She spoke in the highest terms of her deceased lord, and seemed to worship his image in the child. She is a lovely creature, and, I think, deeply devoted to our cause.

"Matamoras is a much handsomer place than I expected to find it. It covers two miles square, though by no means as compact as an American city—every house except those around the public square, has a large garden attached. The houses in the business part of the town are built after the American fashion, though seldom exceeding two stories in height. All the windows to these buildings are grated from top to bottom with iron bars, and half of the door only opens for admittance, which gives them the appearance of prisons more than business-houses. The public square is in the centre of the town, and must have been laid off by an American or European, for the Mexicans never could have laid it out with such beauty and precision. On the four sides of the square, the houses are built close together, as in block, and are all of the same size and height, with the exception of the cathedral, which, though unfinished, still towers above the others. In these houses are sold dry goods, groceries, and every kind of wares, with now and then an exchange or coffee-house. They are principally occupied by Europeans, and you can hear French, English, Spanish and German spoken at the same time. After leaving the public square on either side, the houses decrease in size and beauty for two or three squares, when the small reed and thatched huts commence, and continue to the extreme limits of the place.

"In walking through the streets, my attention was attracted to a house, in the door of which stood, or leaned, two half-naked Mexicans, so woe-begone as to cause me to halt. On my nearing the door, a most disagreeable stench almost induced me to recede. I mustered courage to enter the door. On the floor, lying upon mats without covering, were near fifty Mexicans, wounded in the late engagements, attended by some ten or twelve women. The smell of the place was insufferable, and I had to leave it. The next

door was the same, and so on for about twenty houses. A friend of mine called my attention to a room in which there were at least forty of these miserable objects, and this room was scarcely twelve feet square. There was not positively room for the nurses to attend them. Some had lost a leg, others an arm, and some both legs and arms. I noticed one who will certainly get well, whose legs were shot off, within two or three inches above the knee, and he seemed to me to have a greater flow of spirits than some who had only flesh wounds. I said to him, that had his wounds been made by a Mexican shot, he would have been dead; to which he replied, 'The American shot was very good—no poisonous copper in them.' One had died just before I entered the room, and they were making preparations to carry him out. He had been shot in the mouth by a rifle ball which passed under the left ear, and he had lived from the 9th, up to this time. There are between three hundred and fifty and four hundred of these horrid objects in this place, and the sight of them would induce many a stout heart to lament the horrors of war. These men give the number of killed and wounded on the 9th, much greater than the Americans ever claimed—some say twelve hundred, and some fifteen hundred, but enough of them. Lieutenant Wells, of the spies, informed me yesterday, that General Arista had halted at the distance of eighty miles from this place, and is receiving reinforcements quite briskly. Lieutenant Wells, with a few men, followed them sixty miles. The Mexicans say, he (Arista) will certainly return and attack us at this place, but the best informed Americans entertain no such idea."



OLONEL TWIGGS was appointed as governor of Matamoras, and immediately after, the old governor, or *prefect*, left for the interior. Public as well as private property was respected, business went on as usual, and every exertion made by the American officers to give peace and security to the citizens.

Immediately after the capture of the city, General Taylor issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Mexico, setting forth at length the causes of the war, his own conduct toward the Mexican population, the tyranny of their rulers, and the desire of the United States speedily to terminate the war in a manner honourable to both countries.

Such were the principal events attending the capture of Matamoras. The victors found an immense quantity of military stores, as well as private personal property, among which was much belonging to General Arista. In their flight the Mexican army had endeavoured to conceal all that they could not carry with them; and accordingly, large supplies of ball, cannon, small arms and munitions of every sort, were found secreted in cellars, wells, and other places, where they had been thrown by the re-

treating soldiers. The supplies in Matamoras would have provisioned a besieged army for many months.

For the first time since the movement from Corpus Christi, the Americans were permitted to encamp in habitable quarters, and be unannoyed by the prospect of a momentary attack. They were entitled to this privilege. The fatigues of a march across the desert, a destitution of food and water, the suspense attending the investment of the two forts, and the weariness and suffering of bombardment and battle, had exhausted nature; for a while they were to be rewarded—at least with that reward which is the most that a soldier can expect.





STORMING OF MONTEREY.

AFTER the capture of Matamoras, large numbers of volunteers reached Point Isabel and the Rio Grande, swelling the force under General Taylor to a large army. This accession, however, rather embarrassed him than otherwise. He was encompassed with difficulties; the enemy could not be reached but by a fatiguing march into the interior; to effect which, he had neither supplies for his army, nor means of transportation. Besides this, the Mexicans, on their march, had been careful to remove all provisions, and every other article which might be of use to the invaders. On the other hand, should the Americans remain encamped at Matamoras, not only would the enemy have an opportunity to concentrate a larger force than they had hitherto displayed, but the troops would become dispirited by long inaction, and perhaps wasted by disease. His instructions from government were also of a very indefinite character,

tending rather to increase his embarrassment, than to mark out a satisfactory course of duty.

Amid these perplexing circumstances, General Taylor thought it more prudent to advance into Mexico, than to expose his troops to the numerous dangers consequent upon inactivity. Preparatory to the march of his main army, he despatched Captain McCulloch and the Texan Rangers to scour the country, and, if possible, make himself master of some of the Mexican posts near the Rio Grande. The party soon captured the ports of Mier, Reynosa, and Camargo. General Worth was subsequently sent to San Juan, and Captain Wall to Reynosa. On the 5th of August the main army left Matamoras and proceeded toward Camargo.

On the 5th of September, news was brought to General Taylor, that Ampudia had entered Monterey at the head of three thousand men, and that the Mexicans were making every preparation to fortify the place for a successful defence. Upon the reception of this intelligence, he appointed Major-general Patterson to superintend the posts in the immediate vicinity of the river, and marched for the city on the 6th. On the same day he crossed the San Juan, and on the 7th took up his line of march for Seralvo, which was already occupied by an advance corps under General Worth. He soon received intelligence from that officer, that the Mexicans were in such force at Monterey, as to threaten an attack upon his position before the commander could arrive. He therefore hurried on by forced marches, reached Seralvo and relieved General Worth.

Meanwhile some of the troops at Camargo succeeded in capturing sixty Mexicans, on the evening of the 11th. They were well armed with carbines, had a supply of ammunition and pack mules, and were, no doubt, engaged as spies to the American camp. Some of them were provided with *brass balls* of an ounce weight, and a spy-glass. These men were all detained as prisoners of war.

After the junction of the commander with General Worth, they pushed forward together to Marin, upon the borders of the San Juan river, where the army encamped on the night of the 17th. On the following morning they resumed their march, moving in three divisions, separated from each other by a few miles, and having Gillespie and McCulloch, with a squadron of dragoons, in advance. Each division with its train occupied about three miles, having two companies in the rear of the whole, and the volunteers so placed, that they could retire to the centre in case of an attack. At night they reached San Francisco, within thirteen miles of Monterey.

The city of Monterey is one of the strongest in America. It is built in the old Spanish style, surrounded by massive walls, and having battlements upon the roofs of each house. We give a list of its defences when attacked by General Taylor, numbering them for future reference.

1st. A strong redoubt of masonry of four faces, with an open gorge of

ten feet prepared for four guns, overlooked and commanded by a large stone house in the rear; the whole prepared with sand-bags and loopholes for infantry.

2d. A strong redoubt of four faces defended by an open gorge of twenty feet and prepared for three guns.

3d. Fleches of masonry for infantry.

4th. A strong masonry work (*tête du pont*) in front of the bridge of the Purisiana.

5th. A strong redoubt for one gun, but which was not occupied by the enemy during the attack.

6th. A strong redoubt of masonry for three guns, overlooking the approaches from Cadereita, and commanding the gorge of No. 2.

7th. A strong redoubt of masonry for three guns, overlooked and commanded by a large stone house, prepared for infantry by loopholes and sand bags. Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7, were connected by breastworks of earth, and brush for infantry, thus forming a complete line of defence from 4 to 7. Barricades of masonry twelve feet thick, with embrasures for guns, were erected in every part of the city. The house-tops and garden-walls were loopholed throughout the city, and furnished with sand bags, for infantry defence.

8th. The cathedral in the main plaza, forming the principal magazine of the enemy. The plaza itself was surrounded on all sides by the strongest buildings in the city, all of which were garrisoned and defended by large bodies of troops, and stores of artillery and musketry. The streets leading to it were parked with artillery, and every house provided with loopholes for the guns of the infantry. Outside of the city was a steep hill, called, by the Mexicans, Independencia. This was defended by several forts, and the "Bishop's Palace," an immense structure; and to use the language of a volunteer, bristling with cannon and bayonets. This commanded all the passes to the Saltillo road, and was a most favourable station to resist a direct assault, or annoy an enemy acting against the city.

9th. Fort Independence or Citadel. This is a large rectangular stone building, of which only the walls remain. It is surrounded by an enclosed work of solid masonry, having four bastion fronts, and prepared for thirty-one guns. From No. 7, along the southern edge of the town, a stone wall, four feet thick, prepared for embrasures for guns, and banquettes for infantry, extended beyond the plaza.

The attack upon Monterey was conducted by two divisions of the army, acting separately and independently. The one directed against the city itself was commanded by General Taylor in person, assisted by General Butler, while General Worth, with his detachment, was detached to storm the Bishop's Palace and the other forts outside of Monterey. Each of these merits a particular description.





After a careful reconnoissance of the surrounding country, which proved the necessity of a separate operation against the Bishop's Palace, General Worth was ordered toward that station. He left the camp at 2 o'clock P. M., on the 20th, and at the same time Generals Twiggs and Butler were ordered to make a diversion to favour his march. At night, a small battery was erected opposite the citadel. In the morning, a second diversion was made to favour the march of General Worth. The infantry and artillery of the first division, May's dragoons, Texas volunteers, and some other troops, were ordered to this service. The firing soon commenced with spirit, and both armies fought with a fierce determination to conquer. Lieutenant-colonel Garland's command entered the city, and attempted a capture of the first fort; but their loss soon became so heavy that they were withdrawn. Captain Backus, however, mounted the roof of a tannery, from which he poured a most destructive fire into the fort, and at the same time a large body of volunteers attacked it with energy. It was finally carried by General Quitman's brigade. About the same time General Butler was wounded and compelled to quit the field.

A heavy fire was now kept up by almost all the enemy's batteries. Colonel Garland made a second attempt to enter the town by carrying a bridge; but, although nobly supported by his men, he was obliged to desist, and withdrew to No. 1. At the same time the enemy made a demonstration of cavalry near the battery opposite the citadel; but they were repulsed by Captain Bragg. The lancers had previously charged upon the Ohio and a part of the Mississippi regiments in some fields at a distance from the town, and were repulsed with loss. At the approach of night, operations ceased, and the men were ordered to give additional strength to the captured works during the night.

On this first day's attack the Americans lost, in killed and wounded, three hundred and ninety-four.

During the night, the enemy evacuated nearly all his defences in the lower part of the city; and on the following morning, General Quitman commenced his march for the main plaza. The commander ordered General Henderson to his support, assisted by Captain Bragg's artillery. Their firing soon became destructive, and a portion of the large cathedral was battered down. The troops advanced from house to house, and from square to square, until they reached a street but one square in rear of the plaza, near which the enemy's force was principally concentrated. The advance was continued with due caution, until the falling buildings rendered it dangerous to continue the fire, when the troops were ordered to fall back. This they did in good order. Nothing was effected during the night, and the reception of overtures of capitulation on the following morning terminated all further hostilities.

In the following letter we have a description of the principal operations:

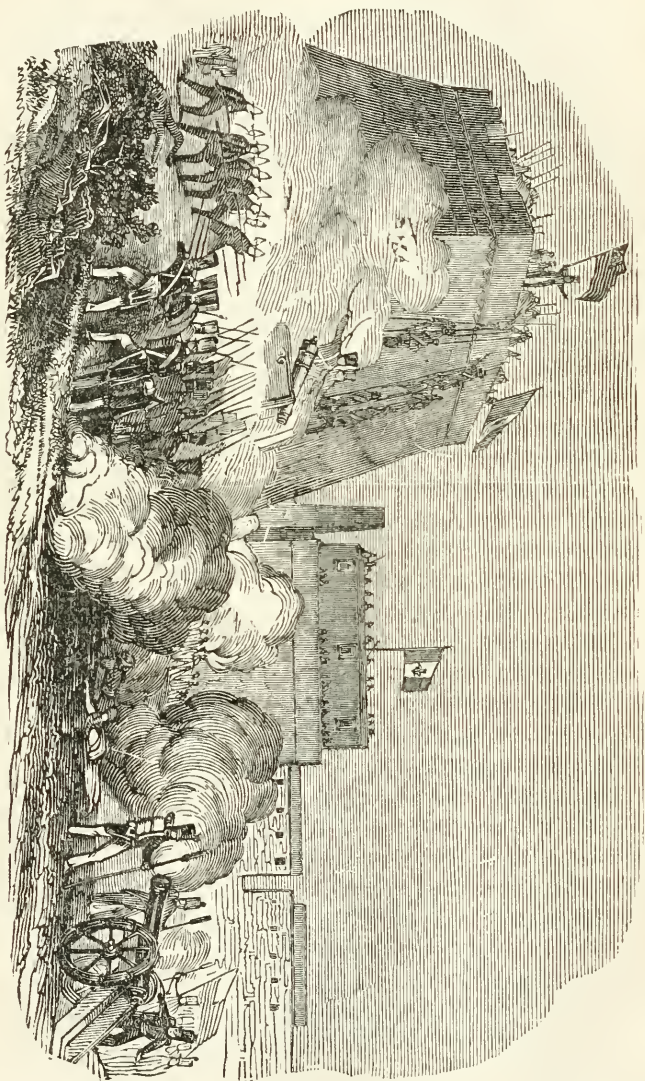
"At noon of the 20th, General Worth marched from the camp, east of the town, in the direction of the heights west, McCulloch's and Gillespie's companies of rangers forming the reconnoitering party. At night, the division bivouacked almost within range of the guns stationed upon the highest point of the hill on which the Bishop's Palace is situated. At daylight of the twenty-first, the column was again in motion, and, in a few moments, was turning the point of a ridge, which protruded out toward the enemy's guns, bringing us as near to them as their gunners could desire. They immediately opened upon the column with a howitzer and twelve-pounder, firing shell and round-shot as fast as they could discharge their pieces.

"The road now wound in toward a gorge, but not far enough to be out of range of their guns, which still played upon us. Another ridge lay about three-fourths of a mile beyond the first, around the termination of which the road wound, bringing it under the lofty summit of a height which rises between Palace Hill and the mountains, which arise over us on the west. When the head of the column approached this ridge, a body of Mexican cavalry came dashing around that point to charge upon our advance. Captain Gillespie immediately ordered his men to dismount and place themselves in ambush. The enemy evidently did not perceive this manœuvre; but the moment they came up, the Texans opened upon them a most destructive fire, unsaddling a number of them. McCulloch's company now dashed into them. Captain C. F. Smith's camp, and Captain Scott's camp of artillery, (acting as infantry,) and Lieutenant Longstreet's company of the eighth infantry, with another company of the same regiment, likewise charged upon the enemy. The Texan horsemen were soon engaged with them in a sort of hand to hand skirmish, in which a number of them fell, and one Texan was killed and two wounded.

"Colonel Duncan now opened upon them with his battery of light artillery, pouring a few discharges of grape upon them, and scattering them like chaff. Several men and horses fell under this destructive fire. I saw one horse and rider bound some feet into the air, and both fell dead and tumbled down the steep. The foot companies above named then rushed up the steep, and fired over the ridge at the retreating enemy, a considerable body of whom were concealed from our view, around the point of the hill. About thirty of the enemy were killed in this skirmish, and among them a captain, who, with two or three others, fell in the road. The captain was wounded in three places, the last shot hitting him in the forehead. He fought gallantly to the last, and I am sorry that I cannot learn his name.

"The light batteries, one of which is commanded by Lieutenant Mackall, were now driven upon the slope of the ridge, and the howitzers opened

CAPTURE OF THE BISHOP'S PALACE.





upon the height of Palace Hill. A few shots only were thrown, before the enemy commenced firing with a nine-pounder from the height immediately over the right of the column, aiming at Duncan's batteries. The several regiments took positions, and a few more shells were thrown towards Palace Hill, but did no execution. The nine-pounder continued to throw its shot with great precision at our batteries, one ball falling directly in the midst of the pieces, but, fortunately, hitting neither men nor guns. Finding his batteries thus exposed, and unable to effect any thing, Colonel Duncan removed his command to a rancho about half a mile further up the Saltillo road, where General Worth took up his position, after ordering the foot regiments to form along the fence near the point of the ridge. The artillery battalion, fifth, seventh, and eighth infantry, and the Louisiana volunteers, remained in this position about two hours, directly under fire of the enemy's guns. The balls fell directly in their midst all this time without wounding a man! To begin with, the Mexicans manage their artillery in battery as well as the Americans do—this, I believe, is now conceded by every officer.

"At half-past ten, the column moved towards the general's position. At this time, Captain McKavett, of the eighth infantry, was shot through the heart by a nine-pound ball, and a private of the fifth infantry was severely wounded in the thigh, and he died the next morning. About fifty Mexicans now appeared upon the side hill over the moving column, and fired at our troops some hundred musket-shot, without doing any harm. The division deployed into the position pointed out, and remained an hour or two, when Captain C. F. Smith, of the artillery battalion, with his own company, and Captain Scott's, together with four companies of Texan Rangers on foot, were ordered to storm the second height. This the gallant officer cheerfully undertook, and was followed with enthusiasm by the officers and men of his command. It was considered on all sides to be a dangerous undertaking, and his party was regarded most emphatically as a *forlorn hope*. That the height would be taken no one doubted, but that many brave fellows would fall in the attempt seemed inevitable. The distance to be climbed, after reaching the foot of the hill, was about a quarter of a mile; a part of the way almost perpendicular, through thorn-bushes and over sharp-pointed rocks and loose sliding stones.

"The seventh infantry, commanded by Captain Miles, was ordered to support Captain Smith's party, and by marching directly to the foot of the height, arrived before Captain Smith, who had been ordered to take a circuitous route. Captain Miles sent up Lieutenant Gantt, with a detachment of men upon the hill-side, to divert the attention of the enemy from Captain Smith's command, which could not yet be seen. The seventh had already sustained a heavy fire of grape and round-shot, as they forded the San Juan, which winds round the foot of the height, and which fell like a

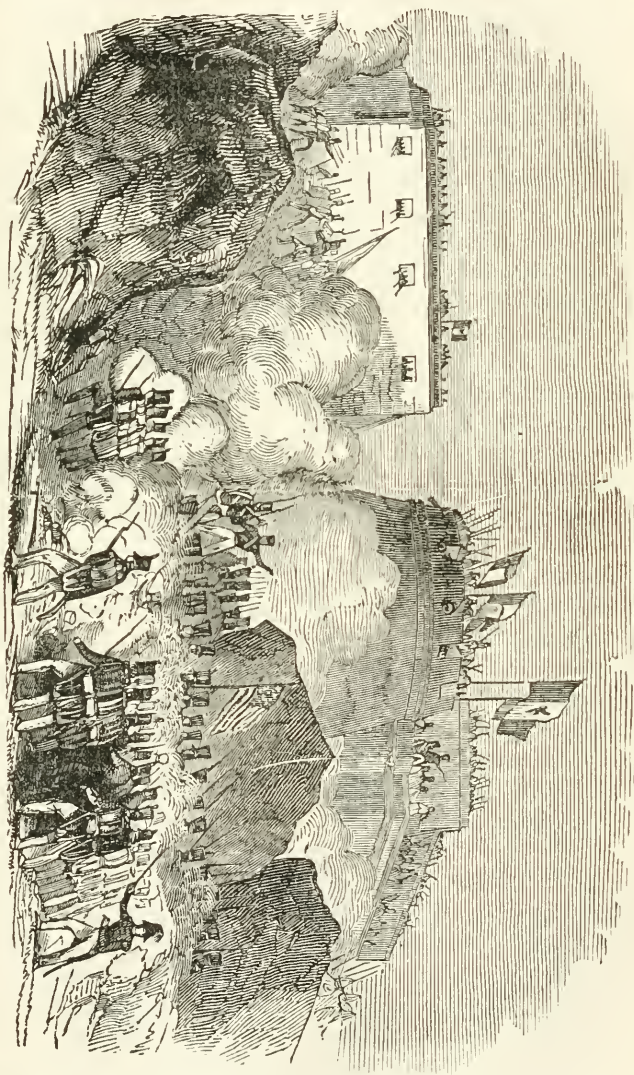
shower of hail in their ranks without killing a man. Lieutenant Gantt's party were greeted with grape and round-shot, which cut the shrubs, and tore up the loose stones about the ranks, without killing any one ; but the gallant young officer came within an inch of being killed by a cannon-shot, which ran down the steep and filled his face with fragments of rock, dust, and gravel. The fire was accompanied by a constant discharge of musketry, the enemy covering the upper part of the hill-side ; but the detachment continued to move up, driving the Mexicans back, until they were recalled.



APTAIN SMITH'S party now arrived and moved up the hill, the rangers in advance, and did not halt for an instant until the Mexicans were driven from the summit. Whilst this was going on, Colonel Persifer F. Smith, who commanded the fifth and seventh infantry—the fifth, with Blanchard's Louisiana boys, under Major Martin Scott, had been ordered to support the whole—gave orders for these

commands to pass around on each side and storm the fort, which was situated about half a mile back of the summit on the same ridge and commanded the Bishop's Palace. Such a foot-race as now ensued has seldom if ever been seen ; the Louisiana boys making tremendous strides to be in with the foremost. Captain Smith had the gun which he took upon the height, run down towards the breastworks, and fired into it. Then came Colonel P. F. Smith's men with a perfect rush, firing and cheering—the fifth and seventh, and Louisianians, reaching the ridge above nearly at the same time. The Mexicans fired us with grape, but it did not cause an instant's hesitation in our ranks. Our men ran, and fired, and cheered until they reached the work, the foremost entering at one end, while the Mexicans, about a thousand in number, left the other in retreat. The colours of the fifth infantry were instantly raised, and scarcely were they up before those of the seventh were alongside. The three commands entered the fort together—so close was the race—the fifth a little in advance. J. W. Miller, of Blanchard's company, was among the first four or five who entered. The three commands may be said to have come out even in the race, for the seventh was not five seconds behind. In less than five minutes the gun found in the fort was thundering away at the Bishop's Palace."

"On the morning of the 21st, Colonel Childs, of the artillery battalion, with three of his companies—one commanded by Captain Vinton, another by Captain J. B. Scott, and the third by Lieutenant Ayres—and three companies of the eighth infantry—company A, commanded by Lieutenant Longstreet and Wainright ; company B, by Lieutenant Holloway and Merchant ; company D, by Captain Scrivner and Lieutenant Montgomery—was ordered to take the summit of Palace Hill.



SEIGE OF MONTEREY.

"The colonel left the camp at 3 o'clock, A. M., and climbed the mountain through the chapparel, and up the steep rocks, with such secrecy, that at daybreak he was within one hundred yards of the breastwork of sand bags before he was discovered. Three of the artillerymen having rushed ahead too fast, found themselves in the hands of the Mexicans. They surrendered, and were shot down with the very pieces they had given up. I saw the poor fellows lying there.

"Colonel Staniford went up at daylight with the balance of the eighth, and Major Scott led up the fifth. The Louisiana troops were on the hill, with the fifth, at 8 o'clock, A. M. One of Duncan's howitzers, in charge of Lieutenant Rowland, was dragged up, or rather *lifted* up, and opened on the palace, which was filled with troops. The Mexicans charged on the howitzer, but were driven back. A constant firing was kept up for several hours, particularly by Blanchard's men, who left a dozen Mexicans dead upon the hill-side. At length a charge was ordered, and our men rushed down upon the palace, entered a hole in a door that had been blocked up, but opened by the howitzer, and soon cleared the work of the few Mexicans who remained. Lieutenant Ayres was the lucky one who first reached the halyards and lowered the flag. One eighteen-pound brass piece, a beautiful article, manufactured in Liverpool in 1842, and a short brass twelve-pound howitzer, were captured, with a large quantity of ammunition, and some muskets and lances.

"The fort adjoining the palace walls is not complete, but is very neatly constructed as far as it is built. The killed on our side, in taking the palace, were seven—wounded, twelve. Lieutenant Wainwright was wounded in the side and arm by a musket-ball. Colonel Childs, Captain Vinton, Captain Blanchard, Lieutenant Longstreet, Lieutenant Clark, (adjutant of the eighth,) Lieutenant Ayres, Lieutenant McCown, and the two Nicholls, seem to have been the heroes of the day. The two latter performed prodigies, and not only Judge Nicholls, but old Louisiana may well be proud of such sons. The Mexicans lost at least thirty killed.

"Yesterday morning the whole division under General Worth entered the town on this side, and have been fighting there ever since. The heart of the city is nothing but one fortification, the thick walls being pierced for muskets and cannon, and placed so as to rake the principal streets. The roofs being flat, and the front walls rising three or four feet above the roof, of course every street has a line of breastworks on each side. A ten-inch mortar came around from General Taylor last evening, and it is now placed in the largest plaza, to which our troops have fought step by step and from house to house. Duncan's batteries are in town, and the present impression is that the place will soon be taken. General Worth has

gained all the strongholds that command the city, and has pushed the enemy as far as they can go without falling into General Taylor's hands on the other side of the city. All this has been done with the loss of only about seventy killed and wounded."

On the 13th General Taylor received a note from the commandant of the city, requesting him to grant a sufficient time for the women and children to retire from the city with their personal effects. The demand was not granted.

Early on the following morning General Taylor received a communication from Morales, proposing the delivery of the city on condition of being permitted to take with him all the "personelle and materielle," and being assured that no injury should be done to the citizens who had taken part in the defence. General Taylor replied that this was impossible; that the city must surrender, though in consideration of its gallant defence the surrender should be upon terms; and proposed the appointment of commissioners.

In accordance with this communication, commissioners were appointed by the two commanders, to arrange the preliminaries of surrender; and at the same time General Ampudia desired a personal interview with General Taylor. This was granted, and, with a number of officers, the American general proceeded to a house designated as the place at which the interview was to be held. The parties having convened, General Ampudia announced, as official information, that commissioners from the United States had been received by the government of Mexico; and that the orders under which he had prepared to defend the city of Monterey had lost their force by a subsequent change of his own government; therefore he asked the conference. A brief conversation between the commanding generals showed their views to be so opposite as to leave little reason to expect an amicable arrangement between them.

General Taylor said he would not delay to receive such propositions as General Ampudia indicated. One of General Ampudia's party—I think the governor of the city—suggested the appointment of a mixed commission, different from the former. This was acceded to, and General W. G. Worth, of the United States army, General J. Pinckney Henderson, of the Texan volunteers, and Colonel Jefferson Davis, of the Mississippi riflemen, were appointed on the part of General Taylor; and General J. La Ortega, General P. Requena, and Senor the Governor M. la Llano, on the part of General Ampudia.

General Taylor gave verbal instructions to his commissioners, which were afterwards prepared in writing by them. These were:

I. As the legitimate result of the operations before this place, and the present position of the contending armies, we demand the surrender of

the town, the arms, and munitions of war, and all other public property within the place.

II. That the Mexican armed force retire beyond the Rinconada, Lin-ares and San Fernando, on the coast.

III. The commanding general of the army of the United States agrees, that the Mexican officers reserve their side-arms and private baggage; and the troops be allowed to retire under their officers without parole, a reasonable time being allowed to withdraw their forces.

IV. The immediate delivery of the main work now occupied, to the army of the United States.

V. To avoid collisions and for mutual convenience, the troops of the United States shall not occupy the town until the Mexican forces have been withdrawn, except for hospital purposes, &c.

VI. The commanding general of the United States agrees not to advance beyond the line specified in the second section before the expiration of eight weeks, or until the respective governments can be heard from.

These terms were refused by the Mexican commissioners, who drew up a counter proposition, which demanded, among other matters, permission of the Mexican forces to retire with their arms. This was urged not only as a matter of soldierly pride, but of ordinary courtesy; but the American commissioners having no power to negotiate further, the meeting rose to report disagreement.

General Ampudia then entered at length upon the question, treating the point of disagreement as one which involved the honour of his country, spoke of his desire for a settlement without further bloodshed, but adding that he did not care for the pieces of artillery which were in the city. General Taylor responded to the wish to avoid unnecessary bloodshed. And it was agreed that the Convention should reassemble, the American commissioners being instructed to concede the small arms. The Mexican commissioners now urged, that as all other arms had been recognised, it would be discreditable to the artillery if required to march out without any thing to represent their main arm, and stated, in answer to an inquiry, that they had a battery of light artillery manœuvred and equipped as such. This fresh obstacle caused the commission again to rise and report disagreement on the point of artillery.

Upon hearing that more was demanded than the middle ground, upon which, in a spirit of generosity, he had agreed to place the capitulation, General Taylor arose in a manner which showed his determination to talk no more. As he crossed the room to leave it, one of the Mexican commissioners addressed him, and some private conversation ensued. General Worth then asked permission to address some remarks to General Ampudia, the spirit of which was, that which he had manifested throughout the negotiation—

generosity and leniency, with a desire to spare the further effusion of blood. The commission assembled once more, and finally agreed to the following terms :

Terms of capitulation of the city of Monterey, the capital of Nuevo Leon :

Agreed upon by the undersigned commissioners, to wit : General Worth, of the United States army, General Henderson, of the Texan volunteers, and Colonel Davis, of the Mississippi riflemen, on the part of Major-general Taylor, commanding-in-chief the United States forces ; and General Requena and General Ortega, of the army of Mexico, and Senor Manuel M. Llano, governor of Nuevo Leon, on the part of Senor General Don Pedro Ampudia, commanding-in-chief the army of the north of Mexico.

ART. I. As the legitimate result of the operations before this place, and the present position of the contending armies, it is agreed that the city, the fortifications, cannon, the munitions of war, and all other public property, with the undermentioned exceptions, be surrendered to the commanding general of the United States forces, now at Monterey.

ART. II. That the Mexican forces be allowed to retain the following arms, to wit : the commissioned officers their side-arms ; the infantry their arms and accoutrements ; the cavalry their arms and accoutrements ; the artillery one field battery, not to exceed six pieces, with twenty-one rounds of ammunition.

ART. III. That the Mexican armed forces retire, within seven days from this date, beyond the line formed by the pass of the Rinconada, the city of Linares, and San Fernando de Presas.

ART. IV. That the citadel of Monterey be evacuated by the Mexican, and occupied by the American forces, to-morrow morning, at ten o'clock.

ART. V. To avoid collisions, and for mutual convenience, that the troops of the United States will not occupy the city until the Mexican forces have withdrawn, except for hospital and storage purposes.

ART. VI. That the forces of the United States will not advance beyond the line specified in the 2d [3d] article before the expiration of eight weeks, or until the orders or instructions of the respective governments can be received.

ART. VII. That the public property to be delivered shall be turned over, and received by officers appointed by the commanding generals of the two armies.

ART. VIII. That all doubts as to the meaning of any of the preceding articles shall be solved by an equitable construction, and on principles of liberality to the retiring army.

ART. IX. That the Mexican flag, when struck at the citadel, may be saluted by its own battery.

Done at Monterey, Sept. 24, 1846.

MANUEL M. LLANO,

W. J. WORTH,

Brigadier-General, U. S. A.

T. REQUENA,

J. PINCKNEY HENDERSON,

Maj.-Gen. Com'g the Texan Volunteers.

ORTEGA.

JEFFERSON DAVIS,

Col. Mississippi Riflemen.

Approved:

PEDRO AMPUDIA.

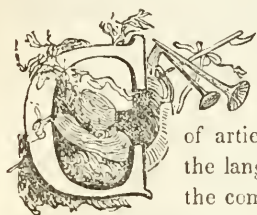
Z. TAYLOR,

Maj.-Gen. U. S. A. Com'g.

After a short recess, the American commissioners again repaired to the room in which they had parted from the Mexicans. The latter were tardy in joining the Americans, as well as in executing the instrument of capitulation. The 7th, 8th and 9th articles were added during this session. At a late hour the English original was handed to General Taylor for his examination; the Spanish original having been sent to General Ampudia. General Taylor signed the instrument and delivered it to Colonel Davis, who returned to receive the Spanish copy with the signature of General Ampudia, and send him the one having General Taylor's signature, so that each general might countersign the original to be retained by the other. General Ampudia did not sign the instrument as was expected, but came in person to meet the commissioners. He unexpectedly began to dispute many points which the Americans had considered settled, and evinced a disposition to make the Spanish instrument differ in essential points from the English. At this conference General Worth was absent. At last Ampudia was required to sign the copy prepared for his own commissioners, and the English original was left with him, that, according to promise, he might have it translated during the night, so as to be ready in the morning with a Spanish duplicate of the English instrument left with him. By this means the two would be made to correspond, and he would be compelled to admit his knowledge of the contents of the English original before he signed it.

The next morning the commission again met, and the Mexican general renewed his solicitation to gain some grant in addition to the original compact. At his request, the Americans had previously adopted the word *capitulation* in lieu of *surrender*; and he now wished to substitute *stipulation* for *capitulation*. It was now evident to the American commander, that he did not wish to sign at all, but was merely quarreling about names and terms, either to gain time, or to accomplish some other purpose, perhaps not definite even to himself. At length it became necessary, peremp

torily to demand his immediate signing of the English instrument, and the literal translation now perfected by the commissioners and their general. The Spanish instrument first signed by General Ampudia was destroyed in presence of his commissioners, and the translation of our own instrument was countersigned by General Taylor and delivered. The agreement was thus complete, and it only remained to execute the terms.



OLONEL DAVIS of the Mississippi riflemen, has the following remarks upon the terms of capitulation :

“Much has been said about the construction of article 2d, but whatever ambiguity there may be in the language used, there was a perfect understanding by the commissioners upon both sides as to the intent of the parties. The distinction we made between light artillery equipped and manœuvred as such, designed for and used in the field, and pieces being the armament of a fort, was clearly stated on our side ; and that it was comprehended on theirs, appeared from the fact, that repeatedly they asserted their possession of light artillery, and said they had one battery of light pieces. Such conformity of opinion existed among our commissioners upon every measure which was finally adopted, that I consider them in their sphere jointly and severally responsible for each and every article of the capitulation. If, as originally viewed by General Worth, our conduct has been in accordance with the peaceful policy of our government, and shall in any degree tend to consummate that policy, we may congratulate ourselves upon the part we have taken. If otherwise, it will remain to me as a deliberative opinion, that the terms of the capitulation gave all that could have followed, of desirable result from a further assault. It was in the power of the enemy to retreat and to bear with him his small arms, and such a battery as was contemplated in the capitulation. The other grants were such as it was honourable in a conquering army to bestow, and which it cost magnanimity nothing to give.”

On the same subject, Major-general Henderson says :—

“My first impression was, that no better terms than those first proposed on the part of General Taylor ought to have been given, and I said so to the general, when I found him disposed to yield to the request of General Ampudia ; and at the same time gave it as my opinion, that they would be accepted by him before he left the town. General Taylor replied that he would run no risk when it could be avoided, that he wished to avoid the further shedding of blood, and that he was satisfied that our government would be pleased with the terms given by the capitulation ; and being myself persuaded of that fact, I yielded my individual views and wishes ; and under that conviction, I shall ever be ready to defend the terms of the capitulation.”

General Worth, whose valuable services and complete knowledge of the resources of the enemy at Monterey, render his opinion very valuable, has the following language on the same subject :



OT only did I counsel and advise the opportunity offered the general-in-chief, in the first proposition, but cordially approved his decision in respect to the latter, as did every member of the commission, and for good and sufficient military and national reasons, and stand ready at all times and proper places to defend and sustain the action of the commanding general, and participation of the commissioners."

Ampudia announced the fall of Monterey in a despatch to the Mexican Secretary of War, in which he uses every exertion to exaggerate the force and resources of his antagonist, and the difficulties surrounding himself.

Throughout the whole Mexican war there is perhaps no event more glorious to the American arms, or more honourable to the valour and humanity of the American soldier, than the capture of Monterey. If the rule of warfare be true, that to capture a mere fort requires a force superior, in every military point, to the garrison ; and that to conduct a successful assault against any fortification, the assailants should number at least double their opponents, how may we regard the storming of a city surrounded by high massive walls which supported strong redoubts, whose every street was swept by cross fires of artillery, and every house of which was an armed fortification, by an army only *one-half* the number of the defenders, inferior in artillery and small arms, and fatigued with a long march across a desert country ! The Mexicans had employed months in fortifying Monterey ; and it was considered by them impregnable. This was no preposterous idea—it had been formerly attacked by an army vastly superior in resources to the Americans, and when its defences were comparatively few and weak, and yet had to brave the utmost efforts of the besiegers ; many of its garrison were veterans, who had seen many battles and had been admired by General Taylor himself on the fields of Palo Alto and Resaca. They were confident of success, and looked upon the advance of General Taylor with calmness and indifference. If we add to this the fact of their immense cavalry force, which was capable of directing its attacks upon any part of the American line, and the necessity of dividing the American army so as to resist the cannonade of the Bishop's Palace, which was as strong as the city itself, we will then have some just appreciation of the magnitude of the American triumph. Its success can be attributed only to the coolness and good discipline evinced by all our troops, to their intrepidity in rushing forward in the very face of the most tremendous artillery fires, unappalled by the havoc on every side, to the

fearlessness of the officers, ever foremost in danger, and especially to the calm systematic movements of Generals Taylor and Worth. When the excitement of the *present* will have subsided, and history has had time to weigh what is now but a recent and every-day occurrence, she will adjudge it a rank in her scale, by the side of the capture of Quebec and the fall of Yorktown. The invincibility of the Spanish race, when resisting a siege, was broken at Monterey; and as much as Wolfe, Wellington, or Bonaparte himself could have done, was there done by General Taylor and an army of volunteers.

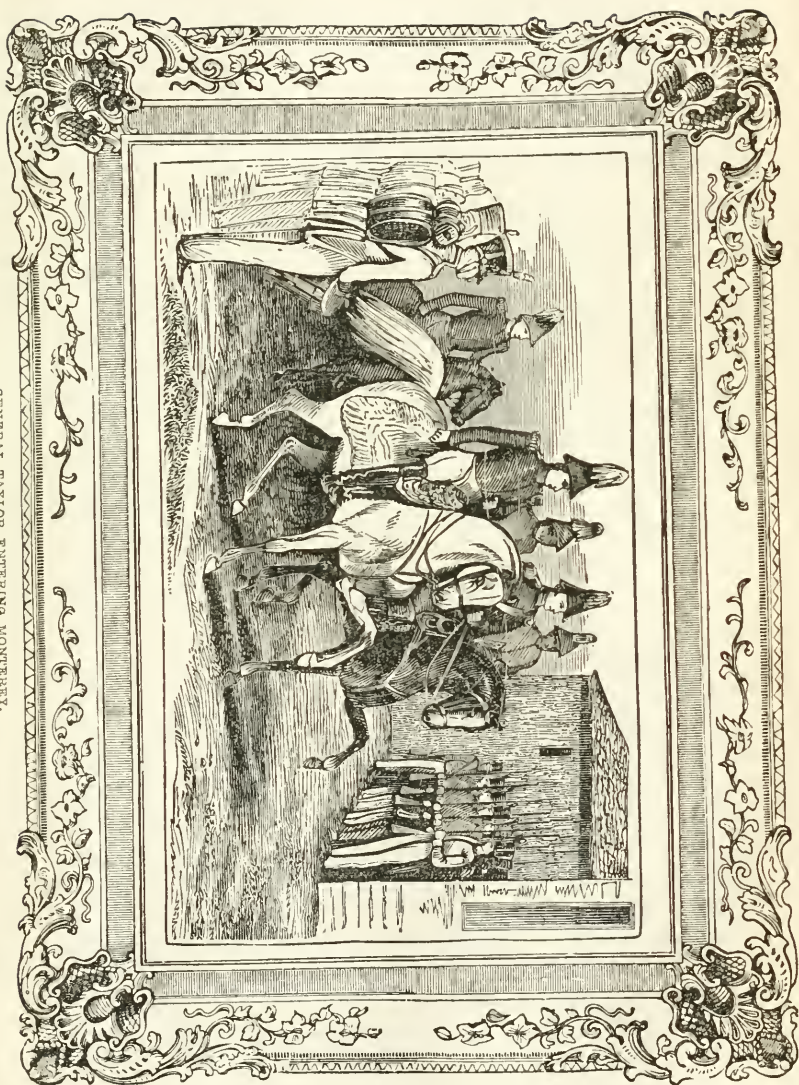


AFTER the evacuation of the city by the Mexicans, General Taylor established his head-quarters there, and made every preparation to render his wounded comfortable, and to refresh his exhausted troops. He was now in command of the key of Central Mexico, and had he but possessed the means, he could possibly have been able to march to the capital itself, before the enemy could have recovered from their late disaster. But the same difficulties which had cramped all his previous operations surrounded him here—he had no means of transportation, and but little prospect of soon obtaining any. The main army was therefore obliged to remain quiet, until circumstances should warrant further active operations. In order, however, to command as much of the country as possible, General Worth was despatched with nearly one thousand five hundred men and eight field-pieces to Saltillo, and General Wool with two thousand four hundred men to Parras. No opposition was experienced by these officers; the clergy and many citizens, however, fled at their approach.

A sketch of the former of these places is given by a member of the army, whose style of writing entitles him to consideration. "Saltillo is by far the best town that I have yet seen in Mexico. It surpasses Monterey in all respects. The cathedral is a fine building of a sort of Moorish or Saracen order of architecture, but gloomy within and disgustingly filthy. There is a great deal of gilding upon rude carved work about the altars and chapels; but I have seen very little of the precious metals of a solid shape in the churches." At Parras, the American army received more than usual favour from the inhabitants; their sick were attended to, many wants of the soldiers supplied, and many indications given that the people were not dissatisfied with the change of affairs.

During these operations the Mexicans were not idle. In their retreat from Monterey, the army had destroyed every thing in their route which might be of service to the American army in their expected invasion. The water streams had been stopped or filled up, the wells destroyed, and all provisions carefully removed. Even private property was not re-

GENERAL TAYLOR ENTERING MONTEREY.





spected ; and, indeed, the inhabitants cheerfully yielded up their effects to the flames, rather than, by retaining them, they should become a source of comfort to the hated invaders. It was their intention to make the country supply the deficiency of their arms, and to nullify the victories of the Rio Grande, by opposing to the victors an impassable desert. Meanwhile, unappalled by the loss of Monterey, they were making every effort to organize a large and efficient army in the interior ; and declared that the capture of the city was not the fault of the troops, but of Ampudia himself, who was accordingly court-martialed. We shall treat further of these movements of the Mexicans in a subsequent chapter.

While the American commander was at Monterey, some unhappy differences between the citizens and volunteers led to several murders on both sides. Many of the troops looked upon the Mexicans as a conquered people, perfectly at their disposal, and were, consequently, not very scrupulous in their treatment of them. On the other hand, the Mexicans were chafed by shame and defeat, and disposed to consider the Americans as a band of plunderers who had invaded their land for the purposes of rapine and tyranny. Secret retaliation was sought and improved ; and the hiddenness of the frequent murders added to their atrocity by rendering it almost impossible to detect and punish the perpetrators. Of course, the subject was extremely vexatious to both General Taylor and the Mexican governor ; but neither could effectually prevent the evil. A correspondence took place between them, of which we subjoin a copy :

Governor Morales to General Taylor.

September 29, 1846.

Multitudes of complaints have been made to this government against excesses committed upon persons and property of Mexicans daily, by volunteers in the service of the United States, and I am this moment informed that three of our citizens have been killed by them without pity or any reasonable motive, only because they possess the power to do so. Under such circumstances, it is impossible that society can remain in much security, as the most essential guarantees are wanting. I have the honour of making this known to your excellency, hoping that measures will be adopted to put an end to such atrocities in future, and to carry into effect the assurances given, of protection to the people.

Repeating my esteem and consideration for your excellency, I am, &c. &c.

The reply of General Taylor is dated on the 1st of October, and reads as follows :

"The communication of your excellency, dated 29th ultimo, relative to excesses committed by volunteers in Monterey, was duly received. Some delay has occurred in answering it, in order that I might communicate with the commandant of that post.

"It is with sentiments of regret that I learn your just cause of complaint founded upon the grounds stated by your excellency. Your excellency must be aware that it is no easy task to keep such men in subjection; and although my great desire is to maintain good order, yet excesses have been committed; but I believe none of a grave character.

"The volunteers now in the city will be removed in a few days, and by their absence I hope all cause of further complaints will cease. In the mean time, Brigadier-general Worth will use all efficacious measures to maintain order in the city. He is now invested with orders to this effect. Your excellency must be aware, that my desire is to comply with the guarantees I have given in the name of my government, relative to the security of persons and property."

The exertions of General Taylor, relative to this subject, seem to have been productive of some benefit; so that in a short time the evils, although not yet fully removed, were of much less frequency than before.





SANTA ANNA.

BATTLE OF BUENA VISTA.



BEFORE entering into a detailed account of this battle, it may not be amiss to recede for a moment from the regular progress of events, in order to notice some of the important movements which gave rise to it.

Perhaps at no time since Mexico was an independent nation, has there been so much of a revolutionary spirit predominant among all classes, as has existed during her present war with the United States. Against the latter power, nothing but the most united efforts, conducted by active and patriotic generals, can give them the least chance of success; and yet at the very moment when these are most needed, the nation is distracted by intestine tumults, and the jarrings of ambitious demagogues. In the commencement of the war, as we have seen, General Herrera was at the head of affairs. He seems to have been of a pacific disposition, and well inclined to settle the difficulties with the United States; but he was speedily deprived of power, and superseded by Gene

ral Paredes, whose views and designs were entirely different from those of his predecessor. Under his administration, war was declared, and every exertion made to conduct it with vigour. Success, however, did not crown his efforts, and soon the populace, ever ready to judge of men by their fortunes, began to look for another ruler. Several candidates were now in the field, each at the head of a small army, and each differing from the others in all points except one—*hatred and opposition to the United States*.

A party differing from these soon arose, whose object was the restoration of the banished Santa Anna. This general, as is well known, long acted a conspicuous part in the revolutions of his country, as well as in the Texan war, and was for a long while Supreme Dictator of all Mexico. In 1844, however, after the siege of Vera Cruz, he was expatriated, and continued afterwards to remain in exile at Havana. The revolution in his favour rapidly gained ground, and was finally consummated by the election of General Salas, his avowed supporter, to the presidency of Mexico. Puebla and several other large cities declared for him; Paredes was deposed, and while endeavouring to make his escape with a company of lancers, was arrested and thrown into prison. One avowed object of the restoration was the re-establishment of the constitution of 1824, by which the Mexican states constituted a *federal* republic, similar to our own country, instead of a consolidated republic, which made each separate state a mere department of the Union, and deprived the people in a great measure of representation. In pursuance of this project, General Salas issued a proclamation, directing Congress to meet on the 6th of December, under the rules and restrictions of the aforesaid constitution. Soon after he despatched his two sons to meet and welcome Santa Anna, who was daily expected at Vera Cruz.

On the 16th of August, Santa Anna reached Vera Cruz in the ship Arab, having passed through the American blockading squadron under Commodore Conner, without opposition. Upon landing, he immediately placed himself at the head of the movement in that department, and the same day issued a proclamation, setting forth at large his views and designs with regard to the origin, former conduct, and prosecution of the war.

This proclamation was in accordance with a previous one in his favour which had been issued by the city of Mexico, detailing the plan proposed to be pursued by that city. It is as follows:

ARTICLE I. Instead of the present Congress, another shall assemble, composed of representatives, popularly chosen according to the electoral laws in force for the election of 1824, whose duty shall be as well to frame a constitution for the nation, adopting the form of government which they may deem in conformity to the national will, as to take charge of all mat

ters relating to the war with the United States, and the affair of Texas, and other frontier departments. The monarchical form of government which the nation evidently detests shall be excluded.

ART. 2. All Mexicans, faithful to their country, including those out of the country, are called upon to give it their services in the present national movement, for which purpose very particular invitation is given to his excellency, General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, who is from this time recognised as general-in-chief of all the forces engaged, and resolved to combat, in order that the nation may recover its rights, secure its liberty, and govern itself.

ART. 3. Until the sovereign Congress shall assemble and adopt the requisite measures for the war, it will be the indispensable duty of the executive to dictate such measures as may be urgent and necessary to sustain with honour the national flag, and this sacred duty must be discharged without the loss of a single moment.

ART. 4. Within four months from the occupation, by the liberating forces, of the capital of the republic, the Congress referred to in the first article must be assembled; for which purpose it will be the duty of the general-in-chief to issue the order of convocation, in the terms indicated, and to take care that the elections proceed with all possible liberty.

ART. 5. The existence of the army is guaranteed, and it is assured of such attention and protection as are due to the well-deserving military class of a free people.

ART. 6. Any one will be declared a traitor to the nation, who shall endeavour to retard the assembling of the said Congress, make any attempt against it by infringing the liberty of its members, dissolve it or suspend its sessions, or attempt to oppose the constitution which it may establish, or the laws which it may enact in conformity with the present plan.



IN September, Santa Anna left the hacienda near Vera Cruz, and advanced towards Ayotla, which he reached on the 14th of September. He here received a commission, appointing him supreme dictator, to which he replied in a dignified note, of course accepting the appointment.

On the 15th the dictator entered the capital, and was welcomed with demonstrations of joy and confidence. He immediately directed his attention to the raising of money and troops, and for that purpose republished the following proclamations or *decrees*:

1. (Declaring, in substance, that) all Mexicans between the ages of eighteen and fifty years were under obligations to take up arms in defence of their country whenever required to do so.


2. Declaring free from import duty, for one year, the importation into

any part of the republic, as well as the sale in it, of muskets, carbines sabres, brass and iron cannon, with gun-carriages, and in general every species of warlike arms and projectiles; and declaring that the government will purchase such quantity of the arms and projectiles referred to as it may require, and at such prices as may be agreed upon by the importer or holders.

3. Declaring an extraordinary contingent of thirty thousand men, to be contributed by the several states.

4. Giving pardon to all who may have deserted from the regular army, provided that they give themselves up within three months, and permitting them to serve in such corps as they may select.

5. Declaring that all officers, in civil or military employment, who shall refuse, without good cause, in the opinion of the government, to render such services as may be required of them during the war in which the republic is at present engaged, shall be dismissed from their employments, and declared incapable of being employed hereafter as military officers; being liable, moreover, to the punishment already provided by law for such offences as they may have committed.

T will be remembered that the terms of capitulation at Monterey stipulated for a *conditional* armistice of eight weeks, during which time neither army was to cross a certain line. General Taylor had no doubt that these terms would be endorsed by his government, but in this he was mistaken. The whole stipulation seems to have been somewhat opposed to the views of the Washington Cabinet, and orders were immediately despatched to the general, to recommence hostilities. In obedience to the instructions, he directed a letter to Santa Anna, notifying him of the recommencement of hostilities, and requesting the release of some prisoners detained at San Luis Potosi, on the ground of the general's similar conduct to others who had fallen in his hands. Santa Anna replied in a courteous and dignified manner, acknowledging the conclusion of the armistice, and at the same time releasing the prisoners, and providing money for their journey. This first correspondence between the two great generals is highly pleasing.

While Santa Anna was at San Luis Potosi, every exertion was being made to raise an army sufficient to arrest all further successes of General Taylor. These operations seemed to have been enthusiastically entered into by the people, and soon the dictator found himself at the head of nearly twenty thousand men. The greater portion of the press warmly seconded his measures, and paraded him to the people as *invincible*. The following extracts from the leading journal, dated November 14, will give some idea of the spirit of their addresses:

"By the communication which we this day insert, our readers will

Learn that General Taylor has declared that he is about to recommence hostilities upon the republic. The moment has arrived, the result is close at hand, of a terrible conflict, which is to decide the future lot of the nation.

"The enthusiasm of our army is great; it is determined to fall or triumph, and we trust it will know how to avenge with honour the Mexican blood which flowed at Matamoras and at Monterey.

"The whole world is contemplating this struggle; its eyes are fixed upon our republic, whose rights and prerogatives as an independent and sovereign nation have been as audaciously as perfidiously trampled upon by the United States of the north. If the republic rises with the emergency—if by the elastic impulse of all its citizens, it shall chastise its enemies, and if by force of arms it makes its international rights respected, from that day forth the fate of Mexico will be eternally fixed, since it assures its independence, its respectability abroad, and its liberty.

"Mexicans! This is not a question of party—it concerns our political existence. Let us, then, assist by every means in our power, in the national defence; let us sacrifice ourselves, if it be necessary; but in succumbing, let our last words be 'Independence and Liberty.'"

In December, General Taylor received information that the Mexican general, Urrea, was in the neighbourhood of Victoria, with a large force of cavalry. He, therefore, left Monterey on the 15th of December, and proceeded in the direction most favourable for encountering the enemy. Santa Anna was now near Saltillo, and the general soon received further intelligence of a threatened attack upon that place. Fearing for the safety of General Patterson, who was stationed there, Taylor detached General Quitman with a field-battery to join him, while he himself retired towards Monterey. While marching thither, General Wool entered Saltillo with reinforcements, and on receiving intelligence thereof, as well as that the enemy were retiring towards Potosi, General Taylor again marched for Victoria, which he entered on the 30th. Here he received a letter from General Scott, the newly appointed commander of the Army of Occupation, requesting a large detachment of his troops, the object of which demand was to increase the force under Scott, so that it might be able to co-operate with the American gulf squadron, in an attack upon the fortress of San Juan de Ulloa and city of Vera Cruz. It was a source of grief to the American commander to be thus suddenly snatched from the prospect of victory, and compelled to retire from his present position, to a condition of comparative inactivity. The troops called for were the flower of his army, the veterans of all his Mexican victories; and he parted from them with profound sorrow. The following is his address to them at marching from him:

"It is with deep sensibility that the commanding general finds himself

separated from the troops he so long commanded. To those corps, regular and volunteer, who have shared with him the active services of the field, he feels the attachment due to such associations, while to those who are making their first campaign, he must express his regret that he cannot participate with them in its eventful scenes. To all, both officers and men, he extends his heartfelt wishes for their continued success and happiness, confident that their achievements on another theatre will redound to the credit of their country and its arms."

After the departure of these troops, the general again established his head-quarters at Monterey, where he remained until February. He received in that month a considerable number of volunteers, which swelled his disposable force to five thousand four hundred men, with which force he marched from Monterey, determined to fight the enemy on their own ground.

Notwithstanding the demonstration of Santa Anna toward Saltillo, his designs seem to have been either of a mixed or hidden character. For a while he seemed disposed to march for Vera Cruz; then he would advance towards General Taylor; and at one time seemed to be proceeding to the city of Mexico, in order to quell an insurrection which had lately broken out there. On the 27th of January, he issued an address to his "companions in arms," which, however, was believed by many to be merely a feint to cover his meditated advance to Vera Cruz. The following are extracts:

"Soldiers! the entire world observes us, and will expect our acts to be heroic as they are necessary. Privations of all kinds surround us, in consequence of the neglect shown towards us for more than a month, by those who should provide your pay and provisions. But when has misery debilitated your spirits, or weakened your enthusiasm? The Mexican soldier is well known by his frugality and patience under suffering, never wanting magazines in marches across deserts, and always counting upon the resources of the enemy to provide for his wants. To-day we shall undertake to march over a desert country, without succour or provisions. But be assured, that we shall be immediately provided from those of the enemy, and with them you will be sufficiently reimbursed. My friends, we go to open the campaign. What days of glory await us! What a flattering future for our country! How satisfactory, when we contemplate that we have saved its independence! How the world will admire us! How the nation will bless us! And when in the bosoms of our families we shall relate the risks and fatigues which we have endured, the combats with and triumphs over a daring and presumptuous enemy; and hereafter, when telling our children that we have saved our country a second time, the jubilee will be complete, and the sacrifices will then appear to us as nothing. Soldiers! Hurry forth in the defence of your country. The

BATTLE OF BUENA VISTA.





cause we sustain is a holy one ; never have we struggled with more justice, because we fight for the honour and religion of our wives and children ! What sacrifice, then, can be too great for objects so dear ? Let our motto be—‘ CONQUER OR DIE ! ’ Let us swear before the great Eternal, that we will not wait an instant in purging our soil of the stranger, who has dared to profane it with his presence. No treaty, nothing which may not be heroic and proud.”

The subsequent movements of Santa Anna proved that the above was a transcript of his real intentions. He left San Luis on the 2d of February, at the head of a large army, which was distributed as follows :

Artillerists with nineteen guns, heavy calibre,	650
Eight regiments, (six of the line, two light troops,)	6240
Light troops,	3200
Under General Parrode, with three pieces heavy calibre,	1000
Cavalry on the march,	6000
Artillery, ditto,	250
General Mejia’s division,	4000
Total,	21,340

The artillery were supplied with six hundred rounds of ammunition. Besides these troops, there were large detachments in the field, under Generals Juvera, Minon, and others. On the 7th, they reached Matehuala, a town between Saltillo and San Luis. They were in the utmost distress: in want of food, water, and clothing. One of the officers says:—“No honourable resource remains, except to advance without supplies ; to capture them from the immense storehouses of the enemy in Saltillo and Monterey, and to live upon the country. The way to glory and honour is to be preferred to turning our backs upon the enemy. We go to try our fortune, since any thing would be a less evil than to die of hunger and complete inaction, besides being called traitors by those who really are such. If we do march, (without more than twelve days’ provision for the troops, and half a month’s pay for the officers,) we will live upon the country and the plunder of the enemy, now that they will not furnish us with any supplies.”

It now became necessary for Santa Anna to make the most vigorous exertions in order to save his army from disbandment. Accordingly he negotiated with certain commercial houses of San Luis for drafts, and a loan to the amount of a hundred and eighty thousand dollars, drawing on Mexico and Vera Cruz, and pledging all his private estate as security. This sum enabled his commissary-general to distribute sufficient food and clothing to the troops to continue them on the march to Monterey.

On the 20th of February, General Taylor reached Agua Nueva, a place eighteen miles below Saltillo. He retired, however, at the approach of

Santa Anna, and awaited the threatened attack at Buena Vista, a strong position, a few miles south of Saltillo.

On the 21st, the Mexicans attacked and defeated a small mounted force engaged to cover the removal of some public stores. At 11 o'clock the following day, Surgeon Liedenburg, of the Mexican army, arrived before General Taylor, with a white flag, and a communication to surrender. The demand was, of course, declined.

Santa Anna still forbore his attack, no doubt waiting for the arrival of his rear troops, part of whom were already in view of the Americans. Towards evening, the Mexican troops engaged the extreme left, under Colonel Marshall, and considerable manœuvring and skirmishing took place, which lasted till dark. A new order of battle was formed during the night, and the troops slept on their arms, without fires. The Mexicans also threw a body of light troops on the mountain-side, in order to outflank the left. In this position the hostile armies passed the night.

Early on the 23d the action recommenced on the left. The enemy attempted to dislodge Colonel Marshall, but he sustained their attacks with the greatest coolness, and with but little loss. At 8 o'clock a large body of cavalry advanced to the same point. Part of them were dispersed by Captain Washington's battery, but the main body, aided by a large infantry force, bore down all opposition, routed the second Indiana regiment, repelled the Illinois, drove back Captain O'Brien, and captured some of his guns. The second Indiana regiment could not be rallied, and many of them continued their retreat to Buena Vista.

The enemy now poured masses of infantry and cavalry along the base of the mountain, and were concentrating them in the rear. At this moment, General Taylor, who had been at Buena Vista during the night, arrived upon the field. He immediately ordered the Mississippi regiment to the left, and brought up the second Kentucky and a section of Bragg's artillery to support them. These arrived in a most happy moment, and, with a portion of the first Illinois under Colonel Hardin, drove back the enemy, and recovered a portion of the lost ground. In a moment, however, the enemy returned, and for a while the action raged with fearful violence. Captain Bragg fought within pistol-range, and Colonel Davis's Mississippians could distinguish the features of the enemy at every discharge of their rifles. The artillery mowed down horses and horsemen by hundreds, and the incessant discharges rolled and reverberated among the broken mountains, like the full thunderings of a whirlwind. The enemy were, at length, thrown into confusion, and a part attempted to retreat to the main line of battle. The first dragoons, under Colonel Rucker, were sent to oppose them, but met with such heavy loss that they returned without effecting any thing.

Meanwhile, a large body of the enemy concentrated to make a descent



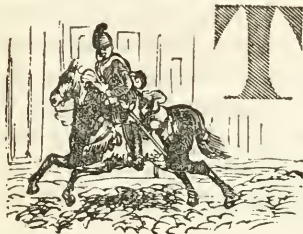


DEATH OF COLONEL CLAY.

upon the hacienda of Buena Vista. Colonel May was ordered to support this point with two pieces under Lieutenant Reynolds. Before these could reach that point, the enemy had been met by the Kentucky and Arkansas cavalry, under Colonels Marshall and Yell. The Mexican column immediately divided, one portion sweeping by the depôt under a destructive fire from the dispersed Indiana regiment; the other gaining the opposite mountains. In this affair, Colonel Yell was killed by a lance, which entered his mouth and tore away part of his head.

The situation of the Mexican army which had gained the rear was now very critical; but, while they were there, General Taylor received a flag of truce from Santa Anna, desiring to know what he wanted; and the delay attending an answer to this, enabled the cavalry to rejoin the main army. At the conclusion of the truce, the cavalry of General Minon, which had been hovering all day near Saltillo, were so roughly handled by Shover's and Washington's artillery, that they did not reappear.

The enemy now seemed to confine his efforts to the protection of his artillery, and soon the Illinois and second Kentucky regiments were overwhelmed by the immense masses that were poured upon them. The artillery were also driven back. It was a critical moment. Captain O'Brien, with two pieces, had sustained the charge until every man and horse was killed or wounded, and had left his guns on the field. The commander ordered Captain Bragg into battery, and without any infantry support, and at the imminent risk of losing his guns, he came rapidly into action when the Mexicans were within but a few yards of his pieces. In three discharges, the enemy were in confused flight. The second Kentucky regiment rushed forward so far in pursuit, that the cavalry suddenly wheeled round, attacked, and drove them back. In this disastrous charge, Colonels Hardin and McKee, and Lieutenant-colonel Clay, were killed. But for the timely assistance of Washington's battery, which opened upon the enemy from a ravine, the regiment would have been cut to pieces.



THIS was the last effort of the enemy. The exhausted soldiers sunk upon the battle-field, among dead and dying, with their arms about them, and without fires. The officers removed the wounded to Saltillo, and made every preparation for an attack on the following night.

General Wool's report of this battle is full of interest. He was the field-officer of the day, and no man did more than he to secure victory. His voice was everywhere heard amid the successive charges of the enemy, and his bold conduct infused energy into the soldiers. He is mentioned by General Taylor with distinguished honour.

The artillery being the most valuable arm, and that by which the fortune of the day was decided, the accounts of their labours, as given in the despatches of the two principal artillerists, are full of the most thrilling interest. No man could have fought braver, or with more efficiency, than did Captain O'Brien; and although he was obliged to leave his guns, he had the satisfaction of knowing that he had maintained his position long enough to secure victory.

Although the advantages of victory in this affair were altogether with General Taylor, yet his antagonist also claimed a triumph, alleging his subsequent retreat to be the unavoidable result of the starving condition of his troops. It is very probable that this cause hastened the retreat of the Mexicans, and perhaps a second, and more obstinate engagement, as an additional force was then on the road to join Santa Anna. The causes of his failing to drive the Americans from their position, together with an elaborate vindication of his own conduct, are given in a lengthy report which he made to the government immediately after the battle of Buena Vista. The difficulties which he encountered were undoubtedly great, and in view of them we are obliged to admire the talents of the man who under such circumstances could keep an army together.

The description of the last charge of the Mexicans, and of the close of the battle, is given in the following terms by a gentleman who was actively engaged during the whole of the 23d:

"While the dispersed Mexican cavalry were rallying, the third Indiana regiment, under Colonel Lane, was ordered to join Colonel Davis, supported by a considerable body of horse. About this time, from some unknown reason, our wagon train displayed its length along the Saltillo road, and offered a conspicuous prize for the Mexican lancers, which they seemed not unwilling to appropriate. Fortunately, Lieutenant Rucker, with a squadron of the first dragoons, (Captain Steen having been previously wounded, and Captain Eustis confined to his bed by illness,) was present, and, by order of General Taylor, dashed among them in a most brilliant style, dispersing them by his charge, as effectually as the previous fire of the Mississippi riflemen. May's dragoons, with a squadron of Arkansas cavalry, under Captain Pike, and supported by a single piece of artillery, under Lieutenant Reynolds, now claimed their share in the discussion, and when the Mexicans had again assembled, they had to encounter another shock from the two squadrons, besides a fierce fire of grape from Reynolds's six-pounder.

"The lancers once more rallied, and directing their course towards the Saltillo road, were met by the remainder of Colonel Yell's regiment and Marshall's Kentuckians, who drove them towards the mountains on the opposite side of the valley, where, from their appearance when last visible, it may be presumed they are still running. In this precipitate movement

they were compelled to pass through a rancho, in which many of our valiant comrades had previously taken refuge, who, from this secure retreat, opened quite an effective fire upon them.

* * * * *

"At this time the Mexican force was much divided, and the fortunes of the day were with us. Santa Anna saw the crisis, and, by craft and cunning, sought to avert it. He sent a white flag to General Taylor, desiring to know 'what he wanted.' This was at once believed to be a mere *ruse* to gain time and re-collect his men : but the American general thought fit to notice it, and General Wool was deputed to meet the representative of Santa Anna, and to say to him that we 'wanted' peace. Before the interview could be had, the Mexicans themselves re-opened their fires, thus adding treachery of the highest order to the other barbarian practices which distinguish their mode of warfare. The flag, however, had accomplished the ends which its wily originator designed ; for though our troops could have effectually prevented the remainder of his cavalry from joining the main body, it could only have been done by a fire, which, while the parley lasted, would have been an undoubted breach of faith. Although a portion of the lancers, during this interim, had regained their original position, a formidable number still remained behind. Upon these the infantry opened a brisk fire, while Reynolds's artillery, beautifully served, hailed the grape and canister upon them with terrible effect.

"The craft of Santa Anna had restored his courage, and with his reinforcement of cavalry he determined to charge our line. Under cover of their artillery, horse and foot advanced upon our batteries. These, from the smallness of our infantry force, were but feebly supported, yet, by the most brilliant and daring efforts, nobly maintained their positions. Such was the rapidity of their transitions, that officers and pieces seemed empowered with ubiquity ; and upon cavalry and infantry alike, wherever they appeared, they poured so destructive a fire as to silence the enemy's artillery, compel his whole line to fall back, and soon to assume a sort of *saue qui peut* movement, indicating any thing but victory. Again our spirits rose. The Mexicans appeared thoroughly routed ; and while their regiments and divisions were flying before us, nearly all our light troops were ordered forward, and followed them with a most deadly fire, mingled with shouts which rose above the roar of artillery.

"When our men were driven through the ravines, at the extremities of which a body of Mexican lancers were stationed to pounce upon them like tigers, Brent and Whiting, of Washington's battery, gave them such a torrent of grape as put them to flight, and thus saved the remnants of those brave regiments which had long borne the hottest portion of the fight. On the other flank, while the Mexicans came rushing on like legions of fiends, the artillery was left unsupported, and capture by the enemy seemed

inevitable. But Bragg and Thomas rose with the crisis, and eclipsed even the fame they won at Monterey; while Sherman, O'Brien, and Bryan, proved themselves worthy of the alliance. Every horse with O'Brien's battery was killed, and the enemy had advanced to within range of grape, sweeping all before him. But here his progress was arrested, and before the showers of iron hail which assailed him, squadrons and battalions fell like leaves in the blasts of autumn. The Mexicans were once more driven back with great loss, though taking with them the three pieces of artillery which were without horses.

"In this charge the first Illinois regiment and McKee's Kentuckians were foremost. The pursuit was too hot; and as it evinced too clearly our deficiency in numbers, the Mexicans, with a suddenness which was almost magical, rallied and returned upon us. They came in myriads, and for a while the carnage was dreadful on both sides. We were but a handful to oppose the frightful masses which were hurled upon us, and could as easily have resisted an avalanche of thunderbolts. We were driven back, and the day seemed lost beyond redemption. Victory, which a moment before appeared within our grasp, was suddenly torn from our standard. There was but one hope; but that proved an anchor sure and steadfast.

"Thus thrice during the day, when all seemed lost but honour, did the artillery, by the ability with which it was manœuvred, roll back the tide of success from the enemy, and give such overwhelming destructiveness to its effect, that the army was saved and the glory of the American arms was maintained. At this moment, however, let it never be forgotten, that while every effective man was wanted on the field, hundreds of volunteers had collected in the rancho with the wagon train, whom no efforts or entreaties could induce to join their brethren, neighbours, and friends, then in the last struggle for victory.

"The battle had now raged with variable success for nearly ten hours, and, by a sort of mutual consent, after the last carnage wrought among the Mexicans by the artillery, both parties seemed willing to pause upon the result. Night fell, and the American general, with his troops, slept upon the battle-ground, prepared, if necessary, to resume operations on the morrow. But ere the sun rose again upon the scene, the Mexicans had disappeared, leaving behind them only the hundreds of their dead and dying, whose bones are to whiten their native hills, and whose moans of anguish were to excite in their enemies that compassion which can have no existence in the bosoms of their friends."

Major Coffee, of General Taylor's staff, gave the following interesting incidents of Buena Vista, during a private conversation while in the United States as bearer of the general's despatches

"General Taylor had fallen in love, at first sight, with the position at which he finally made his stand—at Buena Vista. His movement towards

Agua Nueva was merely a *ruse* to decoy the enemy into the field which he had selected for his battle-ground. As soon as McCulloch's men, who were invaluable as scouts, informed him of Santa Anna's approach to Agua Nueva, General Taylor quietly broke up his camp, and fell back to his first love, Buena Vista. This position was admirably chosen. It was at the foot of a mountain, or rather of two mountains, between which ran the road through a narrow valley. On his right there was a deep ravine, which protected that flank more effectually than half a dozen regiments could have done. The left of General Taylor's line rested on the base of a mountain. The road in the centre was intrenched and defended by a strong battery. In front the ground was uneven—broken into hills and deep ravines—well adapted to the mode of fighting suited to our volunteers, and by its peculiarities supplying the disadvantage of a great inferiority of numbers.

"On the 21st, the enemy were descried approaching over the distant hills. At their appearance the volunteers raised a great shout, and gave three tremendous cheers. Their engineers and officers were seen flying over the field, and dragging their cannon about to get them into position, but the nature of the ground did not favour the undertaking, and it was late in the day before the big guns began to open.

"The enemy had with them thirty-two cannon, mostly of large calibre. Their fire, though kept up very briskly, and apparently well manned, did so little execution in our ranks, that it was not considered necessary to answer it. Our cannon were therefore silent the whole of the 21st. Eight or ten killed and wounded was the extent of the casualties sustained by our army on the 21st. During the next day an officer approached our lines with a flag of truce, and requested to be shown to General Taylor. The brave old man was sitting quietly on his white charger, with his leg over the pommel of the saddle, watching the movements of the enemy, when the Mexican officer was presented. In a very courteous and graceful manner the officer stated that 'he had been sent by his excellency General Santa Anna, to his excellency General Taylor, to inquire, in the most respectful manner, what he (General Taylor) was waiting for?' From the silence of General Taylor's batteries, and the quiet manner in which he received Santa Anna's terrific cannonading, the Mexican supposed he was asking a very proper question; to which, however, old Rough and Ready gave the very pertinent reply that 'he was only waiting for General Santa Anna to surrender.' The Mexican returned hastily to his lines. This message proved to be a *ruse* to ascertain where General Taylor's position was; for after the return of the Mexican officer to his own ranks, the whole Mexican battery seemed to open upon General Taylor's position, and the balls flew over and about him like hail. Utterly indifferent to the perils of his situation, there sat the old chief on his conspicuous white

horse, peering through his spy-glass at the long lines of Mexican troops that could be seen at a great distance on the march. The persuasion of his aids could not induce him to abandon his favourite point of observation, nor to give up his old white horse.

"All the officers on our side, in this hard-fought battle, distinguished themselves. The details of the battle were confided to General Wool, who nobly justified the confidence of his commander and brother veteran, by the most active, zealous, efficient, and gallant conduct. Throughout the whole action he was constantly engaged in the disposition of our forces, and in rallying them to the onset. It was a miracle he escaped the thick-flying balls which thinned the ranks he was marshaling. There was but one complaint made against him, and that was that he exposed himself too much. Brigadier-general Lane also showed himself to be a brave and capable officer. Although wounded early in the action, he kept his horse until it closed, and never for a moment left his post.

"On the night of the 22d, both armies drew off from the field of battle. Our men were engaged all night in bringing in the wounded and taking care of them, the Mexicans as well as their own men. There were, however, but few of our men found on the field wounded. They were, to use Santa Anna's significant words in his despatch, "all dead," the cowardly miscreants having killed every man whom they overtook, wounded and helpless, on the field. With like turpitude and treachery, they left their dead unburied and their wounded uncared for on the field where they fell. The latter were carried to Saltillo in our own wagons; the former were buried by the alcalde, under the orders of General Taylor.

"A number of officers were taken prisoners, and an exchange was effected, by which all our men in their hands were released. Cassius M. Clay's party are understood now to be in the city of Mexico.

"Among the killed and wounded of the Mexicans are three general officers, and twenty colonels and commanders of battalions. General Minon, it appears, has not as yet realized the brilliant career of which he considered his capture of Major Borland an earnest. He was ordered by Santa Anna to attack and carry Saltillo during the engagement at Buena Vista. With this object he made a demonstration against the town with two thousand cavalry. Lieutenant Shover, with sixty men and two small pieces of artillery, went out to meet the valiant general, and at one discharge of his cannon sent him and his large force to the right-about in double quick time."

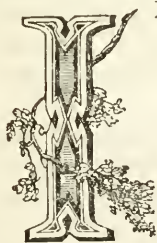
Private letters from Mexican officers and soldiers give frightful details of the sufferings experienced by their troops, both before and after the battle. "Our troops," says one, "are perishing with hunger and thirst. They have not drank water in two days, and have eaten nothing since the day they were at Encarnacion, and a slice of roasted meat at La Vaca.

I am much afraid lest this cause should disperse us to-night, since the soldiers are already scattering, and bodies of them fighting and charging upon the enemy wherever they thought there was water, caring for nothing; and we have seen them disputing among themselves, totally regardless of the fire of the enemy, for a piece of ham found upon the dead Yankees. This night is a fearful one for the republic, since I dread lest we should become disbanded. In conclusion, dear friend, there now remains but little to be done, because we have been pursuing the enemy all day long with the bayonet, and to-morrow they will be finished. They killed the horse of the general-in-chief with a grape-shot." "Since closing my letter the general-in-chief has ordered the army to Agua Nueva, where there are some cattle and water—water, which is before every thing else.
* * * * * We have lost about a thousand men, and many officers, killed and wounded, and our Lombardini among the rest."

Another writer says—"We have gained a bloody battle, and taken from the enemy standards and artillery. They have come to demand a peace, and they have been answered by the general-in-chief, that until the whole republic is evacuated by them, he will not listen to them."

The following are the orders of the Mexican general issued on the 20th and 21st of February, and defining the order of battle, together with other matters relative to it.

"General officers of the day, Don Rafael Vasquez; aids, Colonel Jose M. Bermudes and Lieutenant Colonel Don Florencia Aspeitia. And for to-morrow, Don Francisco Mejia, general officer of the day; Colonel Don Carlos Brito, and Lieutenant Colonel Don Gregoria Elati, aids.



N the morning the army will continue its march, which will commence at 11 o'clock precisely, in the following order. The 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th battalions of light infantry will take the lead under the order of General Ampudia, so that he may be able to avail himself of all advantages that the circumstances may require. Immediately after the battalion of Sappers, and in its rear, and at the head of the division of infantry of the van, under the orders of General Pacheco, will be placed the company of sharp shooters, and three

sixteen-pounders, with their respective artillerists and reserve—as, likewise the ammunition, composed of one hundred round shot and one hundred and nine grape for each piece, and eighty boxes musket ammunition, each containing nine thousand six hundred cartridges. Division of infantry of the centre, commanded by General Manuel M. Lombardini, will follow. At the head of this column there will be five twelve-pounders as above named and ammunitioned, and also eighty boxes of musket ammunition. At the head of the division of the rear, commanded by General Ortega, there will be five eight-pounders, supplied with men and ammunition as above,

and also its eighty boxes of musket ammunition, each containing nine thousand six hundred cartridges.



—HE division of cavalry of the rear will follow closely on the last of infantry, having at their head the 'Hussars,' and in their rear the general ammunition train escorted by the brigade of horse artillery. After the ammunition train all the camp followers of all classes, with the baggage of all kinds, laundresses, cooks, it being distinctly understood that no woman will be allowed to mix with the column. The chief in command of the commissary

department is Don Pedro Ravejel, who is also in charge of the baggage train.

"His excellency, the general-in-chief, furthermore orders, that the different corps shall to-day receive from the commissary three days' rations, for the 21st, 22d and 23d, and that they require the necessary meat this afternoon, for the first meal to-morrow morning, which the troops are directed to eat one hour before taking up the line of march; and the second will be taken in their haversacks, to be eaten in the night whenever they may halt. This last will consist of meat, two biscuits, and half a cake of brown sugar for each man; for on the night of the 21st, there will be no fires permitted, neither will there be signal made by any military instruments of music—the movement at early daybreak on the morning of the 22d, having to be made in the most profound silence.

"The troops will drink all the water they can before marching, and will take with them in their canteens, or other vessels, all they can possibly carry. They will economize the water all they can, for we shall encamp at night without water, and shall not arrive at it until 12 o'clock on the following day. The chiefs of corps will pay much—much attention to this last instruction.

"Each mule belonging to the ammunition train, and the horses of officers, will receive two rations of corn, which they will take with them, and these will be fed to them to-morrow night at dusk and on the following morning at daybreak. The horses' girths will only be slackened, and the mules will not be unharnessed while they are eating. The light brigade will likewise obey this order of the 21st, only loosening their saddles a little. The horses and mules will all be taken to water before commencing the march. Each division will take with it its respective medical staff, hospital attendants, medicines, &c., as regulated by the medical inspector-general.

"The chaplain-in-chief will provide each division with its chaplain. He will also, as to-morrow is a feast-day, order mass to be said at 6 o'clock, in front of the position occupied by the vanguard; at 7 o'clock, in front of the centre; at 8 o'clock, in front of the rear-guard; and at 9 o'clock, in front of the division of cavalry.

"General Don Francisco Perez is ordered to be recognised as second in command to General Lombardini, and General Don Luis Guzman as second to General Ortega.

"To facilitate the duties of the conductor-general of the baggage train, the cavalry of Celaza, and the Presidial troops, are hereby placed under his command.

"His excellency the general-in-chief recommends to every officer punctual compliance with, and obedience to, each and every part of this his general order.

"By order of his excellency,

MANUEL MICETOVENA,
Chief of the General Staff."

The following remarks upon the character of the battle, and the merits of General Taylor's victory, are from the able editor of the New Orleans Delta, (March 24.)

"The list of killed and wounded on the American side, at the bloody battle of Buena Vista, is a mournful proof of the ferocity and violence which characterized this severe conflict, and a sad testimonial of the chivalry and fearlessness of American soldiery. Sixty-five commissioned officers killed and wounded in so small an army, exhibits a proportion and result unparalleled in the history of war. Estimating General Taylor's force at five thousand rank and file, and allowing one commissioned officer to twenty men, the startling conclusion is arrived at that our loss in this sanguinary engagement, of commissioned officers, amounted to one-fourth of the number in the field. If the loss of the rank and file were in like proportion to that of officers, it would exceed one thousand two hundred. In view of such terrible results as these, Santa Anna approached as near the truth, melancholy as it is, as he ever did, when he said that both armies were cut up. The loss of the Mexicans can scarcely be exaggerated, when it is put down at four thousand. Santa Anna must have had with him at least seventeen thousand men. When we last heard from him, previous to the battle, he was at San Fernando, waiting for all the various detachments of his army to assemble, preparatory to his attack. This was on the 17th, and the attack was fixed for the 21st. Now, as Santa Anna knew exactly Taylor's situation and force, he would certainly not attack him until he had collected all his available troops, and these we know, allowing for desertion and for a *corps de reserve*, could not have fallen short of seventeen thousand, as he left San Luis with twenty-three thousand. If, then, with such a force as this, after a two days' hard fight, and after inflicting upon General Taylor so heavy a loss, he is compelled to withdraw twenty miles to the rear, the conclusion is inevitable that he has sustained a prodigious loss, and is irretrievably beaten. The army of General Taylor may be considered as reduced at least one-third by casualties and by details to take

care of the wounded. This would leave but about three thousand men to hold his position, and we know he did hold it for several days after the action, undisturbed by the enemy."

General Taylor issued the following congratulatory orders on the 26th, three days after the battle :

"1. The commanding general has the grateful task of congratulating the troops upon the brilliant success which attended their arms in the conflict of the 22d and 23d. Confident of the immense superiority of numbers, and stimulated by the presence of a distinguished leader, the Mexican troops were yet repulsed in every effort to force our lines, and finally withdrew with immense loss from the field.

"2. The general would express his obligations to the officers and men engaged, for the cordial support which they rendered throughout the action. It will be his highest pride to bring to the notice of the government the conspicuous gallantry of particular officers and corps, whose unwavering steadiness more than once saved the fortune of the day. He would also express his high satisfaction with the conduct of the small command left to hold Saltillo. Though not so seriously engaged as their comrades, their services were very important and efficiently rendered. While bestowing this just tribute to the conduct of the troops, the general deeply regrets to say, that there were not a few exceptions. He trusts that those who fled ingloriously to Buena Vista, and even to Saltillo, will seek an opportunity to retrieve their reputation, and to emulate the bravery of their comrades, who bore the brunt of the battle, and sustained, against fearful odds, the honour of the flag.

"The exultation of success is checked by the heavy sacrifice of life which it has cost, embracing many officers of high rank and rare merit. While the sympathies of a grateful country will be given to the bereaved families and friends of those who nobly fell, their illustrious example will remain for the benefit and admiration of the army.

"By order of

MAJOR-GENERAL TAYLOR.

W. W. S. BLISS, *Adjutant-general.*"

The following are similar documents of Santa Anna to his Mexicans :

General Order of the army—23d February, 7 o'clock at night—on the ground occupied by the enemy, camp of La Angostura.

His excellency, the general-in-chief of the army, directs me to announce to the generals, field and company officers, and the soldiers which compose it, that he has witnessed with satisfaction the gallant bearing of each one of them during the days of combat which we have had with the invading forces of North America. Such bearing is worthy of the soldiers of a people who desire to be free ; and the ground which we now occupy, on which the enemy was just now posted, the pieces of artillery, and the

colours we have taken, and the thousand corpses of the enemy which are scattered around us, will always be evidence of the valour of the soldiers of Mexico. His excellency also directs me to say, that in testimony of the brave deeds of his subordinates, he will present them to the nation and to the supreme government, with his commendation; and, taking into consideration the fatigues of these days and the scarcity of provisions which the troops are suffering, that he will direct them to be so disposed that they may recover themselves so as to conclude with glory the enterprise so brilliantly commenced. He directs that this order shall be communicated to the army in a general order extraordinary.

By command of his excellency,

M. MICHELTORENA.

General Order (about midnight) of 23d, (while marching.)

His excellency the general-in-chief has directed that the army shall repose this day, it being understood that the design of retiring to this point is purely stratagetical, to see if the enemy will abandon his position, so that the cavalry can have an opportunity to operate. His excellency also directs that I should express to the generals, field and other officers, and to the soldiers, the satisfaction which he has derived from their brilliant deportment on the illustrious day of the 22d, and in the battle of the 23d. Victory has been ours. The loss of the enemy in men has been immense; and then we have in our possession his colours and his artillery, which the infantry as well as cavalry, each for itself, succeeded in taking from the enemy. The unevenness of the ground alone saved from our swords the miserable remnant of the enemy which have already fled for Saltillo. For all which, the commander-in-chief offers every class his due thanks, trusting that hereafter they will continue to give similar proofs of their discipline and patriotism—services which the nation will ever acknowledge. * * * *

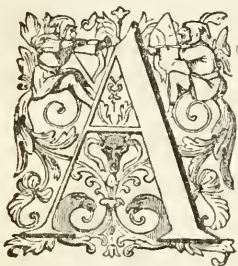
By order of his excellency,

M. MICHELTORENA.

Upon hearing of the battle, the governor of San Luis Potosi issued a pompous declaration, claiming a complete victory to the Mexican arms. Many of the inhabitants thought different.

We have thus collected into one view all the documents which might assist the reader in forming a clear as well as comprehensive opinion of this great action, abstaining in the meanwhile, as much as possible, from any remarks of our own. It is difficult to judge fairly and impartially of any great national event, recently enacted. Party or national prejudices, the fear of opposition, deference to the opinions of others, and often ignorance of important circumstances, all combine to warp the verdict of the historian. To these may be added the unavoidable accumulation of different and often contradictory evidences and authorities, which frequently renders even a correct narration of the event itself an impossibility. Hence the conflicting statements of many of

Napoleon's battles, of General Greene at Eutaw Springs, and of the British in India. On the other hand, when time has divested the great event of all its appendages, and the sight can grasp it, without being distracted by a multiplication of attendants, then only the impartial narrator may pronounce with firmness, and without fear of contradiction, of its nature and merits.



T the battle which we have just described, each army laboured under its peculiar disadvantages. The Mexicans were worn out by a fatiguing march, and debilitated by sickness and hunger. Several of their generals were also unpopular, especially those who had been concerned at Monterey; and more than all, they were the *assailants* of an army flushed with the remembrance of former victories, and occupying picked ground,

which is universally acknowledged to be one of the strongest positions which a military force had ever defended. The Americans, however, were far inferior in numbers, in artillery, and especially in cavalry; and, with the exception of a few companies, were composed entirely of new *volunteer* troops, who had been drawn from the quiet pursuits of every-day life, and were almost unknown to their officers and to each other. On the other hand, both were commanded by popular generals, possessing the entire confidence of their commands, both were certain of victory, and both confident that the eyes of their governments were upon them. The balance of advantage however must be conceded to the Mexicans; for we cannot resist the impression, that had the assailants been of the same nation or same military character with their opponents, General Taylor must have been cut to pieces. To other causes, then, than those just mentioned, we must ascribe the result of the conflict, and these are to be found in the systematic co-operation of each corps and commander, with the general-in-chief and with each other, thus forming a *federal whole*; in the coolness evinced by almost every company, even while exposed to the most tremendous fires of artillery and musketry; in the fearlessness of the officers, who were always in advance of their men; to the admirable management of the artillery; and finally, in no inconsiderable degree to the spirit of emulation between the regiments of different states, and of which the Mexicans were wholly destitute. These are the qualifications of an army, without which superior numbers are of but little avail. In that last terrible charge, when the thousands of cavalry were rushing down upon one devoted corps, had the *unanimity* of the Americans for one moment forsaken them, they would that moment have been annihilated. O'Brien had lost 1. killed and wounded every man and horse, and had seen the hoofs of the horses strike the muzzles of his guns. But almost at the same

instant, Captain Bragg received his orders, galloped into action, and opened upon the exulting pursuers so suddenly that confusion ensued almost before they had time to perceive its source. A similar instance we have in the conduct of the Mississippi regiment after the retreat of the Indiana troops. Then, also, the day would have been lost, but for the oneness of action which pervaded both the officers and men of those gallant troops. An example of the want of it is given by Santa Anna, in the case of the failure of General Minon to co-operate with him in the last charge—and it is to be noted that *to this cause alone the dictator ascribes his defeat.*



UT the principal cause of victory—that which combined and modified all others—was the character and conduct of the American general. Few men, besides himself, could have conquered at Buena Vista; none other could have inspired the troops with such devotion and enthusiasm. Talents for the choice of position, for the arrangement of the line of battle, and for the conduct of the engagement, coolness and intrepidity while exposing his person whenever it became necessary; together with the determination to conquer, which inspired through him, all his men, marked his conduct on that day, and secured him, to future history, as the Hero of Angostura.

After the retreat of Santa Anna, no event of importance transpired, until the 2d of March, when a force of two hundred Americans, commanded by Major Giddings, and accompanied by a train of a hundred and fifty wagons, was attacked by General Urrea, at the head of fifteen hundred Mexicans. The first onset of the enemy was repelled; but the cavalry then attacked the wagon train, and succeeded in driving the teamsters from their horses, and separating the whole into two bodies. A summons to surrender was now sent to the smaller division, which was refused, and, soon after, the Americans cut their way through the enemy, re-united, and forced them to retire. They lost fifteen teamsters and two soldiers, while the Mexicans left more than forty on the field. Major Giddings entered Seralvo the next morning, and in a few days was joined by a considerable force under Colonel Curtis, who was in pursuit of Urrea. On the 16th, the colonel came up with General Taylor, near Marin. The general was also in pursuit of the Mexicans, having with him May's dragoons and two companies of Bragg's artillery. Notwithstanding, however, the active exertions of the general, Urrea succeeded in eluding him, and retreated beyond the mountains; and, soon after, the Americans retired toward Monterey, and took up a position at Walnut Springs.

The following is the address of General Taylor to the inhabitants of Northern Mexico:

The General-in-chief of the American forces, to the inhabitants of Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, and Coahuila.

When the American troops first crossed the frontier, and entered the above states, it was with the intention, and publicly declared to you, of making war, not upon peaceful citizens of the soil, but upon the central government of the republic, with a view to obtain an early and an honourable peace. The undersigned was authorized by his government to levy contributions upon the people, for the support of his army; but, unwilling to throw the heavy burden of the war upon those who, with few exceptions, manifested a neutral disposition, he has continued, from the first, to pay punctually and liberally for all supplies drawn from the country for the support of his troops.

He has used every effort to cause the war to bear lightly upon the people of these states, and he had hoped by this means to retain their confidence and insure their neutrality in the strife between his government and that of Mexico; but he regrets to say that his kindness has not been appreciated, but has been met by acts of hostility and plunder. The citizens of the country, instead of pursuing their avocations quietly at home, have, in armed bands, waylaid the roads, and, under the direction, and with the support of the government troops, have destroyed trains and murdered drivers, under circumstances of atrocity which disgrace humanity.

The lives of those who were thus wantonly put to death cannot be restored, but the undersigned requires from the people of the country an indemnification for the loss sustained by the destruction of the trains and the pillage of their contents. To that end, an estimate will be made, by the proper officers, of the entire loss; and this loss must be made good either in money or in the products of the country, by the community at large, of the states of Tamaulipas and New Leon and Coahuila, each district, or *juzgado*, paying its just proportion.

It is expected that the rich will bear their full share. And the undersigned calls upon all good citizens to remain absolutely neutral, and to give no countenance to the bands which infest the country for the purpose of murder and pillage. It is his anxious desire to continue the same policy as heretofore, and he trusts that the course of the citizens will enable him to do so!

Z. TAYLOR, *Maj. Gen. U. S. A.*

Head-quarters at Monterey, March 31, 1847.



GENERAL SCOTT.

CAPTURE OF VERA CRUZ.



As we have formerly stated, General Winfield Scott had been sent by government to the seat of war, previous to the battle of Buena Vista ; as he was the senior officer in rank, he of course became commander-in-chief of the whole southern army. He cannot, however, be said to have superseded Taylor, as the sphere of operations of the two generals was entirely different. The order defining the duties of the new commander is as follows :

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, *November 23, 1846.*

Sir,—The President, several days since, communicated in person to you his orders to repair to Mexico, to take the command of the forces there assem-

bled, and particularly to organize and set on foot an expedition to operate on the Gulf coast, if, on arriving at the theatre of action, you shall deem it to be practicable. It is not proposed to control your operations by definite and positive instructions, but you are left to prosecute them as your judgment, under a full view of all the circumstances, shall dictate. The work is before you, and the means provided, or to be provided, for accomplishing it, are committed to you, in the full confidence that you will use them to the best advantage.

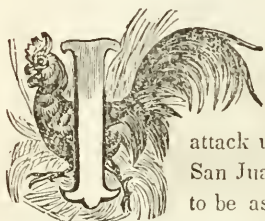
The objects which it is desirable to obtain have been indicated, and it is hoped that you will have the requisite force to accomplish them.

Of this you must be the judge, when preparations are made, and the time for action arrived.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. L. MARCY, *Secretary of War.*

Gen. WINFIELD SCOTT.



IN pursuance of this order, General Scott sailed from New York on the 30th of November, and reached the Rio Grande on the 1st of January.

The great object of the new army was an attack upon the Mexican city and fort of Vera Cruz and San Juan d'Ulloa. The land forces of the general were to be assisted by the naval squadron under Commodore Conner. The latter embarked at the dépôt, and on the 7th of March landed at Anton Lizardo. Still the forces of the general were not sufficient to justify an attack, and he was obliged to detach a large number from the troops under General Taylor. These reached him in February, and augmented his army to about twelve thousand men.

The following excellent description of the city and castle of Vera Cruz, we extract from the New York Herald; it will be seen that the Mexicans were justifiable in regarding it as impregnable:

"Vera Cruz is situated in 19° 11' 52" north latitude, and Fahrenheit's thermometer has an average range there of 77-degrees. One portion of its walls is washed by the Atlantic, and the shore on the opposite side is a dry and sandy plain. Measuring from the wharf of the city to the fortress of San Juan de Ulloa, the latter is 1072 *varas* distant, and its circumference is 3174.

"The city is situated on the exact spot where Cortes landed on the 21st of April, 1519, to which he then gave the name of Chalchiuheuecan. The city, however, was not founded at that time. The first Spanish colony which occupied the Mexican territory was the Villa Rica de Vera Cruz, according to the account given by the illustrious Clavijero. This was situated three leagues from Tempoola, but was abandoned three years sub-

sequent to its occupation; and the town afterwards known as La Antigua was raised in place of it. This latter is situated more to the south. At the end of the sixteenth century, during the period when the Marquis of Monterey was governor of Mexico, the present city of Vera Cruz was founded. It was termed New Vera Cruz, in order to distinguish it from the other one previously alluded to, and in the year 1615, it was incorporated as a city. Seventy-eight years after, that is to say in the year 1683, the buccaneers took it by surprise and sacked it, the tradition of which event is still spoken of in Vera Cruz, as the 'Invasion of Lorencillo,' that being the popular name which was given to the Hollander, Lawrence de Graff, the chief of the pirates who committed this outrage.

"The reason of the several changes made in the site of the city erected by the first settlers, however, may be somewhat attributed to the ravages made among the two first colonies by the yellow fever, or *vomito prieto*. Unfortunately, though, the new settlement of New Vera Cruz did not at all assist the new settlers in this particular, for in addition to the insalubrious nature of its warm and moist climate, there were other causes that were equally unfavourable, such as the ponds and marshes in the immediate vicinity of the city—the exhalations from which poisoned the atmosphere—and the reflected heat from the sandy plains that were still nearer, raised the temperature to a most extraordinary height. Added to these difficulties was the bad quality of the water, and the immense abundance of that tormenting kind of musquito called the *tancudo*, whose bite gave rise to great irritation of the system.

"All these causes operating together, gave rise to various affections among those who were acclimated. The most common effects were more or less serious tertian fevers, whilst the stranger felt them in an attack of the terrible *vomito*, the very name of which is sufficient to terrify the inhabitants of the more salubrious interior. Observation and experience, however, have now served to show all that can be done towards curing this awful disease, and, consequently, its ravages have not been so great for some years past. The two following facts have likewise been ascertained regarding it—first, that foreigners who have once become acclimated in Vera Cruz, then enjoy better health than do the natives of that place; and, second, that though the climate is so unhealthy and fatal during those periods of the year when great heat and heavy rains prevail, yet, that as soon as the north winds (which commence in October, and end in April) blow sufficiently strong to remove the miasmatic exhalations and musquitoes, and cool the atmosphere, then it becomes much more healthy than the climate of many places in the interior.

"The city is small, but from the regularity which marks its laying out, it is beautiful. The streets are wide, straight, and well paved. The houses, of which there are one thousand and sixty-three, are mostly two stories

high, and built of the Muscara stone, taken from the sea-beach. There are some three stories high, and of fine architectural design, with their internal arrangements corresponding to the beauty of their external appearance. The finest public buildings are those near the wharf, which have not long been built, and contain the principal public offices. We may also notice the market-place that has been recently laid out; the parish or principal church; the military and female hospitals; the maritime custom-house, and the convent of St. Augustine, formerly occupied by the Jesuits. This latter is remarkable for the solidity of its walls. The other convents of San Francisco, Santo Domingo, La Merced, and Belen, are more remarkable for their extent than for their architectural merits. The streets are well lighted by means of two hundred and thirty-two lamps, which suffice to illuminate them perfectly on dark nights. The excellent organization of the night-watch perfectly fulfils its object. In addition to the hospitals we have mentioned, there are others for the reception of male patients. The cemetery, which is situated outside the walls, is one of the handsomest in the republic.

“The country in the vicinity of Vera Cruz produces almost every thing, in the way of eatables, required by the inhabitants of that city. The woods abound in game, the fields in grain, vegetables and tropical fruits, and the savannas or plains with cattle. The sea, rivers, and large lakes abound with a great variety of fish, and the elevated and temperate regions with the various fruits and vegetables natural to those climates, while numerous vessels from Europe and America bring into the port all the various wines, liquors, and delicacies which the most refined epicure can desire.

“As Vera Cruz is one of the strongholds of the republic, in this description of it, it will not be amiss to give some idea of its fortifications. These consist of nine towers connected together by means of a stone and mortar wall, which, however, is not very thick. The two towers named Santiago and Conception are the most important, as well from their size and strength, as from the fact that by their position they contribute much to the defence of the port. They are situated at that portion of the walls looking toward the castle of San Juan, and are distant from each other one thousand two hundred and seventy varas. The other towers, including the one called San Fernando, are almost equal in shape, size, and strength. All of them can mount one hundred pieces of artillery of various sizes; and save those of the middle ones, their fires all cross in front of the guard-houses, the external walls of which form part of the walls which surround the city.

“Although the port of Vera Cruz is the principal one in the Gulf of Mexico, it is very dangerous during the seasons of the northers—that which is called the bay being, in reality, nothing more than a bad road-

stead. The republic of Mexico is as badly situated in this respect on the eastern coast, as it is highly favourable on the western; and Baron Humboldt but too faithfully described the harbour of Vera Cruz when he said, that the only shelter it affords shipping is a dangerous anchorage among shoals. The ruinous condition into which the city wharf has been allowed latterly to fall, has not, by any means, contributed to lessen the serious inconvenience and risk which the maritime commerce of the place experiences from this state of things. This latter difficulty, however, we trust, will not be of long duration, as the necessary repairs have lately been commenced on the wharf, and, unless the funds fail, we hope to see this work completed during the coming year.

"The situation which Vera Cruz has occupied in the scale of Mexican civilization since the era of the emancipation from the Spanish yoke, is, undoubtedly, very high. The rising generation is gifted with excellent talents and imaginations, as ardent and lively as their climate; and it is much to be regretted that they have not had the advantages of good colleges in their city to foster and bring out their capacities. The Vera Cruzanos are not less distinguished for force of character, than they are for capacity—as they are frank, affable and generous. Indeed, it would be difficult to instance any other part of the republic, where the inhabitants are better informed or more refined, or where there are more ideas of liberty and progression, less fanaticism, or better customs. The lower classes in the vicinity are not so addicted, generally speaking, to those lamentably dissipated and debauched habits, which are, unfortunately, too often found among the lower classes of the populace of the larger cities; and long periods of time often elapse in Vera Cruz, without the occurrence of any of those awful crimes which are so frequent in other parts. When homicides or murders occur, it is generally among the soldiery; and the robberies that are committed are, almost always, the work of strangers. Travellers arriving in the night during the hot season would be much surprised by finding the doors of the houses left open, and their inmates asleep. Yet such is the result of the confidence which the morality of the inhabitants inspires.

"Though in times past, Vera Cruz, from its riches and mercantile activity, well deserved the title of the Tyre of America; it is, at the present day, falling rapidly into decay. Its business, which, in the year 1802, amounted to the enormous sum of eighty-two millions and forty-seven thousand dollars, has now (1844) become quite insignificant; and the population, which in 1804 exceeded twenty thousand souls, now scarcely amounts to seven thousand, even including the garrison. Vera Cruz is, beyond all doubt, the point in the republic which has been most severely tried in these latter times. In 1821, it was besieged and carried by the independent troops; in 1822, it was again besieged by the Spanish troops;

and between the 25th of September, 1823, and the 23d of November, 1825, it was thrice bombarded by the Spanish, who were occupying the castle of San Juan. In 1832, it was again besieged by what were termed the ministerial troops; and, in 1838, it was blockaded and taken by the French. The results of some of those sufferings have been very beneficial to the republic, and honourable to the city itself. It is the keystone of the republic, and well deserves the title of *Heroica*, which it has borne since the year 1825, when she accomplished the taking of the fortress of San Juan from its Spanish occupants.

"The castle of *San Juan de Ulloa* is unquestionably the most celebrated of all American fortresses. Its construction was commenced in the year 1582, upon a bar or bank, in front of the town of Vera Cruz, at the distance of one thousand and sixty-two Castilian varas or yards, and it is entirely surrounded by water. The centre of the area occupied by this fortress is a small island, upon which Juan de Grijalva landed a year previous to the arrival of Cortes upon the continent, and, at that period, it accidentally received the name which it retains to this present day. It seems that there was a shrine or temple erected upon it, in which human victims were sacrificed to the Indian gods; and as the Spaniards were informed that these offerings were made in accordance with the commands of the kings of Acolhua, (one of the provinces of the empire,) they confounded or abbreviated this name into the word *Ulloa*, which they affixed to the island.

"Sixty-one years after the conquest, the work was undertaken, and although it seems to have been designed, not only to defend Vera Cruz, but to attack it in case of necessity, that city was, nevertheless, sacked by the pirates, under the renowned freebooter, Lorencillo, in the year 1683.

"The cost of the castle has been estimated by various writers, to have amounted to the sum of forty millions of dollars; and it may not be regarded as an exaggeration, if we consider the difficulty of obtaining some of the materials of which it is composed, and the fact that a large portion of it is built in foundations laid in the sea, whose waves it has resisted for more than two centuries.

"According to a report made on the 17th of January, 1775, it was the opinion of a council of war, composed of distinguished officers, that this fortress, after all its defences were completed, would require a garrison for effective service, composed of seventeen hundred infantry soldiers, three hundred artillery, two hundred and twenty-eight sailors, and a hundred supernumeraries.

"The exterior polygon, which faces Vera Cruz, extends three hundred yards in length, whilst that which defends the north channel is, at least, two hundred yards long. Besides this, there is a low battery situated in

the bastion of Santiago, which doubles the fire on that channel. The southern channel is commanded also by the battery of San Miguel.

"The whole fortress is constructed of *Madrepora Astrea*, a species of soft coral, which abounds in the neighbouring islands. Its walls are from four to five yards in thickness, their exterior being faced with a harder stone. It is well supplied with water, having seven cisterns within the castle, which altogether contain ninety-three thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven cubic feet of water. Its full equipment of artillery pieces is three hundred and seventy; but it contained only a hundred and seventy-seven when attacked by the French in 1838."

In February, a regiment of Louisiana volunteers, commanded by Colonel Russey, were wrecked near the island of Lobos. Here they were met by a summons to surrender, from a large Mexican force under General Cos; but although the colonel's men were without arms, he presented a bold front, and delayed his answer until night, when leaving his baggage, and lighting camp-fires, he left his position, and by forced marches reached Tampico, the American head-quarters.



E will describe the landing and principal events of the siege, in the language of eye-witnesses, believing that a clearer idea is thereby conveyed than from a mere detailed narrative.

Immediately after landing at Lizardo, the two commanding officers made a reconnoissance in the steamer *Petrita*, and selected the beach due west from the island of Sacrificios, as the most suitable point to land the troops. The landing is thus described by the commodore in his official letter to the secretary of the navy at Washington.

"The anchorage near this place being extremely contracted, it became necessary, in order to avoid crowding it with an undue number of vessels, to transfer most of the troops to the vessels of war for transportation to Sacrificios. Accordingly, on the morning of the 9th, at daylight, all necessary preparations—such as launching and numbering the boats, detailing officers, &c.—having been previously made, this transfer was commenced. The frigates received on board between twenty-five and twenty-eight hundred men each, with their arms and accoutrements, and the sloops and smaller vessels numbers in proportion. This part of the movement was completed very successfully about 11 o'clock, A. M., and a few minutes thereafter the squadron under my command, accompanied by the commanding general, in the steamship *Massachusetts*, and such of the transports as had been selected for the purpose, got under way.

"The weather was very fine—indeed we could not have been more favoured in this particular than we were. We had a fresh and yet gentle breeze from the south-east, and a perfectly smooth sea. The passage to Sacrificios occupied us between two and three hours. Each ship came in and anchored without the slightest disorder or confusion, in the small space allotted to her—the harbour being still very much crowded, notwithstanding the number of transports we had left behind. The disembarkation commenced on the instant.

"Whilst we were transferring the troops from the ships to the surf-boats, (sixty-five in number,) I directed the steamers Spitfire and Vixen, and the five gun-boats, to form a line parallel with and close in to the beach, to cover the landing. This order was promptly executed, and these small vessels, from the lightness of their draught, were enabled to take positions within good grape-range of the shore. As the boats severally received their complements of troops, they assembled in a line, abreast, between the fleet and the gun-boats; and when all were ready, they pulled in together, under the guidance of a number of officers of the squadron, who had been detailed for this purpose. General Worth commanded this, the first line of the army, and had the satisfaction of forming his command on the beach and neighbouring heights just before sunset. Four thousand five hundred men were thus thrown on shore, almost simultaneously. No enemy appeared to offer us the slightest opposition. The first line being landed, the boats in successive trips relieved the men-of-war and transports of the remaining troops by 10 o'clock, P. M. The whole army, (save a few straggling companies,) consisting of upwards of ten thousand men, were thus safely deposited on shore, without the slightest accident of any kind.

"The officers and seamen under my command vied with each other, on this occasion, in a zealous and energetic performance of their duty. I cannot but express to the department the great satisfaction I have derived from witnessing their efforts to contribute all in their power to the success of their more fortunate brethren of the army. The weather still continuing fine, to-day we are engaged in landing the artillery, horses, provisions, and other material. The steamer New Orleans, with the Louisiana regiment of volunteers, eight hundred strong, arrived most opportunely at Anton Lizardo, just as we had put ourselves in motion. She joined us, and her troops were landed with the rest. Another transport arrived at this anchorage to-day. Her troops have also been landed.

"General Scott has now with him upwards of eleven thousand men. At his request, I permitted the marines of the squadron, under Captain Edson, to join him, as a part of the third regiment of artillery. The general-in-chief landed this morning, and the army put itself in motion at an early hour, to form its lines around the city. There has been some distant firing of shot and shells from the town and castle upon the troops, as they ad-

vanced, but without result. I am still of the opinion, expressed in my previous communications, as to the inability of the enemy to hold out for any length of time. The castle has, at most, but four or five weeks' provisions, and the town about enough to last for the same time."

The following are the despatches of General Scott, describing the siege:—

HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE ARMY, CAMP WASHINGTON,

Before Vera Cruz, March 23, 1847.

Sir,—Yesterday, seven of our ten-inch mortars being in battery, and the labours for planting the remainder of our heavy metal being in progress, I addressed, at 2 o'clock, P. M., a summons to the governor of Vera Cruz, and within two hours limited by the bearer of the flag, received the governor's answer. Copies of the two papers (marked respectively, A and B) are herewith enclosed.

It will be perceived that the governor, who it turns out is the commander of both places, chose, against the plain terms of the summons, to suppose me to have demanded the surrender of the castle and of the city—when, in fact, from the non-arrival of our heavy metal—principally mortars—I was in no condition to threaten the former.

On the return of the flag with that reply, I at once ordered the seven mortars, in battery, to open upon the city. In a short time the smaller vessels of Commodore Perry's squadron—two steamers and five schooners—according to previous arrangement with him, approached the city within about a mile and an eighth, whence, being partially covered from the castle—an essential condition to their safety—they also opened a brisk fire upon the city. This has been continued, uninterruptedly, by the mortars, only with a few intermissions, by the vessels, up to 9 o'clock this morning, when the commodore, very properly, called them off a position too daringly assumed.

Our three remaining mortars are now (12 o'clock, M.) in battery, and the whole ten in activity. To-morrow, early, if the city should continue obstinate, batteries Nos. 4 and 5 will be ready to add their fire: No. 4, consisting of four twenty-four pounders and two eight-inch Paixhan guns, and No. 5, (naval battery,) of three thirty-two pounders and three eight-inch Paixhans—the guns, officers, and sailors landed from the squadron—our friends of the navy being unremitting in their zealous co-operation, in every mode and form.

So far, we know that our fire upon the city has been highly effective—particularly from the batteries of ten-inch mortars, planted at about eight hundred yards from the city. Including the preparation and defence of the batteries, from the beginning—now many days—and notwithstanding the heavy fire of the enemy from city and castle, we have only had four or five men wounded, and one officer and one man killed, in or near the

trenches. That officer was Captain John R. Vinton, of the United States third artillery, one of the most talented, accomplished, and effective members of the army, and was highly distinguished in the brilliant operations at Monterey. He fell, last evening, in the trenches, where he was on duty as field and commanding officer, universally regretted. I have just attended his honoured remains to a soldier's grave, in full view of the enemy and within reach of his guns.

Thirteen of the long-needed mortars—leaving twenty-seven, besides heavy guns, behind—have arrived, and two of them landed. A heavy norther then set in (at meridian) which stopped that operation, and also the landing of shells. Hence the fire of our mortar batteries has been slackened, since 2 o'clock to-day, and cannot be reinvigorated until we shall again have a smooth sea. In the mean time I shall leave this report open for journalizing events that may occur up to the departure of the steamship-of-war Princeton, with Commodore Conner, who, I learn, expects to leave the anchorage off Sacrificios, for the United States, the 25th instant.

March 24.—The storm having subsided in the night, we commenced this forenoon, as soon as the sea became a little smooth, to land shot, shells, and mortars.

The naval battery, No. 5, was opened, with great activity, under Captain Aulick, the second in rank of the squadron, at about 10 A. M. His fire was continued to 2 o'clock, P. M., a little before he was relieved by Captain Mayo, who landed with a fresh supply of ammunition—Captain A. having exhausted the supply he had brought with him. He lost four sailors killed, and had one officer, Lieutenant Baldwin, slightly hurt.

The mortar batteries, Nos. 1, 2, and 3, have fired but languidly during the day, for the want of shells, which are now going out from the beach.

The two reports of Colonel Bankhead, chief of artillery, both of this date, copies of which I enclose, give the incidents of these three batteries.

Battery No. 4, which will mount four twenty-four pounders and two eight-inch Paixhan guns, has been much delayed in the hands of the indefatigable engineers by the norther, that filled up the work with sand nearly as fast as it could be opened by the half-blinded labourers. It will, however, doubtless be in full activity early to-morrow morning.

March 25.—The Princeton being about to start for Philadelphia, I have but a moment to continue this report.

All the batteries, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, are in awful activity this morning. The effect is, no doubt, very great, and I think the city cannot hold out beyond to-day. To-morrow morning many of the new mortars will be in a position to add their fire, when, or after the delay of some twelve hours, if no proposition to surrender should be received, I shall organize parties for carrying the city by assault. So far the defence has been spirited and obstinate.

I enclose a copy of a memorial received last night, signed by the consuls of Great Britain, France, Spain, and Prussia, within Vera Cruz, asking me to grant a truce to enable the neutrals, together with Mexican women and children, to withdraw from the scene of havoc about them. I shall reply, the moment that an opportunity may be taken, to say—First, That a truce can only be granted on the application of Governor Morales, with a view to surrender; second, That in sending safeguards to the different consuls, beginning as far back as the 13th instant, I distinctly admonished them, particularly the French and Spanish consuls—and, of course, through the two, the other consuls—of the dangers that have followed; third, That although, at that date, I had already refused to allow any person whatsoever to pass the line of investment either way, yet the blockade had been left open to the consuls and other neutrals to pass out to their respective ships of war up to the 22d instant; and, fourth, I shall enclose to the memorialists a copy of my summons to the governor, to show that I had fully considered the impending hardships and distresses of the place, including those of women and children, before one gun had been fired in that direction. The intercourse between the neutral ships-of-war and the city was stopped at the last-mentioned date by Commodore Perry, with my concurrence, which I placed on the ground that that intercourse could not fail to give to the enemy *moral aid and comfort*.

It will be seen from the memorial, that our batteries have already had a terrible effect on the city, (also known through other sources,) and hence the inference that a surrender must soon be proposed. In haste,

I have the honour to remain, sir, with high respect, your most obedient servant,

WINFIELD SCOTT.

Hon. WILLIAM L. MARCY, *Secretary of War*.

HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE ARMY,

Vera Cruz, March 29, 1847.

SIR,—The flag of the United States of America floats triumphantly over the walls of this city and the castle of St. Juan de Ulloa.

Our troops have garrisoned both since 10 o'clock. It is now noon. Brigadier-general Worth is in command of the two places.

Articles of capitulation were signed and exchanged at a late hour night before the last. I enclose a copy of the document.

I have heretofore reported the principal incidents of the siege, up to the 25th instant. Nothing of striking interest occurred, until early in the morning of the next day, when I received overtures from General Landero, on whom General Morales has devolved the principal command. A terrible storm of wind and sand made it difficult to communicate with the city, and impossible to refer to Commodore Perry. I was obliged to entertain the proposition alone, or to continue the fire upon a place that had shown a dispo-

sition to surrender; for the loss of a day, or perhaps several, could not be permitted. The accompanying papers will show the proceedings and results.

Yesterday, after the norther had abated, and the commissioners appointed by me early the morning before had again met those appointed by General Landero, Commodore Perry sent ashore his second in command, Captain Aulick, as a commissioner on the part of the navy. Although not included in my specific arrangement made with the Mexican commander, I did not hesitate, with proper courtesy, to desire that Captain Aulick might be duly introduced and allowed to participate in the discussions and acts of the commissioners who had been reciprocally accredited. Hence the preamble to his signature. The original American commissioners were, Brevet Brigadier-general Worth, Brigadier-general Pillow, and Colonel Totten. Four more able or judicious officers could not have been desired.

I have time to add but little more. The remaining details of the siege; the able co-operation of the United States squadron, successively under the command of Commodores Conner and Perry; the admirable conduct of the whole army—regulars and volunteers—I should be happy to dwell upon as they deserve; but the steamer Princeton, with Commodore Conner on board, is under way, and I have commenced organizing an advance into the interior. This may be delayed a few days, waiting the arrival of additional means of transportation. In the mean time, a joint operation, by land and water, will be made upon Alvarado. No lateral expedition, however, shall interfere with the grand movement towards the capital.

In consideration of the great services of Colonel Totten, in the siege that has just terminated most successfully, and the importance of his presence at Washington, as the head of the engineer bureau, I intrust this despatch to his personal care, and beg to commend him to the very favourable consideration of the department.

I have the honour to remain, sir, with high respect, your most obedient servant,

WINFIELD SCOTT.

Hon. W. L. MARCY, *Secretary of War.*

Gentlemen who were eye-witnesses to the scenes which they portray, write as follows:

CAMP OF THE BESIEGING ARMY, *March 10, 1847.*

At 2 o'clock this morning the camp was aroused by a brisk fire from the enemy, and the balls came whistling through, "as thick as hail," breaking one man's thigh, and wounding two others. Instead of "beating the long roll," as usual in cases of alarm, a small detachment, under Captain Gordon, was sent out to reconnoitre. He had not proceeded over two or three hundred yards, when he found his command in the close vicinity of a body of men. He hailed them, and they answered him in English, but the captain, not admiring their accent, withdrew his small force a short dis-

tance, and again hailed, when he was answered with a volley of musketry from their whole body, which was returned by the detachment, and had the effect of compelling the Mexicans to retire towards the town. Nothing but the sagacity of an experienced and able officer prevented the capture or destruction of the whole reconnoitering detachment.

The steamer Spitfire, Captain Tatnall, at sunrise took position in front of the castle and town, and commenced a fire, by way of "opening the ball," which she continued for about an hour, and which was returned by the castle and city.

Shortly after the Spitfire commenced firing, the first and second divisions moved in a column up the beach towards the city, about a mile, and proceeded to invest the place. A Mexican force of cavalry and infantry, numbering, perhaps, four or five regiments in all, showed themselves on the sand heights towards the city, at the distance of half a mile from our advance, and commenced firing musketry. One of the mountain howitzers and rockets were placed on the hills, and fired a few shots and sent a few rockets whizzing through the air without any effect. The Mexicans appeared to be a little shy of them at first, but soon recommenced spreading their line along the hill and firing their muskets. Captain Taylor was then ordered to try their mettle with a six-pounder, which had not been fired but a few times before they withdrew behind the hill, and left for some place secure from danger. In this firing there was one Mexican killed.

General Worth succeeded in taking his position on the right of the line of investment by 11 o'clock. The line circumvallating the city, when completed, will run along a chain of sand-hills about three miles from the city, ranging from three hundred to fifteen hundred feet high, and completely overlooking and commanding the town and fortifications, but the heavy guns from the castle can be brought to bear upon the right wing of the line, where no doubt the quarters will be very hot.

As soon as General Worth had occupied his ground, General Patterson's division took up its march, with General Pillow's brigade in advance, for the purpose of forming on the left of General Worth. The advance, however, did not proceed over a mile before they became engaged with the enemy in a thick cluster of chapparel. A rapid fire immediately ensued, which lasted about twenty minutes. The Mexicans retreated, and no loss on either side that I could ascertain positively; though I have heard it repeatedly this evening that five dead Mexicans had been found.

General Pillow again commenced extending the line, but owing to the great difficulty and labour of cutting a road in the chapparel, through which he had to pass, he had not proceeded more than half a mile, up to 4 o'clock, P. M., when he again came in contact with the enemy, who were in ambuscade. The firing was so heavy, and appeared so to in-

crease, that General Patterson despatched the New York regiment, of Shields's brigade, to the assistance of General Pillow—but only one company of the New Yorkers arrived at the point of attack before General Pillow had routed the enemy by a charge. In this engagement, two of the first Pennsylvanians were slightly wounded, viz.: M. Crann, of company C, and T. Tice, of company F.

A body of Mexicans was shortly afterwards discovered, through a glass, on the left flank of General Pillow's command, at a house known as a magazine, and I expect it has been occupied as such. A six-pounder was brought to bear on it from one of the heights in our possession, which caused them to leave without ceremony.

Towards sundown, General Pillow's brigade very unexpectedly succeeded in reaching one of the highest points in the rear of the city, and planting the "stars and stripes," which they greeted, as one of the Tennesseans said, with "three of the biggest kind of cheers."

The batteries from town and castle kept throwing thirteen-inch shells, and twenty-four pound round-shot, at the entire line, until dark. One of them exploded immediately in front of General Worth and staff, and a portion of it passed through Captain Blanchard's company, but fortunately without injuring any one.

General Quitman's brigade now moved forward and encamped on the right of General Pillow.

CAMP OF THE BESIEGING ARMY,
three miles in rear of city, March 11, 1847.

This morning, shortly after daylight, the batteries from the castle and the town opened on our lines, and continued, with short intervals, throughout the day. I sincerely regret to announce that, among our losses to-day, is the death of Captain William Alburtis, of the second infantry. His head was shot off with a twenty-four pound shot from the city, while marching with the regiment to join General Twiggs, at the north end. Captain Alburtis was a printer, and former editor of the Virginia Republican, at Martinsburg, Va. There was also killed by the cannonade, Private Cunningham, of company A, mounted rifles, and a drummer boy of company B, second artillery, had his arm shot off.

About 7 o'clock this morning, General Quitman's brigade was ordered to relieve General Pillow from the position he had occupied during the night, in order that his troops might get their breakfast, and procure water to last during the day. The Mexicans saw our party leaving the height, but did not see the other coming up with their cavalry, expecting, no doubt, to steal upon their rear, but they were very much mistaken. General Quitman advanced to the top of the hill, and a rapid fire at long shots was kept up for about an hour. Captain Davis, of the Georgia regi-

ment, with twenty riflemen, were sent as skirmishers, to incline round under the hill, and engage them at close quarters. As soon as they observed Captain Davis, about two hundred advanced on him, but with his small force he held them in check until Colonel Jackson, with the balance of three companies, and Colonel Dickenson, with his regiment, came to his assistance, when the enemy were compelled to retreat under the cover of the guns of the town, with the loss of several dead and some wounded. Our loss in this affair this morning is seven slightly wounded.

The column of General Twiggs moved up this morning, with the mounted rifles in advance, at 9 o'clock, to take position on the left of the line. The undertaking was a most arduous one, but with General Twiggs there is "no such word as fail." When his cannon could not be hauled by horses, they were pulled and lifted by his men, and they were taken up and over sand-ridges that I should think it utterly impossible, and beyond the physical strength of men, to surmount. The advance of this column arrived at their destination, on the sea-shore, above the town, about 2 o'clock, and the rear closed up at sundown.

This now entirely circumscribes the place, and the entire line investing occupies a space of ground about eight miles in length. As the troops lay stretched along the hills and valleys, with the stars and stripes dotted here and there, fluttering in the breeze, they present to the view a majestic and sublime appearance. The enemy are now completely within our grasp, and whether they can rend asunder the chains that bind them to the confined limits of the walls of the city and castle, remains to be seen. General Worth occupies the right, General Twiggs the left, and General Patterson the centre. If either of these officers can be moved from their positions, one foot, by any force that can be brought against them, I am very much mistaken. Having our position, in the course of two or three days the mortars and cannon will be planted on the heights, when the enemy will have an opportunity of witnessing the effects of our shot upon their city.

I was informed, at a late hour last night, that Colonel Persifor F. Smith, with his rifles, has had a very pretty fight with a force of about eight hundred from the city, and compelled them to retire in quick time, with a loss of about twenty-five killed, and several wounded, and sustaining a loss of two or three privates killed and wounded.

I have made diligent inquiry into the health of the army to-day, and the surgeons state that they never knew the army to be in better health and condition, and no evidence of any thing like *vomito*.

[From the Correspondence of the Tropic.]

OFF VERA CRUZ, *March 13, 1847.*

— * * * Nothing has been more remarkable in this campaign than the quietness with which the troops were permitted to land.

I have the assurance of officers, whose experience qualifies them to judge, that three pieces of cannon, judiciously planted, and masked by the small eminence which overhangs the point of landing, would have produced terrible havoc amongst our troops. I believe that three pieces so planted and masked, and served with grape and canister-shot, would have placed at least five thousand of our men *hors du combat*, before they could have reached the position which they were permitted to take unmolested. They could have spiked their guns upon our advance, and retired in perfect safety. To what are we to attribute this supineness? I cannot guess. General Scott may have deceived them somewhat by his reconnoissances of the 6th instant, in which he examined the coast to the northward as well as to the southward of the city; but this will not account for the matter, as half a dozen guns upon each side of the city could form a consideration of trifling importance to them in the way of defence. But so it was.

Previous to the commencement of the attack, Commodore Perry had been appointed, by government, to supersede Conner. The following are the despatches of the former officer, remarkable, like those of General Taylor, for their terseness and modesty.

FLAG-SHIP MISSISSIPPI, *off Vera Cruz, March 25, 1847.*

SIR,—The sailing of the Princeton this day for the United States offers me an opportunity of informing the department that General Scott had, on the 22d instant, the day after I assumed command of the squadron, so far completed the erection of his batteries in the rear of Vera Cruz, as to authorize the summoning of the city, and, on the refusal of the governor to surrender, of opening his fire at 3 o'clock of that day.

In conformity with arrangements made in the morning with General Scott, I directed the flotilla of small steamers and gun-boats of the squadron, led by Commander J. Tatnall, in the Spitfire, to take a position and commence a simultaneous fire upon the city. The order was promptly and gallantly executed, and the fire was kept up with great animation until late in the evening.

On visiting them at their position, I found that the two steamers had nearly exhausted their ammunition, but having received a fresh supply during the night from this ship, they, at sunrise, moved to a more favourable and advanced point, and resumed and continued their fire until recalled by signal.

At the earnest desire of myself and officers, General Scott generously assigned a position in the trenches to be mounted with guns from the squadron, and worked by seamen. Three eight-inch Paixhans and three long thirty-two pounders (all that was required) were consequently landed, and after immense labour in transporting them through the sand, in which

parties from the divisions of Generals Patterson, Worth, and Pillow respectively detached by those officers, cheerfully participated, the pieces were placed in position and opened upon the city about 10 o'clock yesterday, immediately drawing upon them a sharp fire from the enemy, which, in a short time, killed and wounded ten of the detachment from the squadron.

In order to give all a chance to serve in the trenches, for the honour of which there is a great, though generous strife, I have arranged that detachments from each ship, in charge respectively of lieutenants, and the whole commanded by a captain or commander, shall be relieved every twenty-four hours. Captain Aulick, assisted by Commander Mackenzie, and several lieutenants, had the direction of mounting the guns and opening the fire, and well and bravely was the duty performed. Captain Mayo is now in charge, and will be relieved in turn.

The Ohio arrived on the 22d instant, but, in consequence of a norther, did not reach her proper anchorage until yesterday afternoon. Detachments of boats from all the vessels are employed night and day in landing from the transports the stores and munitions of the army.

Enclosed is the list of killed and wounded, ascertained up to this hour, (12 meridian,) with the report of Captain Aulick; also a list of the small vessels comprising the flotilla of the squadron, all of which were engaged on the 22d instant.

I have the honour to be your most obedient servant,

M. C. PERRY, *Commanding Home Squadron.*

Hon. JOHN Y. MASON, *Secretary of the Navy, Washington City, D. C.*

Friday, March 26, 1847.

SIR,—The detention of the Princeton enables me to inform the department of events up to this hour, (10 A. M.)

Captain Mayo and his party have returned, having been relieved in the batteries by a detachment under Captain Breese. I hardly need assure the department that the party under Captain Mayo sustained, with unabated courage and spirit, the admirable fire of the naval battery. The bombardment from the trenches was continued through the night. A heavy norther now blowing, (the third in five days,) has prevented communication with the shore since last evening. Several merchant vessels have been thrown, this morning, ashore by the gale.

The report of Captain Mayo is enclosed, as also an additional list of killed and wounded. Among the names of the killed, will be found that of Midshipman T. B. Shubrick, a most amiable and promising young officer.

I have the honour to be your very obedient servant,

M. C. PERRY, *Commanding Home Squadron.*

Hon. JOHN Y. MASON, *Secretary of the Navy, Washington City, D. C.*

Sunday, March 28, 1847.

Sir,—I am happy to inform you that the city and castle of Vera Cruz surrendered yesterday to the combined force of the army and navy of the United States, on terms highly favourable to us.

With high respect, your obedient servant,

M. C. PERRY, *Commanding Home Squadron.*

Hon. JOHN Y. MASON, *Secretary of the Navy.*

The terms of capitulation were the following:

“1. The whole garrison, or garrisons, to be surrendered to the arms of the United States, as prisoners of war, the 29th instant, at 10 o'clock, A. M.; the garrisons to be permitted to march out with all the honours of war, and to lay down their arms to such officers as may be appointed by the general-in-chief of the United States armies, and at a point to be agreed upon by the commissioners.

“2. Mexican officers shall preserve their arms and private effects, including horses and horse-furniture, and to be allowed, regular and irregular officers, as also the rank and file, five days to retire to their respective homes, on parole, as hereinafter prescribed.

“3. Coincident with the surrender, as stipulated in article 1, the Mexican flags of the various forts and stations shall be struck, saluted by their own batteries; and, immediately thereafter, Forts Santiago and Concepcion, and the castle of San Juan de Ulloa, occupied by the forces of the United States.

“4. The rank and file of the regular portion of the prisoners to be disposed of after surrender and parole, as their general-in-chief may desire, and the irregular to be permitted to return to their homes. The officers, in respect to all arms and descriptions of force, giving the usual parole, that the said rank and file, as well as themselves, shall not serve again until duly exchanged.

“5. All the *material* of war, and all public property of every description found in the city, the castle of San Juan de Ulloa and their dependencies, to belong to the United States; but the armament of the same, (not injured or destroyed in the further prosecution of the actual war,) may be considered as liable to be restored to Mexico by a definite treaty of peace.

“6. The sick and wounded Mexicans to be allowed to remain in the city, with such medical officers and attendants, and officers of the army, as may be necessary to their care and treatment.

“7. Absolute protection is solemnly guarantied to persons in the city, and property, and it is clearly understood that no private building or property is to be taken or used by the forces of the United States, without previous arrangement with the owners, and for a fair equivalent.

“8. Absolute freedom of religious worship and ceremonies is solemnly guarantied.”

The following is the letter of General Scott to the Spanish consul in the city, in reply to a request of the consul, for the protection of the persons and property of Spanish residents :

HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY,
Camp Washington, before Vera Cruz.

The undersigned, Major-general Scott, general-in-chief of the armies of the United States, has had the honour to receive the note dated the 10th instant, of Senor D. Afloss G. de Escalante, consul of Spain, residing in the city of Vera Cruz, asking that the said army, in its operations against the city, may respect the persons of Spanish subjects and their property within the same.

The undersigned has great pleasure in recognising the intimate relations of amity which happily exist between his government and that of Spain, and the consequent obligations imposed on the public forces of the former, in their operations against the said city, to respect, as far as may be practicable, Spanish subjects and their property within the same ; but he begs to say to the consul of Spain, that in carrying the city, whether by bombardment and cannonade, or assault, or all—and, particularly in the night-time, it will be exceedingly difficult for the forces of the United States to perceive the consular flags, or to discriminate between the persons and property of friends, and the persons and property of the enemy. The undersigned can, therefore, only promise to do all that circumstances may possibly permit, to cause such discrimination to be observed ; and, in the mean time, to show his anxiety to carry out that friendly purpose, he sends to her Spanish majesty's consul, residing in Vera Cruz, a printed *safeguard*, under his (Major-general Scott's) sign-manual, to protect as far as practicable the house of the Spanish consul, and Spanish subjects and property within the same—to be shown, if the city should be carried, to all officers and soldiers of the United States forces who may approach the house of the consul ; *it being well understood*, that the said safeguard is solely intended to protect Spanish subjects and their property.

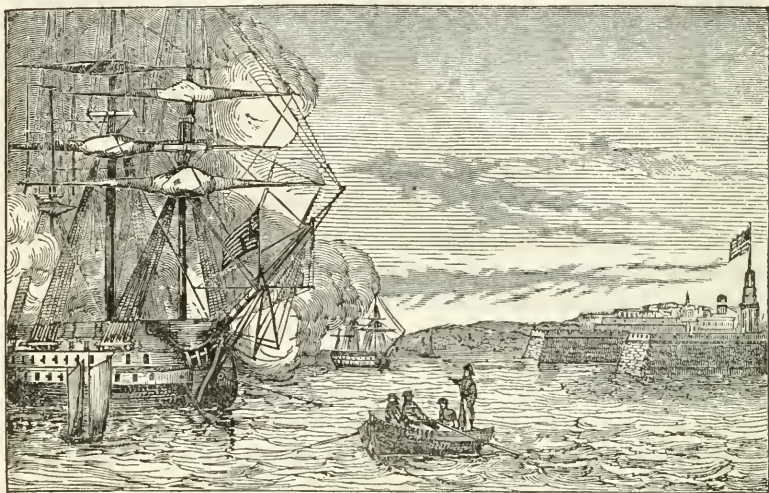
The undersigned, who has not had the honour to hear directly from the British consul, requests that a like safeguard, herewith enclosed for him, may be delivered by the Spanish consul.

The undersigned offers to the consul of her majesty the Queen of Spain, the assurance of the high respect and consideration of the undersigned.

WINFIELD SCOTT.

For the Consul of Spain, at Vera Cruz,

SEÑOR D. AFILOSS DE ESCALANTE.



AMERICAN FLEET SALUTING THE CASTLE AT VERA CRUZ.

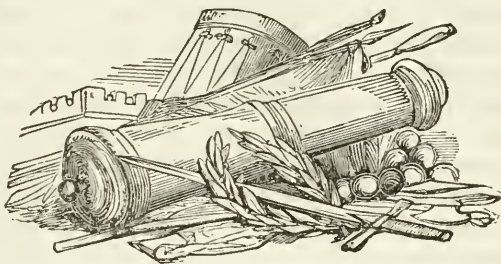
Upon receiving the memorial of the consuls, the Mexican governor addressed a letter to General Scott, requesting his conformity with their request. The American commander replied in a *negative* to their demands.

The surrender of the city took place on the 29th. The Americans were drawn up in two lines facing each other, and stretching across a plain for more than a mile. The Mexicans left the city at 10 o'clock to the sound of their national music, passed between the American lines, and, after laying down their arms and colours, marched for the interior. General Worth had been appointed to superintend the evacuation; and as soon as it was accomplished, a portion of his division entered the city, to the sound of national music and in full military array. Soon after the flag of the United States was erected over the Plaza, and saluted by the guns of the city and squadron. General Scott took up his head-quarters at the place, and General Worth was appointed military governor.

The city of Vera Cruz was found to be in a state of the most disgusting filth, and considerable time was spent in restoring it to cleanliness and health. The Americans remained there about a fortnight in order to recruit themselves after the fatigues of the siege; and at the end of that time, General Scott prepared for a march into the interior. Previous to setting out, he issued a proclamation declaring his regard for the Mexican religion and customs, and advising all citizens not to join the army which was in arms against the United States.

On the 8th of April, the army left Vera Cruz, and commenced its march for the "*Halls of the Montezumas.*" They advanced in high spirits, and with the certainty of speedy battle, as it was understood that Santa Anna was in the neighbourhood with a large force. After his defeat at Buena Vista, the dictator had used every effort to assemble another army; and succeeding in this, he marched to meet the detachment under General Scott. Upon the near approach of the Americans, he retired towards Puebla, and after stripping it of every thing which might be of service to his army, he marched towards the Jalapa road, and took up a strong position at Sierra Gordo. Here he waited with firmness the approach of the American forces.





BATTLE OF SIERRA GORDO.



THE battle of Angostura, and capture of Vera Cruz, had been severe blows to the pride and strength of Mexico; but with true Spanish pride, she still refused to yield to her conquerors, although every battle but testified to her own weakness and the enemy's strength. Santa Anna still possessed energy and influence enough to present a formidable array, and one which, with the strength of his position, enabled him to

face the approach of General Scott with coolness.

Mr. Kendall, of the New Orleans Picayune, thus describes the advance of the American army:—"General Twiggs's division of the army reached this place on Sunday last, (April 11th,) and General Patterson's on Monday evening. Both are now encamped here in a delightful valley on the banks of the Plan del Rio, awaiting the arrival of General Worth's division, and General Quitman's brigade of volunteers. General Scott arrived last evening, and we anticipate in a few days a hard battle. The Mexicans, to the number of from twelve thousand to fifteen thousand men, with General Vega, if not Santa Anna himself, at their head, are strongly fortified about three miles in our advance, and appear to be constantly engaged in making their position, if possible, still stronger. They have several batteries planted, and will make a desperate stand. Our present force here is not over six thousand men, including Steptoe's, Wall's, and the howitzer batteries. The sappers and miners are busily engaged in cutting roads.

"April 16th.—The Mexicans under Santa Anna are occupying a chain of works along the road, the nearest of which is about a mile and a quarter from General Scott's head-quarters in a direct line. The road this side is cut up and barricaded, and every possible means of defence and annoy-

ance has been resorted to. Beyond the first work there are three or four others, completely commanding the gorge through which the road to Jalapa runs—these fortifications on hills, and rising so as to defend one another. It is thought that Santa Anna has twenty thousand men with him—the lowest estimate gives him fifteen thousand, and with these he has twenty-four pieces of field-artillery, besides some fourteen heavy cannon in position.

“To turn the different works, a road has been partially cut through the rough ground and chapparel to the right; and although the reconnoissance is as yet imperfect, it is still thought that a point near the enemy’s farthest work can be reached. General Twiggs, with his division, is to march at 8 o’clock to-morrow morning, by the new road, and on the following morning it is thought the attack will commence on the works on this side. If General Twiggs succeeds in reaching the rear of Santa Anna—and he will use every exertion to do so—I do not see what can save him. He is generally fox enough, however, to have plenty of holes out of which to escape, and from the great difficulty of reconnoitering his position fully, he may have some means to escape here. The general impression now in camp is, that this is to be the great battle of the war; and the immense natural strength of Santa Anna’s works would justify the belief. General Worth left Puerta Nacional this afternoon with his division, and will be up during to-night. He started a little after 1 o’clock this morning, with nearly two thousand picked men, determined to make a forced march through; but learning on the road that the attack upon the Mexican works was not to commence as soon as anticipated, he returned to Puerta Nacional, after marching a mile and a half.”

The following description of the Mexican general’s position, and of the preparatory arrangements of the American army, are from the pen of a gentleman who was with General Scott during the whole affair of Sierra Gordo:

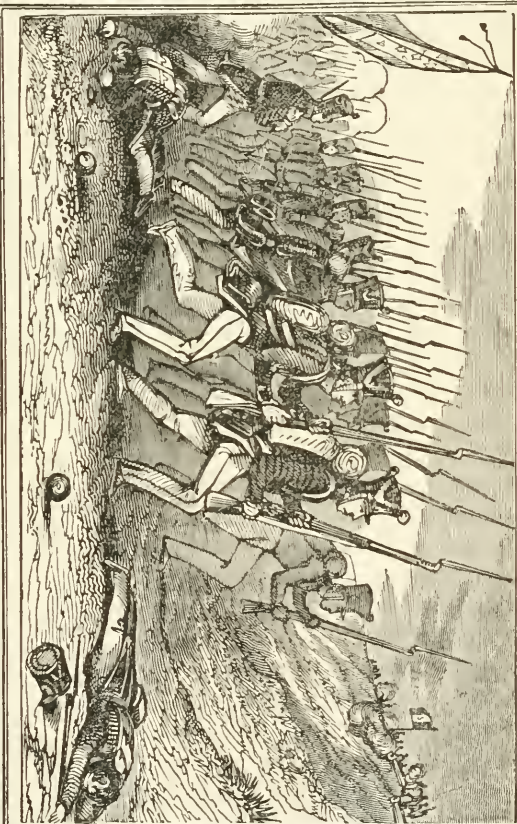
“The road from Vera Cruz, as it passes the Plan del Rio, which is a wide, rocky bed of a once large stream, is commanded by a series of high cliffs, rising one above the other, and extending several miles, and all well fortified. The road then debouches to the right, and, curving around the ridge, passes over a high cliff, which is completely enfiladed by forts and batteries. This ridge is the commencement of the *Terra Templada*, the upper or mountainous country. The high and rocky ravine of the river protected the right flank of the position, and a series of most abrupt and apparently impassable mountains and ridges covered their left. Between these points, running a distance of two or three miles, a succession of strongly fortified forts bristled at every turn, and seemed to defy all bravery and skill. The Sierra Gordo commanded the road on a gentle declination, like a glacis, for nearly a mile—an approach in that direction was impossible. A front attack must have terminated in the almost entire annihilation of our army. But the enemy expected such an attack, confiding in the

desperate valour of our men, and believing that it was impossible to turn their position to the right or left. General Scott, however, with the eye of a skilful general, perceived the trap set for him, and determined to avoid it. He, therefore, had a road cut to the right, so as to escape the front fire from the Sierra, and turn his position on the left flank. This movement was made known to the enemy by a deserter from our camp, and consequently a large increase of force under General Vega was sent to the forts on their left. General Scott, to cover his flank movements, on the 17th of April, ordered forward General Twiggs against the fort on the steep ascent, in front and a little to the left of the Sierra. Colonel Harney commanded this expedition, and, at the head of the rifles and some detachments of infantry and artillery, carried his position under a heavy fire of grape and musketry. Having secured this position in front and near the enemy's strongest fortification, and having by incredible labour elevated one of our large guns to the top of the fort, General Scott prepared to follow up his advantages. A demonstration was made from this position against another strong fort in the rear, and near the Sierra, but the enemy were considered too strong, and the undertaking was abandoned. A like demonstration was made by the enemy."

On the morning of the 18th, the army moved to the attack in columns, and their success was rapid and decisive. General Twiggs's division assaulted the enemy's left, where he had remained during the night, and, after a slight resistance, carried the breastwork at the point of the bayonet, and completely routed its defenders. Meanwhile, Pillow's brigade, accompanied by General Shields, moved rapidly along the Jalapa road, and took up a position to intercept the retreat of the Mexicans. At the same time General Worth pushed forward toward the left, to aid the movement of Twiggs. The rout was total. Three thousand men, with field and other officers, surrendered, and an immense amount of small arms, ordnance and batteries, were also captured. About six thousand Mexicans gained the rear of the Americans on the Jalapa road, but were closely pursued. The Americans lost two hundred and fifty killed and wounded—among the latter, General Shields; the loss of the Mexicans, exclusive of prisoners, was about one hundred more.

The following more enlarged description of Twiggs's attack upon the Mexican fort, is given from the account of an eye-witness:

"On the 18th, General Twiggs was ordered forward from the position he had already captured, against the fort which commanded the Sierra. Simultaneously an attack on the fortifications on the enemy's left was to be made by Generals Shields and Worth's division, who moved in separate columns, While General Pillow advanced against the strong forts and difficult ascents on the right of the enemy's position. The enemy, fully acquainted with General Scott's intended movement, had thrown large



bodies of men into the various positions to be attacked. The most serious enterprise was that of Twiggs, who advanced against the main fort that commanded the Sierra. Nothing can be conceived more difficult than this undertaking. The steep and rough character of the ground, the constant fire of the enemy in front, and the cross fire of the forts and batteries which enfiladed our lines, made the duty assigned to General Twiggs one of surpassing difficulty.

"Nothing prevented our men from being utterly destroyed but the steepness of the ascent under which they could shelter. But they sought no shelter, and onward rushed against a hailstorm of balls and musket-shot, led by the gallant Harney, whose noble bearing elicited the applause of the whole army. His conspicuous and stalwart frame at the head of his brigade, his long arm waving his men on to the charge, his sturdy voice ringing above the clash of arms and din of conflict, attracted the attention and admiration alike of the enemy and of our own men. On, on, he led the columns, whose front lines melted before the enemy's fire like snow-flakes in a torrent, and staid not their course until leaping over the rocky barriers, and bayonetting their gunners, they drove the enemy pell mell from the fort, delivering a deadly fire into their ranks, from their own guns, as they hastily retired. This was truly a gallant deed, worthy of the Chevalier Bayard of our army, as the intrepid Harney is well styled. General Scott, between whom and Colonel Harney there had existed some coolness, rode up to the colonel after this achievement, and remarked to him—'Colonel Harney, I cannot now adequately express my admiration of your gallant achievement, but at the proper time I shall take great pleasure in thanking you in proper terms.' Harney, with the modesty of true valour, claimed the praise as due to his officers and men. Thus did the division of the gallant veteran, Twiggs, carry the main position of the enemy, and occupy the front which commanded the road. It was here the enemy received their heaviest loss, and their General Vasquez was killed. A little after, General Worth, having, by great exertions, passed the steep and craggy heights on the enemy's left, summoned a strong fort in the rear of the Sierra to surrender. This fort was manned by a large force under General Pinzon, a mulatto officer of considerable ability and courage, who, seeing the Sierra carried, thought prudent to surrender, which he did with all his force. General Shields was not so fortunate in the battery which he attacked, and which was commanded by General La Vega. A heavy fire was opened on him, under which the fort was carried with some loss by the gallant Illinoisians, under Baker and Bennett, supported by the New Yorkers, under Burnett. Among those who fell under this fire was the gallant general, who received a grape-shot through his lungs, by which he was completely paralyzed, and at the last account was in a lingering state. On the enemy's right, Gene-

ral Pillow commenced the attack against the strong forts near the river. The Tennesseans, under Haskell, led the column, and the other volunteer regiments followed. This column unexpectedly encountered a heavy fire from a masked battery, by which Haskell's regiment was nearly cut to pieces, and the other volunteer regiments were severely handled. General Pillow withdrew his men, and was preparing for another attack, when the operations at the other points, having proved successful, the enemy concluded to surrender. Thus the victory was complete, and four generals, and about six thousand men, were taken prisoners by our army. One of their principal generals and a large number of other officers killed. The Mexican force on this occasion certainly exceeded our own."

According to the account of the captured officers, Santa Anna had in his lines at least eight thousand men, and without the intrenchments about six thousand, of which a third was cavalry. The army was composed of the best soldiers in Mexico. The infantry who had fought so bravely at Buena Vista, and all the regular artillerists of the republic, including several naval officers, were present. Some of the officers whom General Scott released at the capitulation of Vera Cruz without extorting the parole on account of their gallantry, were found among the killed and wounded. Of the latter was a gallant young officer named Halzinger, a German by birth, who excited the admiration of our army during the bombardment of Vera Cruz, by seizing a flag which had been cut down by our balls, and holding it in his right hand until a staff could be procured. He had been released by General Scott without a parole, and was found on the field of Sierra Gordo dangerously wounded. In addition to the loss of the enemy in killed and taken they lost about thirty pieces of brass cannon, mostly of large calibre, manufactured at the royal foundry of Seville. A large quantity of fixed ammunition, of a very superior quality, together with the private baggage and money-chest of Santa Anna, containing twenty thousand dollars, was also captured.

On the same day that the battle of Sierra Gordo was fought, a portion of the American Gulf Squadron, under Commodore Perry, captured the town of Tuspan, on the Gulf.

On the 19th, the city of Jalapa was captured by a detachment under General Twiggs; and on the 22d, General Worth entered the town of Perote. Both these cities were taken without opposition; and in the latter were found immense stores of small arms, ammunition, and the large guns of the city and castle.

On the 30th, the following *General Orders* were issued to the army:

"1. The divisions of the army in this neighbourhood will be held in readiness to advance soon after the arrival of trains now coming up from Vera Cruz

"2. The route and time of commencing the march will be given at general head-quarters.

"3. Major-general Patterson, after designating a regiment of volunteers as part of the garrison to hold this place, will put his brigades successively in march with an interval of twenty-four hours between them.

"4. Brigadier-general Twiggs' division will follow the movement, also, by brigades.

"5. Each brigade, whether of regulars or volunteers, will be charged with escorting such part of the general supply train of the army as the chiefs of the general staff may have ready to send forward.

"6. Every man of the division will take two days' subsistence in his haversack. This will be the general rule for all marches when a greater number of rations is not specially mentioned.

"7. As the season is near when the army may no longer expect to derive supplies from Vera Cruz, it must begin to look exclusively to the resources of the country.

"8. Those resources, far from being over-abundant near the line of operations, would soon fail to support both the army and the population, unless they be gathered in without waste and regularly issued by quarter-masters and commissaries.

"9. Hence, they must be paid for, or the people will withhold, conceal or destroy them. The people, moreover, must be conciliated, soothed or well treated by every officer and man of this army, and by all its followers.

"10. Accordingly, whosoever maltreats unoffending Mexicans, takes without pay or wantonly destroys their property, of any kind whatsoever, will prolong the war, waste the means, present and future, of subsisting our own men and animals as they successively advance into the interior or return to our water depôt, and no army can possibly drag after it to any considerable distance, no matter what the season of the year, the heavy articles of breadstuffs, meat and forage.

"11. Those, therefore, who rob, plunder or destroy the houses, fences, cattle, poultry, grain fields, gardens or property of any kind along the line of our operations, are plainly the enemies of this army. The general-in-chief would infinitely prefer that the few who commit such outrages should desert at once and fight against us; then it would be easy to shoot them down or to capture and hang them.

"12. Will the great body of intelligent, gallant and honourable men who compose this army tolerate the few miscreants who perpetrate such crimes? Again, the general-in-chief confidently hopes not. Let then the guilty be promptly seized and brought to condign punishment, or the good must suffer the consequences in supplies and loss of character, of crimes not their own.

"13. To prevent straggling and marauding, the roll of every company

of the army will be called at every halt by and under the eye of an officer. In camps and in quarters there must be at least three such roll-calls daily. Besides, stragglers on marches will certainly be murdered or captured by rancheros.

"14. The waste of ammunition by neglect, and idle or criminal firing, is a most serious evil in this army. All officers are specially charged to see that not a cartridge be lost from want of care, nor fired except by order otherwise; fifty wagons of ammunition would not suffice for the campaign, and it is difficult to find ten. Let every man remember that it is unsafe to meet the enemy without he has forty rounds in his cartridge-box.

"15. Every regiment that leaves wounded or sick men in hospital, will take care to leave a number of attendants according to the requisition of the principal surgeon of the hospital. Those least able to march will be selected as attendants. This rule is general."

On the 15th of May, General Worth, the active coadjutor of the commander-in-chief, took possession of the city of Puebla. The following spirited description is given by one of the officers of his command.

"General Worth's command, four thousand strong, entered and took possession of this city of palaces, with its eighty thousand population, on the 15th. Our guns gaped on the city, and on its laceroni, from every quarter. At Amazogue, twelve miles in the rear, Santa Anna came out to meet us with a column of about three thousand five hundred, supposing, as was the fact, that one of General Worth's brigades (Quitman's) was in the rear. We gave him the usual reception, *a la Rough and Ready*. We could only get Santa Anna near enough to give play to our light batteries, and only keep him in range long enough to unsaddle ninety cavalry. Santa Anna never fired a shot, and of course there was no loss on our side. We followed as close on his heels as tired foot could after Mexican horses well frightened, and entered Puebla at 10 o'clock in the morning, while Santa Anna had left at 4 o'clock, with a guard of three hundred or four hundred cavalry. Could General Worth have reached him, General Santa Anna and his force would have been destroyed. He is now at the capital, and a pronunciamiento is hourly looked for. It is thought Herrera will be elected president; the vote took place on the 15th.

"We are over eighty miles, or four days' march of the Halls of the Montezumas. The general-in-chief probably left Jalapa yesterday, and will be here in five days, (the 24th of May.)"

The expected proclamation of Santa Anna, mentioned in the above extract, was issued from Ayotla, three days after the date of that letter. It is a document grounded on necessity, but displays the ingenuity of its author, who, although professing entire willingness to resign his high office as dictator, yet so manages his language as to inspire respect for himself,

and a continuance of the favour of his people. The following is his paper :

“EXCELLENT SIR,—From the moment of my arrival at this point, I learned, from reliable sources, with profound regret, that my approach to the capital with the ‘army of the east,’ had diffused great alarm among the inhabitants, caused by the idea that it was intended to defend the city within itself, as well as by the agitation of party interests, which, putting political passions in action, have, it would seem, in this case, made common cause with the enemies of the national honour and independence. Alarmed by this state of things, which left to its natural course would not only rob me of the sole possession which remains to me on earth, my honour, but might at the same time decidedly injure the holy cause which we defend, I believed it to be my duty to suspend my march, in order to render to the supreme government an account of my actions and intentions, hoping that the loyalty and frankness with which I shall make the explanation, will prevent the most horrible calamity which, under present circumstances, could afflict our country—distrust and division among those who are called upon to save it.

“When I took up my line of march for that city, it was in consequence of a resolution adopted by a council of war; of which I informed your excellency in my note of the day before yesterday, by which the salvation of your capital was considered as a measure advantageous and necessary for the ulterior operations of the war; concluding that this would suffice to bring it to a happy and honourable termination. Notwithstanding these convictions, I had determined, on my arrival at the capital, to submit the same question to a new and more numerous council, presided over by the oldest general of the army, proposing to myself to conform to its decision, and even to resign my military power, as was manifested in the note referred to. Such were my intentions, to which, I solemnly aver, no thought of personal aggrandizement or ambition entered. The nation has seen that since my return to the republic, I have passed my life in the field, not accepting the supreme power until a majority of the representatives of the nation loudly called for me to put an end to the civil war which was devouring the heart of the republic.

“Neither the abnegation so entire, nor so many and so severe sacrifices as I have made, have been sufficient to destroy old prejudices; calumny and suspicion have arisen to infuse new gall into the already too bitter cup of my life. And under what circumstances? When I lead to the capital, for its defence, a corps saved from the ruins of the army, and when I come to ask of the country no other favour than to die in defence of its cause. Although this unexpected and unmerited recompense presents to me the opportunity of retiring with honour from the very difficult position in which I find myself involved, I will, nevertheless, take no such step, volun-

tarily; it shall never be said that the man to whom the nation had confided its salvation did not make every kind of sacrifice—even that of self-love or proper appearances—before he retired from the front of the enemy; that if he did so, he was forced by unconquerable obstacles; in fine, because he was repudiated by his fellow-countrymen.

“In my person are actually centred two kinds of representation—both supreme—the one military, and the other political, which respectively claim the discharge of peculiar duties; it is necessary to satisfy both, and I shall do it as fully and completely as the circumstances in which I am placed are difficult. The first requires that I should manifest frankly and explicitly my convictions in respect to the military operations intrusted to my charge, and these are that the war should be continued until we obtain justice from our unjust aggressor, and that, in order to attain this result, it is necessary to preserve the capital at all hazards; as well that its defence may be the base of ulterior operations, as that I greatly fear, were it occupied without resistance, that the public spirit would be broken, and the complete submission of the country follow.

“My duty as first magistrate of the nation, now atrociously outraged, and unworthily suspected by unjust and artful detractors, requires that I should remove the pretext, invented by perfidy and pusillanimity, to nullify the generous efforts which good citizens are disposed to make to save their honour and independence. In order to arrive at this result, it is indispensable to make known to the government my plan, which I have insinuated on other occasions, and which I now expose in the two following points: first, to conduct the war upon the principles already indicated; and secondly, to consider as one of the necessary present means the salvation of the capital. Being resolved not to swerve from these points, I desire that your excellency will inform his excellency, the president, of the same, so that if a contrary resolution be taken, he may consider that I have formally resigned my command-in-chief of the army and first magistracy of the republic, sending me suitable passports that I may retire to such place as shall be to me convenient.

“It may so happen, that although there is an absolute conformity with my ideas, it may be supposed that I myself am an obstacle to carrying them into the desired effect. I have already said that the circumstances would be propitious for me to retire from the difficult situation at which I have arrived, in a manner easy and honourable, by a prompt resignation; but I entertain an exalted idea of my duties; I know the obligations I contracted towards the nation when it called me to its head, confiding in me its precious defence. Never will I betray these duties, and a voluntary separation from affairs would cause it to be believed that I was implicated in an infamous desertion. My country has me on her side, and I am resolved to prosecute the mission to which she has called me to the last ex-

treme: my dearest interests and my very existence are placed upon the altar of the liberty and independence of my country.

"As I desire to seek and conform to sound opinion, I wish that, speaking with loyalty and frankness, the supreme government would inform me whether it believes that I ought to separate myself from the charges which have been confided to me, and I will not hesitate a moment to resign them. I shall thus have given way to respectable opinion, and not to the calculations of faction or individual interest. I shall retire, tranquilly making the last sacrifice, that of my opinions; and of the satisfaction I would have had in shedding my blood for my country, and standing by its side in the moment of its affliction."



O this letter Santa Anna received answer that the views of "his excellency the general, respecting the war and the defence of the capital at all costs, were the same as his excellency the president substitute had always entertained." He was also invited to the capital and to the assumption of supreme power. In obedience to this invitation he left his army with some officers, and proceeded toward the capital. His reception, however, was any thing but flattering. His late disasters had estranged the fickle populace from their late idolized dictator; and he was met by their curses and denunciations. It is even reported that stones and missiles were cast upon his head, and that a double guard alone saved him from being dragged through the streets in ignominy or murdered. Much of this report has since been contradicted, and it is stated that upon his entrance he was enabled to immediately assume the supreme authority.

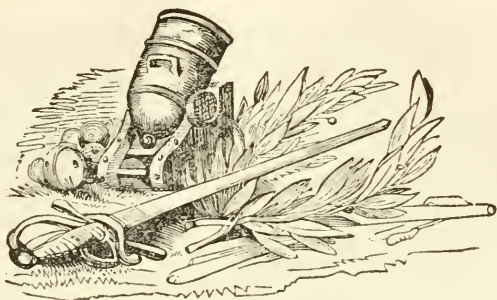
Upon his entrance into the capital he applied himself to the raising of a defensive military force to oppose the progress of General Scott. He also began to fortify Gaudaloupe, Perion and other stations near the city, but was not able to complete them satisfactorily on account of an opposition to his plans prevalent among a large portion of the inhabitants. He left Mexico in May, and for a short time threatened an attack upon Vera Cruz; but subsequently fell back to a very strong position between the capital and the army of General Scott. Here it is expected that he will make his last great stand for the safety of the capital, and the news of a decisive battle is looked for with great anxiety.

Mexico is now torn by civil dissensions, and any government but her own would be a gain to her. Yet still her people persist, with an obstinacy rarely equalled, to refuse all overtures of peace, and notwithstanding their immense losses of life and treasure, madly hope to repel a nation, with whom every advantage has hitherto failed to give them one single victory. Perhaps few nations have ever met with so many and heavy losses in so short a period; and no one certainly has persevered, under similar circum-

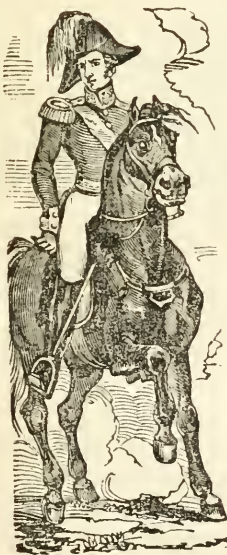
stances, in maintaining an erect front, and furnishing army after army of devoted citizens. How long this feeling will prevail, it is impossible to tell. General Scott may be victorious in the coming battle, and will then no doubt take immediate possession of the capital. But will the war then be ended? Will the loss of their principal city arrest the intrusions of the numerous *guerilla* bands which are known to infest every forest and mountain, and whose avowed military code is *no quarter* to an American? These are questions rife with importance to every lover of peace, and to every American, and should receive the gravest consideration of our country. War at any time is a fearful calamity, but when it places men on a foreign soil, far from any resources, but those of the barest necessity, exposed to blazing suns, wasting marches, and ravaging *local* diseases, with no power to make a *decisive* blow, and with a chaos of prospects before them, then indeed humanity calls loudly for its termination. A practical illustration of this we have in the history of the Tennessee regiment, when passing through New Orleans. On their way to the seat of war they numbered nine hundred strong young recruits; just one year after, when they returned through the same city, their broken remnant displayed *three hundred and fifty* worn-out men. *Two-thirds* of their original number, averaging about *fifty per month*, had been left on the plains of Mexico.

However opinions may disagree concerning the origin and progress of the Mexican war, we think all are willing to unite in a wish for its speedy termination. Battles and cities may yet be won, and the nation will not be dilatory in her expression of admiration and bravery for the troops who have gained them; but with greater alacrity would she hail the news of a permanent and honourable peace between the two republics.





AFFAIRS IN NEW MEXICO.



THE campaigns of Taylor and Scott were not the only occasions to call forth the prowess of American soldiery. An army, separate from both the main ones, had entered New Mexico in the commencement of the war, and, after a few successful battles, had taken military possession of all Northern Mexico and California. Although these battles were fought at various times, we have thought proper to throw the account of all the operations in those provinces into one description, in order not only to obtain a more connected view of them, but also to avoid interrupting the narratives of more important events.

In the spring of 1846 the United States government determined to explore New California, and the country to the north of it, and for that purpose sent out Captain John C. Fremont, with a force of sixty-two men. On entering the territory he learned that his arrival had been anticipated, and that a large force under General Castro, was advancing to attack

him. Instead of returning to Oregon, he retired to a mountain position about thirty miles from Monterey, the capital of California, where he intrenched himself and awaited the expected attack. As this did not take place, he determined so far to enlarge on his original mission, as to enable him to act in the capacity of a military leader. Accordingly he detached small parties to different portions of the neighbourhood, one of which captured thirteen men and two hundred horses on the 11th of June; and on the 15th, a second took possession of the Sanoma Pass, containing nine

cannon, two hundred and fifty muskets, and some other munitions, and a small garrison.

After this affair, Fremont advanced toward the Sacramento river, but was obliged to return in consequence of information that General Castro was on the point of attacking the small garrison he had left at Sanoma. He arrived at Sanoma on the 25th, at the head of ninety riflemen, and detached twenty men upon a party of seventy dragoons, whom they defeated, killing and wounding several, without loss to themselves. After this skirmish, General Castro retired to Santa Clara, whither the American party determined to pursue him. He now learned that an American force, under General Kearney, had taken possession of New Mexico; and that Commodore Sloat had taken Monterey, and was ready to combine with him in the pursuit of Castro.

On the 18th of August, Brigadier-general Kearney, with sixteen hundred men, took possession of Santa Fe, the capital of New Mexico. He had left Fort Leavenworth on the 30th of June, and marched across a plain country for the distance of eight hundred and thirty-seven miles. The city was taken without opposition; Governor Armigo, and the garrison of four thousand troops, flying at his approach.

General Kearney now advanced for California, but, after proceeding nearly two hundred miles, he received information of the occupation of that country by Fremont. He, therefore, sent most of his forces back to Santa Fe, and advanced with only one hundred to join Fremont.

Meanwhile, the pursuit of Castro was continued, and on the 12th of August, a body of riflemen and marines, under Fremont and Stockton, who had succeeded Sloat in the navy, took undisputed possession of the "City of the Angels." Commodore Stockton now appointed Fremont as Governor of all New Mexico, to act until he should return to the City of the Angels.

The army now remained quiet until the commencement of the year 1847. On January 24th, two hundred and ninety Americans, under Colonel Price, advanced on the village of La Canada, where two thousand Mexicans and Indians were posted among the hills and strong positions. A battle commenced by the American artillery, and, after an hour's fight, the Mexicans broke and fled on all sides, having experienced a loss of thirty-six killed and forty-five wounded. The Americans lost none.

Another engagement took place on the 29th, at El Embudo, between a large Mexican force and some Americans under Captain Burgwin. On account of the difficulties experienced by the Americans in gaining the heights, the battle continued longer than it would otherwise have done. The enemy, however, were finally routed, with the loss of twenty killed and sixty wounded; the Americans lost but one killed and one wounded.

On the 3d of February, at about 2 P. M., the Americans attacked the

village of Puebla de Taos, and an engagement ensued which lasted until dark. It was renewed on the 4th, and again continued until evening. At that time the Americans had penetrated into the village, and the Mexicans sued for peace on the following morning. This victory placed all New Mexico in the hands of the invaders.

Meanwhile, equally important operations were going forward in the department of Chihuahua. The Mexicans had fortified a very strong position in a valley crossing the road to the city of Chihuahua. Here they were attacked at 3 o'clock on the afternoon of the 28th of February, and the engagement continued until dark, when the Mexicans broke and fled on all sides, leaving their cannon and other munitions in the hands of the victors. In this affair, the American force was nine hundred and twenty-four, of whom one was killed, and eight wounded, one mortally. The Mexicans numbered twelve hundred cavalry, twelve hundred infantry,



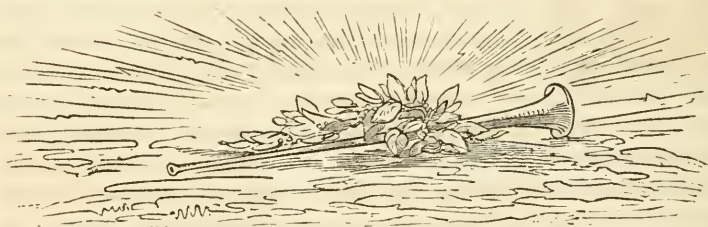
and fourteen hundred and twenty rancheros; their loss was three hundred killed, as many wounded, forty prisoners, and their entire artillery, ten wagons, and large stores of provisions.

SEVERAL other skirmishes have taken place in these provinces, but all so small as not to deserve a record in history. The above accounts we have given as the result of a patient and

laborious compilation from all available sources, without vouching for the correctness of all the details. Possibly, some of the actions may have been overwrought by the reports of interested participants; no doubt the loss of the Mexicans is somewhat exaggerated, and, perhaps, that of our own forces concealed; but for this we are not responsible. One thing is certain—New Mexico and the Californias are now ours, as far as military conquest can give one nation a title to the territory of another. The Mexicans, it is true, still maintain their ranchero and guerilla parties there; but they are able to accomplish little more than occasionally to surprise straggling individuals. Mexico can never recover her lost possessions but by treaty.

But, are the people satisfied with their new government? It is not our province fully to discuss this question; but a reference to it, as a matter of history, may not be irrelevant. Accounts from Fremont and Stockton represent the inhabitants as not only satisfied, but well pleased with the change; private accounts describe them as filled with secret hatred, and a desire of revenge; and this is confirmed by late proclamations of the clergy, those omnipotent directors of the Mexican mind, as well as by

other sources. One thing is certain ; every nation, however miserable her political condition, is always jealous of foreign interference, even though it be evidently to her interest to accept of it. This feeling seems to be an inseparable result of the love of country, wisely implanted in every human breast. Of this feeling, the Mexicans, as well as other people, have their full share ; and its effects are increased by that overweening pride and self-confidence, which forms so prominent a part in their character. Add to this, the feeling prevalent throughout Mexico, that the Americans are but a band of usurping robbers, and we will have a mass of irresistible evidence against the pacific manifestations of New Mexico. Of course, while such a disposition exists, government cannot be administered happily or satisfactorily. Confidence between the ruled and their rulers will be altogether wanting ; and soon they will begin to look upon each other in the old light, and act accordingly. We much fear, that although all is at present peaceable, the time is approaching when the sword will again be unsheathed, and the history of the Californias and New Mexico be darkened by many accounts of hard-fought actions lost and won.





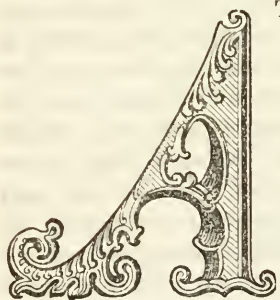
THE BATTLE OF CHURUBUSCO.



FTER the battle of Sierra Gordo, General Scott remained for some time inactive, in the hope of receiving reinforcements. His head-quarters were at Puebla. Meanwhile the Mexicans, discouraged but not disheartened by their late disasters, were collecting another army and fortifying the different entrances to the capital. When a small number of additional troops arrived, the American army left Puebla on the 8th of August, and after a fatiguing march in an unhealthy season, reached Ayotla about the 12th. A reconnoissance now took place of the rocky fortification of St. Pinon, which was found to be so well defended, both by nature and art, as to render an attack upon it eminently hazardous. Another road was discovered, south of Lake Charles, opening into that from Vera Cruz, below Ayotla, and the old one abandoned. The march was a dreadful one. Heavy rains had filled the low places with water, through which the troops were often obliged to wade; while in many places steep and towering heights were to be crossed, in the paths and gorges of which the enemy had rolled immense masses of stone. The nights were dark, wet, and dreary, and a damp and chilly *rest* succeeded the heavy labours of each day. On the 17th, the advance reached San Augustin, a village about twelve miles south of the city, and was joined next day by the second division. General Worth advanced a division to

take possession of a hacienda, near the fortification of San Antonio, and preparatory to assaulting the latter place. The village was captured, but in a reconnoissance that ensued, a heavy discharge from a Mexican battery killed Captain Thornton, and wounded one or two others. An artillery squadron and battalion of infantry continued to hover round the redoubt in hope of making a successful attack that afternoon; but, towards evening, a heavy rain ensued, and General Scott thought proper to withdraw them. All night, the hostile batteries frowned in gloomy silence upon this detachment; had they opened with activity it might have been forced to retire, or perhaps even been cut to pieces.

During the night, the divisions of Pillow and Twiggs marched toward the strong work of Contreras, so as to take up a position for an assault on the following morning. The fatigue they encountered was appalling. The country was enveloped in thick darkness, rain poured down in streams, while the wind tossed and whirled like the ground in an earthquake. Now they mounted over clumps and ridges, formed by rocks of lava, and entangled with dense brushwood; and now plunged into some swollen stream, whose rushing waters destroyed all order of march. Dimly, in the distance, could be observed the flame of camp fires, struggling through the wind and rain; while the rumbling of heavy cannon, the tramp of horses, the clashing of guns and bayonets, and the thunderings of the tempest, rolled strangely through the sullen night.



At eight next morning, the Mexican batteries re-opened upon the hacienda of San Antonio, where General Worth was posted. The heavy explosions shook the air, while houses and strong bulwarks sunk in thundering masses beneath the showers of shot and shells. The balls whistled through the quiet lanes, raking them from end to end, and tearing up the ground in deep ridges. Large bombs burst in the air, throwing slugs, shot, and fragments among the Americans, with terrible effect. Yet these gallant troops, disdaining to yield, stationed themselves behind walls and buildings, and though all around was ruin and confusion, calmly prepared for active duty. Soon after, the divisions of Pillow and Twiggs pushed toward Contreras, which, after a fatiguing march, they reached about 1 o'clock, P. M. General P. F. Smith was then ordered to march up in face of the enemy's works, and Colonel Riley to move rapidly toward the right, gain the main road, and cut off any Mexican reinforcement that might present itself. Smith rushed forward amid a tremendous fire, and gained a position for his artillery; every gun on both sides now opened, and the terrific explosions shook the ground for miles around, and rolled in deafening echoes

along the mountain ridges of Mexico. But the few guns of the American advanced battery were soon silenced; and General Pierce marched to the relief of General Smith. About this time, large reinforcements of the enemy approached Contreras, and General Cadwalader pushed forward to reinforce Riley. Again the batteries broke forth in rapid discharges, but neither army yielded one inch of ground. About 4 o'clock, a commanding figure swept along the American line, while his piercing eyes glanced over the field of action. "General Scott!" rang from rank to rank, and a shout, wild and enthusiastic, poured forth his welcome. Perceiving the immense strength of the Mexicans, the commander-in-chief ordered General Shields to reinforce Riley and Cadwalader, and also strengthened the army in front of the enemy. The whole field was now covered with soldiers, marching and wheeling in line. At some distance off, the Mexican cavalry hovered like a cloud on the movements of Cadwalader and Riley; while on the side of General Smith, peal after peal of heavy ordnance told that death was raging with terrible strides among the ranks of the high-souled combatants. For six hours the dreadful work continued, when darkness closed round the armies, and the firing grew less and less rapid, then died away and all was still. The disappointed Americans, who, unacquainted with the enemy's strength, had calculated on speedy victory, lay down on the rugged ground without blankets, and amid rushing floods of rain that, collecting among the ridges, rushed and foamed like mountain torrents. About 8 o'clock General Scott retired to San Augustin, and was followed by Twiggs and Pillow, at 11.

Early the next morning, Generals Scott and Worth again set out for Contreras. Some cannonading, and a rapid discharge of musketry, was heard in that direction, and, soon after, Captain Mason galloped up to the commander-in-chief, with the tidings, that Smith had carried the whole line of fortifications at Contreras. That enterprising general had planned and executed the assault, and suffered comparatively small loss. He captured fifteen hundred prisoners, including Generals Salas, Blanco, Garcia, and Mendoza, an immense amount of ammunition and camp equipage, and fifteen artillery pieces; among them the two that had been taken from Captain O'Brien at Buena Vista. Seven hundred of the enemy were killed, and a still larger number wounded; while the route of the fugitives was strewn with muskets and other arms.

Upon receiving this intelligence, General Scott sent General Worth to make a demonstration on San Antonio, while he, with a portion of the army, should get in its rear. The troops composing the latter passed by the late battle-field. Even the bold heart of the soldier grew sick at the shocking spectacle. Hundreds, that but one day before were active with health and ambition, now covered the bloody plain, stiff, pale, and dis-

torted as death had left them. Here and there a wretch, writhing in agony, moaned forth a prayer for water; while the neighbouring streams ran red with human blood, and mangled heaps were piled on each other along their banks. On reaching San Pablo, another action commenced, and at almost the same instant, the roar of Worth's cannon was heard at Churubusco. The flower of the American army was now engaged with that of Mexico, and the battle was one of those rarely witnessed on the continent. Thousands of musketry rattled in uninterrupted succession, while, now and then, the deep cannon would break in with sullen roar, that rolled trembling away in the distance. On one part of the field the commanding form of Scott was sweeping from rank to rank, animating and superintending his legions, heedless of the thick storm that was whizzing like hail around him; on another, the loud voices of Worth and Twiggs were shouting their heroes on the stubborn foe. Dark around that scene hung dense columns of smoke, as though hiding man's dark character from the gaze of day.

In two hours, all the works were in possession of the Americans, and the enemy in full flight for the city. General Worth pursued them almost to the gates of the capital.

The next morning, a portion of the American army entered the town of Chapultepec, without opposition; and soon after, flags arrived from General Santa Anna, proposing a suspension of hostilities. Negotiation took place, and the following commissioners were appointed to arrange a temporary suspension. The following is the result of their deliberations:

THE ARMISTICE.

The undersigned, appointed respectively, the first three by Major-general Winfield Scott, commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States, and the last two by his Excellency D. Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, President of the Mexican Republic, and commander-in-chief of its armies, met with full powers, which were fully verified in the village of Tacubaya, on the 23d day of August, 1847, to enter into an armistice for the purpose of giving the Mexican government an opportunity of receiving propositions of peace from the commissioners appointed by the President of the United States, and now with the American army, when the following articles were agreed upon:

ART. 1. Hostilities shall instantly and absolutely cease between the armies of the United States of America and the United Mexican States, within thirty leagues of the capital of the latter States, to allow time to the commissioners appointed by the United States and the commissioners to be appointed by the Mexican Republic to negotiate.

2. The armistice shall continue as long as the commissioners of the two governments may be engaged on negotiations, or until the commander of

either of the said armies shall give formal notice to the other of the cessation of the armistice for forty-eight hours after such notice.

3. In the mean time, neither army shall, within thirty leagues of the city of Mexico, commence any new fortification or military work of offence or defence, or do any thing to enlarge or strengthen any existing work or fortification of that character within the said limits.

4. Neither army shall be reinforced within the same. Any reinforcements in troops or munitions of war, other than subsistence now approaching either army, shall be stopped at the distance of twenty-eight leagues from the city of Mexico.

5. Neither army, or any detachment from it, shall advance beyond the line it at present occupies.

6. Neither army, nor any detachment or individual of either, shall pass the neutral limits established by the last article, except under a flag of truce bearing the correspondence between the two armies, or on the business authorized by the next article; and individuals of either army, who may chance to straggle within the neutral limits, shall, by the opposite party, be kindly warned off, or sent back to their own armies under flags of truce.

7. The American army shall not, by violence, obstruct the passage from the open country into the city of Mexico, of the ordinary supplies of food necessary to the consumption of its inhabitants, or the Mexican army within the city; nor shall the Mexican authorities, civil or military, do any act to obstruct the passage of supplies from the city or country, needed by the American army.

8. All American prisoners of war remaining in the hands of the Mexican army, and not heretofore exchanged, shall immediately, or as soon as practicable, be restored to the American army, against a like number, having regard to rank, of Mexican prisoners captured by the American army.

9. All American citizens who were established in the city of Mexico prior to the existing war, and who have since been expelled from that city, shall be allowed to return to their respective business or families therein, without delay or molestation.

10. The better to enable the belligerent armies to execute these articles, and to favour the great object of peace, it is further agreed between the parties, that any courier with despatches that either army shall desire to send along the line from the city of Mexico or its vicinity, to and from Vera Cruz, shall receive a safe conduct from the commander of the opposing army.

11. The administration of justice between Mexicans, according to the general and state constitutions and laws, by the local authorities of the towns and places occupied by the American forces, shall not be obstructed in any manner.

12. Persons and property shall be respected in the towns and places occupied by the American forces. No person shall be molested in the exercise of his profession; nor shall the services of any one be required without his consent. In all cases where services are voluntarily rendered, a just price shall be paid, and trade remain unmolested.

13. Those wounded prisoners who may desire to remove to some more convenient place, for the purpose of being cured of their wounds, shall be allowed to do so without molestation, they still remaining prisoners.

14. The Mexican medical officers who may wish to attend the wounded shall have the privilege of doing so, if their services be required.

15. For the more perfect execution of this agreement, two commissioners shall be appointed, one by each party, who, in case of disagreement, shall appoint a third.

16. This convention shall have no force or effect, unless approved by their excellencies, the commanders respectively of the two armies, within twenty-four hours, reckoning from the sixth hour of the 23d day of August, 1847.

A. QUITMAN, *Maj. Gen. U. S. A.*

PERSIFER F. SMITH, *Brig. Gen.*

FRANKLIN PIERCE, *Brig. Gen. U. S. A.*

IGNACIO DE MARA Y VILLAMIL,

BENITO QUILJANO.

A true copy of the original.

G. W. LAY, *U. S. A., Military Secretary to the General-in-chief.*

HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE ARMY, U. S.

Tacubaya, Aug. 23, 1847.

Considered, approved, and ratified, with the express *understanding* that the word "*supplies*," as used the second time, without qualification, in the seventh article of this military convention—American copy—shall be taken to mean (as in both the British and American armies) arms, munitions, clothing, equipments, subsistence, (for men,) forage, and in general, all the wants of an army. That word "*supplies*," in the Mexican copy is erroneously translated "*viveres*," instead of "*recursos*."

WINFIELD SCOTT, *General-in-chief of the U. S. A.*

[Translation.]

Ratified, suppressing the 9th article, and explaining the 4th, to the effect that the temporary peace of this armistice shall be observed in the capital and twenty-eight leagues around it; and agreeing that the word *supplies* shall be translated *recursos*; and that it comprehends every thing which the army may have need, except arms and ammunitions.

ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY U. S. OF AMERICA,

Tacubaya, Aug. 24, 1847.

I accept and ratify the foregoing qualification added by the President-general of the Mexican Republic.

WINFIELD SCOTT.

A true copy of the original.

G. W. LAY, *U. S. A., Military Secretary to the General-in-chief.*

HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY, U. S. OF AMERICA,

Tacubaya, Aug. 23, 1847.

To his Excellency the President and General-in-chief of the Mexican Republic :

SIR:—Under a flag of truce, I send Lieutenant Semmes, of the United States navy, who will have the honour to exchange with such officer as may be appointed for the purpose, the ratification of the military convention that was signed yesterday, by commissioners from the American and Mexican armies.

I particularly invite the attention of your excellency, to the *terms* of my ratification, and have the honour to remain, with high consideration and respect, your excellency's most obedient servant,

WINFIELD SCOTT, *General-in-chief of the U. S. army.*

[Translation.]

NATIONAL PALACE OF MEXICO,

August 23, 1847.

I have the note of your excellency, of this date, in which you are pleased to say that Lieutenant Semmes, of the navy of the United States, will exchange, with another officer named for that purpose, the ratification of the military convention which was signed yesterday by commissioners of the Mexican and American armies, and calls particular attention to the terms of the ratification.

The most excellent President orders the undersigned to say to your excellency, as he has the honour to do, that he orders its ratification within the time agreed in the armistice ; and he is also charged to direct the attention of your excellency to the terms of ratification by his excellency the President.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

LINO JOSE ALCORTA,

Minister of State, and of War and Marine.

To his excellency the General-in-chief of the United States army.

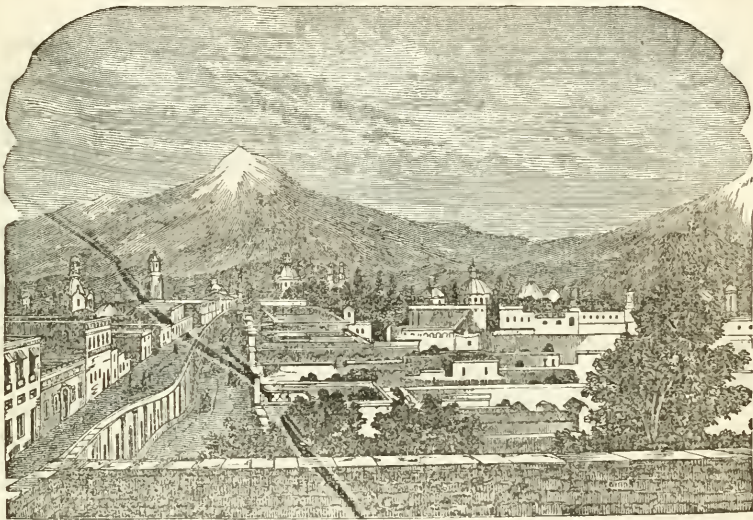
The whole force of the Mexicans, in these engagements, is estimated to have been about thirty-two thousand men. They lost between five and six thousand, including by their own account, thirteen generals, and

forty-five pieces of cannon. The Americans numbered seven thousand, of whom eleven hundred were killed and wounded. Soon after the engagement, Santa Anna published a manifesto, stating the causes of the defeat, throwing all the blame upon a particular officer, and calling on his countrymen still to maintain their opposition to the invasion of the Americans.

The cessation of hostilities was improved by Mr. Trist, plenipotentiary from the United States, by opening negotiations for a permanent treaty of peace. He offered to retain California for a certain sum, to be subsequently specified, and to draw the boundary line between the two republics so as to secure to the United States a portion of territory west of the Nueces. To the latter item the Mexican commissioners would not agree. Negotiations continued until the 2d of September, when Mr. Trist handed in his ultimatum (on boundaries,) and the council adjourned until the 6th.

Meanwhile Sergeant Riley, with seventy others who at various times had deserted from the American army, but had been captured with the Mexicans at Churubusco, were tried by a court-martial appointed by General Scott. Fifty were found guilty of high-treason, and hung in the presence of both armies. The remainder, including the sergeant, were proven to have deserted prior to the commencement of hostilities, and consequently received a remission of punishment to public whipping, (fifty lashes each,) branding on the cheek (letter D,) and confinement with a chain and ball until the close of the war.





CITY OF MEXICO.

THE CAPTURE OF MEXICO.



ON the 6th of September the ultimatum proposed by the American commissioners was rejected by a great council of the Mexican ministers and others, and immediately after, General Scott received information that Santa Anna was actively fortifying his defences in violation of the third article of the armistice.

On the evening of the same day (6th) he wrote to the Mexican commander, accusing him of the infringement, and demanding a satisfactory explanation. Santa Anna replied by laying a similar charge to the Americans, and intimating that he was prepared for a resumption of hostilities.

The armistice being at an end, the Americans commenced on the evening of the 7th a reconnoissance of the different approaches to the city preparatory to planning an attack. At the same time a large body of the enemy was discovered hovering about the Molinos del Rey, (King's Mills,) within less than a mile and a half of the American head-quarters. Information had previously been received that in the Molinos and Casa Mata near them was a foundery with large deposits of powder, where many church-bells had lately arrived to be cast into guns.

General Scott determined to assault this place without delay, and the execution of this measure was assigned to Brevet Major-general Worth, reinforced by Cadwalader's brigade, three squadrons of dragoons under Major Sumner, and some heavy guns under Captains Huger and Drum.

On carefully reconnoitering the works, Worth found them so intimately connected with those of Chapultepec, that it was found necessary to divide his force considerably in order to avoid contact with the Mexicans stationed in that stronghold. A full description of the defences and of the assault itself is contained in the following extracts from General Worth's report :—

“At three o'clock in the morning of the 8th, the several columns were put in motion, on as many different routes ; and, when the gray of the morning enabled them to be seen, they were as accurately in position as if posted in midday for review. The early dawn was the moment appointed for the attack, which was announced to our troops by the opening of Huger's guns on El Molino del Rey, upon which they continued to play actively until this point of the enemy's line became sensibly shaken, when the assaulting party, commanded by Wright, and guided by that accomplished officer, Captain Mason, of the engineers, assisted by Lieutenant Foster, dashed gallantly forward to the assault. Unshaken by the galling fire of musketry and canister that was showered upon them, on they rushed, driving infantry and artillery-men at the point of the bayonet. The enemy's field-battery was taken, and his own guns were trailed upon his retreating masses ; before, however, they could be discharged, perceiving that he had been dispossessed of this strong position by comparatively a handful of men, he made a desperate effort to regain it. Accordingly, his retiring forces rallied and formed with this object. Aided by the infantry, which covered the house-tops, (within reach of which the battery had been moved during the night,) the enemy's whole line opened upon the assaulting party a terrific fire of musketry, which struck down *eleven* out of the *fourteen* officers that composed the command, and non-commissioned officers and men in proportion ; including among the officers Brevet Major Wright, the commander ; Captain Mason and Lieutenant Foster, engineers ; all severely wounded.

“This severe shock staggered for a moment that gallant band. The light battalion, held to cover Huger's battery, under Captain E. Kirby Smith, (Lieutenant-Colonel Smith being sick,) and the right wing of Cadwalader's brigade, were promptly ordered forward to support, which order was executed in the most gallant style ; the enemy was again routed, and this point of his line carried, and fully possessed by our troops. In the mean time Garland's (1st) brigade, ably sustained by Captain Drum's artillery, assaulted the enemy's left, and, after an obstinate and very severe contest, drove him from this apparently impregnable position, immediately under the guns of the castle of Chapultepec. Drum's section, and the battering guns under Captain Huger, advanced to the enemy's position, and the captured guns of the enemy were now opened on his retreating forces, on which they continued to fire until beyond their reach. While this work was in progress of accomplishment by our centre and right, our

troops on the left were not idle. Duncan's battery opened on the right of the enemy's line, up to this time engaged; and the 2d brigade, under Col. McIntosh, was now ordered to assault the extreme right of the enemy's line. The direction of this brigade soon caused it to mask Duncan's battery, the fire of which, for the moment, was discontinued; and the brigade moved steadily on to the assault of Casa Mata, which, instead of an ordinary field intrenchment, as was supposed, proved to be a strong stone citadel, surrounded with bastioned intrenchments and impassable ditches—an old Spanish work, recently repaired and enlarged. When within easy musket range, the enemy opened a most deadly fire upon our advancing troops, which was kept up, without intermission, until our gallant men reached the very slope of the parapet of the work that surrounded the citadel. By this time a large proportion of the command was either killed or wounded, among whom were the three senior officers present, Brevet Colonel McIntosh, Brevet Lieutenant-colonel Scott, of the 5th infantry, and Major Waite, 8th infantry; the second killed, and the first and last desperately wounded. Still the fire from the citadel was unabated. In this crisis of the attack, the command was momentarily thrown into disorder, and fell back on the left of Duncan's battery, where they rallied. As the 2d brigade moved to the assault, a very large cavalry and infantry force was discovered approaching rapidly upon our left flank, to reinforce the enemy's right. As soon as Duncan's battery was masked, as before mentioned, supported by Andrew's voltigeurs, of Cadwalader's brigade, it moved promptly to the extreme left of our line to check the threatened assault on this point. The enemy's cavalry came rapidly within canister range, when the whole battery opened a most effective fire, which soon broke the squadrons and drove them back in disorder. During this fire upon the enemy's cavalry, Major Sumner's command moved to the front, and changed direction in admirable order, under a most appalling fire from the Casa Mata. This movement enabled his command to cross the ravine immediately on the left of Duncan's battery, where it remained, doing noble service until the close of the action. At the very moment the cavalry were driven beyond reach, our own troops drew back from before the Casa Mata, and enabled the guns of Duncan's battery to re-open upon this position; which, after a short and well-directed fire, the enemy abandoned. The guns of the battery were now turned upon his retreating columns, and continued to play upon them until beyond reach.

“He was now driven from every point of the field, and his strong lines, which had certainly been defended well, were in our possession. In fulfilment of the instructions of the general-in-chief, the Casa Mata was blown up, and such of the captured ammunition as was useless to us, as well as the cannon moulds found in El Molino del Rey, were destroyed. After which, my command, under the reiterated orders of the general-in-

chief, returned to quarters at Tacubaya, with three of the enemy's four guns, (the fourth, having been spiked, was rendered unserviceable;) as also a large quantity of small arms, with gun and musket ammunition, and exceeding eight hundred prisoners, including fifty-two commissioned officers.

"By the concurrent testimony of prisoners, the enemy's force exceeded fourteen thousand men, commanded by General Santa Anna in person. His total loss, killed, (including the second and third in command, Generals Valdarez and Leon,) wounded, and prisoners, amounts to three thousand, exclusive of some two thousand who deserted after the rout.

"My command, reinforced as before stated, only reached three thousand one hundred men of all arms. The contest continued two hours, and its severity is painfully attested by our heavy loss of officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, including in the first two classes some of the brightest ornaments of the service."

Immediately after this victory, the American engineers commenced a series of daring reconnoissances on the castle of Chapultepec, and the gates of Piedad, San Angel, San Antonio, and the Paseo de la Vega. The defences around these positions are thus described by General Scott: "This city stands on a slight swell of ground near the centre of an irregular basin, and is girdled with a ditch in its greatest extent—a navigable canal of great breadth and depth—very difficult to bridge in the presence of an enemy, and serving at once for drainage, custom-house purposes, and military defence; leaving eight entrances or gates over arches, each of which we found defended by a system of strong works, that seemed to require nothing but some men and guns to be impregnable.

"Outside and within the cross-fires of those gates, we found to the south other obstacles, but little less formidable. All the approaches near the city are over elevated causeways, cut in many places, (to oppose us,) and flanked on both sides by ditches, also of unusual dimensions. The numerous cross-roads are flanked, in like manner, having bridges at the intersections, recently broken. The meadows thus checkered are moreover, in many spots, under water or marshy;—for it will be remembered, we were in the midst of the wet season, though with less rain than usual, and we could not wait for the fall of the neighbouring lakes, and the consequent drainage of the wet grounds, at the edge of the city—the lowest in the whole basin."

An advance upon the enemy in the face of such obstacles, although it might have resulted successfully, would no doubt have fearfully thinned the American columns. Accordingly, ever mindful of the lives of his soldiers, General Scott determined on a change of plan, enabling him to attack the city on the south and south-west, still deceiving the enemy by a feint against the north. The execution of this admirable stratagem we relate in his own words:—

"After a close personal survey of the southern gates, with four times our numbers concentrated in our immediate front, I determined on the 11th, to avoid the network of obstacles, and to seek, by a sudden inversion to the south-west and west, less unfavourable approaches.

"To economize the lives of our gallant officers and men, as well as to ensure success, it became indispensable that this resolution should be long masked from the enemy; and again, that the new movement, when discovered, should be mistaken for a feint, and the old as intimating our true and ultimate point of attack.

"Accordingly on the spot, (on the 11th,) I ordered Quitman's division from Coyoacan to join Pillow *by daylight*, before the southern gates, and then, that the two major-generals, with their divisions, should *by night* proceed two miles to join me at Tacubaya, where I was quartered with Worth's division. Twiggs with Riley's brigade, and Captains Taylor and Steptoe's field-batteries—the latter of twelve-pounders—was left in front of those gates to manœuvre, to threaten, or to make false attacks, in order to occupy and deceive the enemy. Twiggs's other brigade (Smith's) was left at supporting distance, in the rear at San Angel, till the morning of the 13th, and also to support our general dépôt at Miscoac. The stratagem against the south was admirably executed throughout the 12th, and down to the afternoon of the 13th, when it was too late for the enemy to recover from the effects of his delusion.

"The first step in the new movement was to carry Chapultepec, a natural and isolated mound of great elevation, strongly fortified at its base, on its acclivities and heights. Besides a military garrison, here was the military college of the republic, with a large number of sub-lieutenants and other students. Those works were within direct gunshot of the village of Tacubaya, and, until carried, we could not approach the city on the west, without making a circuit too wide and too hazardous.

"In the course of the same night, (that of the 11th,) heavy batteries within easy ranges were established. No. 1 on our right, under the command of Captain Drum, 4th artillery, (relieved late next day for some hours by Lieutenant Andrews, of the 3d,) and No. 2, commanded by Lieutenant Hagner, ordnance, both supported by Quitman's division. Nos. 3 and 4, on the opposite side, supported by Pillow's division, were commanded, the former by Captain Brooks and Lieutenant S. S. Anderson, 2d artillery, alternately, and the latter by Lieutenant Stone, ordnance. The batteries were traced by Captain Huger, and Captain Lee, engineer, and constructed by them with the able assistance of the young officers of those corps, and the artillery."

The general thus describes the operations upon Chapultepec, prior to the final assault:—

"The bombardment and cannonade under the direction of Captain Huger,

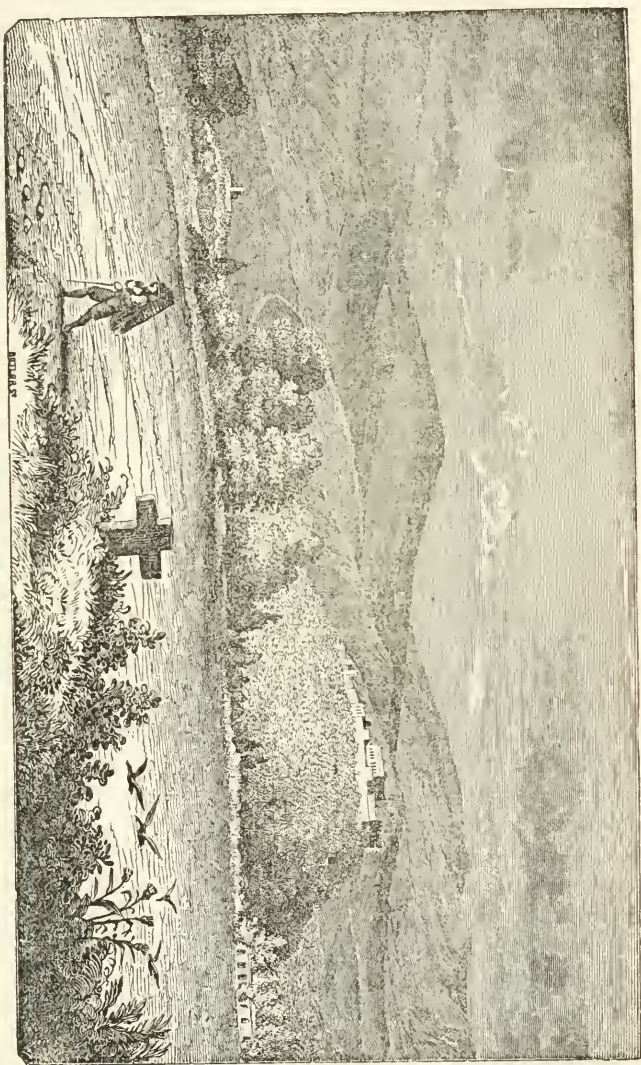
were commenced early on the morning of the 12th. Before nightfall, which necessarily stopped our batteries, we had perceived that a good impression had been made on the castle and its outworks, and that a large body of the enemy had remained outside towards the city from an early hour, to avoid our fire and be at hand on its cessation, in order to reinforce the garrison against an assault. The same outside force was discovered the next morning, after our batteries had reopened upon the castle, by which we again reduced its garrison to the *minimum* needed for the guns.

"Pillow and Quitman had been in position since early on the night of the 11th. Major-general Worth was now ordered to hold his division in reserve near the foundery, to support Pillow; and Brigadier-general Smith, of Twiggs's division, had just arrived with his brigade from Piedad, (two miles,) to support Quitman. Twiggs's guns before the southern gates again reminded us, as the day before, that he, with Riley's brigade and Taylor's and Steptoe's batteries, was in activity threatening the southern gates, and there holding a great part of the Mexican army on the defensive.

"Worth's division furnished Pillow's attack with an assaulting party of some two hundred and fifty volunteer officers and men, under Captain McKenzie, of the 2d artillery; and Twiggs's division supplied a similar one commanded by Captain Casey, 2d infantry, to Quitman. Each of those little columns was furnished with scaling ladders."

At an appointed signal on the morning of the 8th, Generals Quitman and Pillow advanced to the assault. As the troops were marching, the batteries behind them threw shot and shell over their heads into the enemy's works, while strong reinforcements were held in reserve. Pillow pushed through an open grove, driving before him the sharpshooters with which it abounded, until he was struck down by a severe wound, and the command devolved upon Brigadier-general Cadwalader.

On reaching the base of the height on which the castle is situated, the progress of the troops was retarded by rocks, chasms, and mines. Notwithstanding these obstacles, they advanced in face of a galling fire of cannon and musketry. The enemy's redoubt soon yielded to resistless valour, and loud shouts announced to the castle its coming fate. Steadily driven from shelter to shelter, the Mexicans were not allowed time to fire a single mine without the certainty of blowing up friend and foe. Those who at a distance attempted to apply matches to the long trains were shot down. Death was above and below. At length the ditch and wall of the main work were reached; the scaling ladders were brought up and planted by the storming parties; some of the daring spirits first in the assault were cast down, but a lodgement was soon made; streams of heroes followed, all opposition was overcome, and the different regimental colours soon were flung from the upper walls, and hailed with long continued shouts that echoed to the capital.



ОЧАПУЛЕПЕКА.

Simultaneously with these movements on the west, General Quitman had approached the south-east over a causeway with cuts and batteries, and defended by an army strongly posted outside the works. He was obliged to face these formidable obstacles, with but little shelter to his troops, or space for manœuvring. Deep ditches flanking the causeway made it difficult to cross on either side into the adjoining meadows, which were also intersected by ditches. Smith's brigade made a sweep to the right, in order to present a front against the enemy's outside lines, and turn two intervening batteries near the foot of Chapultepec. This movement was intended to support Quitman's storming parties on the causeway. These crossed the meadows in front and entered the outer enclosure of Chapultepec, in time to join the final assault from the west.

Meanwhile General Scott had sent orders to Worth, to turn Chapultepec with his division, and to proceed cautiously, by the road at its northern base, in order, if not met by very superior numbers, to threaten or to attack in rear that body of the enemy. That officer with one brigade, (the other having been demanded as a reinforcement by General Pillow,) promptly advanced, turned the forest on the west, and arrived opposite to the north centre of Chapultepec. Here he encountered the troops under Colonel Trousdale, and aided in the capture of a breastwork. Continuing to advance, he passed Chapultepec, and attacked the right of the enemy's line resting on that road about the moment of the general retreat consequent upon the capture of the castle and its outworks.

Immediately after this brilliant affair, the American commander began active preparations for entering the city. These, together with the obstacles to be surmounted, he thus describes:—

“There are two routes from Chapultepec to the capital: the one on the right entering the same gate, Belen, with the road from the south *via* Piedad; and the other obliquing to the left, to intersect the great western, or San Cosme road, in a suburb outside of the gate of San Cosme.

“Each of these routes (an elevated causeway) presents a double roadway on the sides of an aqueduct of strong masonry and great height, resting on open arches and massive pillars, which, together, afford fine points both for attack and defence. The sideways of both aqueducts are, moreover, defended by many strong breastworks at the gates, and before reaching them. As we had expected, we found the four tracks unusually dry and solid for the season.

“Worth and Quitman were prompt in pursuing the retreating enemy: the former by the San Cosme aqueduct, and the latter along that of Belen. Each had now advanced some hundred yards.

“Deeming it all-important to profit by our successes, and the consequent dismay of the enemy, which could not be otherwise than general, I hastened to despatch, from Chapultepec—first, Clarke's brigade, and then Cadwal-

der's, to the support of Worth, and gave orders that the necessary heavy guns should follow. Pierce's brigade was, at the same time, sent to Quitman, and, in the course of the afternoon, I caused some additional siege pieces to be added to his train. Then, after designating the fifteenth infantry, under Lieutenant-colonel Howard, (Morgan, the colonel, had been disabled by a wound at Churubusco,) as the garrison at Chapultepec, and giving directions for the care of the prisoners of war, the captured ordnance and ordnance stores, I proceeded to join the advance of Worth, within the suburb, and beyond the turn at the junction of the aqueduct with the great highway from the west to the gate of San Cosme.

"At this junction of roads, we first passed one of those formidable systems of city defences spoken of above, and it had not a gun!—a strong proof—1. That the enemy had expected us to fail in the attack upon Chapultepec, even if we meant any thing more than a feint; 2. That, in either case, we designed, in his belief, to return and double our forces against the southern gates, a delusion kept up by the active demonstrations of Twiggs and the forces posted on that side; and 3. That advancing rapidly from the reduction of Chapultepec, the enemy had not time to shift guns (our previous captures had left him, comparatively, but few) from the southern gates.

"Within those disgarnished works I found our troops engaged in a street fight against the enemy posted in gardens, at windows, and on house-tops, all flat, with parapets. Worth ordered forward the mountain howitzers of Cadwalader's brigade, preceded by skirmishers and pioneers, with pick-axes and crowbars, to force windows and doors, or to burrow through walls. The assailants were soon in an equality of position fatal to the enemy. By eight o'clock in the evening Worth had carried two batteries in this suburb. According to my instructions, he here posted guards and sentinels, and placed his troops under shelter for the night. There was but one more obstacle—the San Cosme gate (custom-house)—between him and the great square in front of the cathedral and palace; the heart of the city and that barrier, it was known, could not, by daylight, resist our siege guns thirty minutes.

"I had gone back to the fort of Chapultepec, the point from which the two aqueducts begin to diverge, some hours earlier, in order to be near that new depot and in easy communication with Quitman and Twiggs as well as with Worth.

"From this point I ordered all detachments and stragglers to their respective corps, then in advance; sent to Quitman additional siege guns, ammunition, intrenching tools; directed Twiggs's remaining brigade, (Riley's) from Piedad, to support Worth, and Captain Steptoe's field battery, also at Piedad, to rejoin Quitman's division.

"I had been, from the first, well aware that the western, or San Cosme, was the less difficult route to the centre and conquest of the capital; and,

therefore, intended that Quitman should only manœuvre and threaten the Belen or south-western gate, in order to favour the main attack by Worth: knowing that the strong defences at the Belen were directly under the guns of the much stronger fortress, called the *citadel*, just within. Both of these defences of the enemy were also within easy supporting distance from the San Angel (or Nino Perdido) and San Antonio gates. Hence the greater support, in numbers, given to Worth's movement as the main attack.

"Those views I repeatedly, in the course of the day, communicated to Major-general Quitman; but, being in hot pursuit—gallant himself, and ably supported by Brigadier-generals Shields and Smith, (Shields badly wounded before Chapultepec, and refusing to retire,) as well as by all the officers and men of the column, Quitman continued to press forward, under flank and direct fires; carried an intermediate battery of two guns, and then the gate, before two o'clock in the afternoon, but not without proportionate loss, increased by his steady maintenance of that position.

"Quitman, within the city, (adding several new defences to the position he had won, and sheltering his corps as well as practicable,) now awaited the return of daylight under the guns of the formidable citadel, yet to be subdued.

"At about four o'clock next morning, (September fourteenth,) a deputation of the *ayuntamiento* (city council) waited upon me to report that the federal government and the army of Mexico had fled from the capital some three hours before, and to demand terms of capitulation in favour of the church, the citizens, and the municipal authorities. I promptly replied that I would sign no capitulation; that the city had been virtually in our possession from the time of the lodgments effected by Worth and Quitman the day before; that I regretted the silent escape of the Mexican army; that I should levy upon the city a moderate contribution, for special purposes; and that the American army should come under no terms, not *self-imposed*; such only as its own honour, the dignity of the United States, and the spirit of the age, should, in my opinion, imperiously demand and impose.

"At the termination of the interview with the city deputation, I communicated, about daylight, orders to Worth and Quitman to advance slowly and cautiously (to guard against treachery) towards the heart of the city, and to occupy its stronger and more commanding points. Quitman proceeded to the great *plaza* or square, planted guards, and hoisted the colours of the United States on the national palace, containing the halls of Congress and executive apartments of federal Mexico. In this grateful service, Quitman might have been anticipated by Worth, but for my express orders, halting the latter at the head of the *Alameda*, (a green park,) within three squares of that goal of general ambition. The capital, however, was not

taken by any one or two corps, but by the talent, the science, the gallantry the prowess of this entire army. In the glorious conquest, *all* had contributed—early and powerfully—the killed, the wounded, and *the fit for duty*—at Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, Contreras, San Antonio, Churubusco, (three battles,) the Molinos del Rey, and Chapultepec—as much as those who fought at the gates of Belen and San Cosme.

“Soon after we had entered, and were in the act of occupying the city, a fire was opened upon us from the flat roofs of the houses, from windows and corners of streets, by some two thousand convicts liberated the night before by the flying government: joined by, perhaps, as many Mexican soldiers, who had disbanded themselves and thrown off their uniforms. This unlawful war lasted more than twenty-four hours, in spite of the exertions of the municipal authorities, and was not put down till we had lost many men, including several officers, killed or wounded, and had punished the miscreants. Their objects were, to gratify national hatred; and, in the general alarm and confusion, to plunder the wealthy inhabitants; particularly the deserted houses. But families are now generally returning; business of every kind has been resumed, and the city is already tranquil and cheerful, under the admirable conduct (with exceptions very few and trifling) of our gallant troops.”

After the capture of the city, General Quitman was appointed military governor, and Captain Naylor superintendent of the National Palace. Soon after, the former officer left the army on a visit to the United States, and General Persifor F. Smith was appointed to succeed him.

Thus, in less than one month, eight thousand men fought eight important battles, stormed castles, towns, and redoubts, garrisoned with three times the number of the assailants, defeated thirty-two thousand Mexican veterans, killing seven thousand, and capturing thirty-seven hundred, and thirteen generals, of whom three were ex-presidents; taking more than twenty colours and standards, one hundred and twenty-two cannon, twenty thousand small arms, with an immense quantity of shot, shells, &c.; and finally entered triumphantly a capital whose every wall was a fortification, every house a fort, and which contained a population of nearly two hundred thousand souls.

While these great events were transpiring before the capital, important movements were taking place at Puebla. The American force at this place was commanded by Colonel Childs. It consisted of but two hundred and forty-seven effective men, eighteen hundred being sick at the hospital. Under these circumstances a revolt of the inhabitants obliged him to retire from the city and take refuge in the neighbouring redoubts. There he was attacked by the citizen soldiery, aided by numerous bands from other quarters, and obliged to maintain a siege of twenty-eight days. His account of these transactions,

and of Santa Anna's arrival with reinforcements to the assailants, is full of interest:—

"No open acts of hostility, other than the murdering of straggling soldiers, occurred until the morning of the 13th of September, when a fire was opened from some of the streets. On the night of the 14th it recommenced, and from every street, with a violence that knew of no cessation, for twenty-four days and nights.

"The enemy, with their numerous cavalry, succeeded in cutting off, at once, every kind of supplies, and vainly attempted to change the current of the stream of water, that we might become a more easy prey. The night, however, before the cattle and sheep disappeared from this vicinity, two well-conducted parties obtained thirty of the former and four hundred of the latter.

"The various points to be defended for the preservation of San Jose, on which the safety of the other posts depended, demanded the untiring vigilance of every officer and man

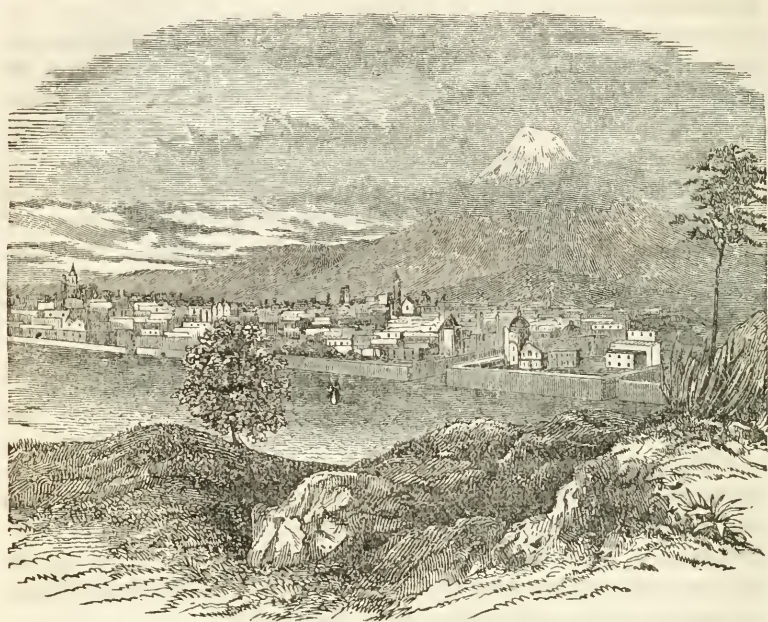
"The enemy augmented in numbers daily, and daily the firing was increased; and finally, on the 22d of September, General Santa Anna arrived with large reinforcements from Mexico, much to the delight of the besiegers, on which occasion a great ringing of bells took place, and was only stopped, as it had been several times before, by a discharge of shells and round-shot from Loretto into the heart of the city.

"On the 25th of September General Santa Anna demanded my surrender. * * * "I here beg to pay a passing tribute to my gallant troops. So soon as I had despatched my answer, I supposed not a moment would be lost by the general, who was to attack me at all points with his eight thousand troops. I rode to the different posts, and announced to the troops the demand, the force with which it was backed, and my reply. Their responses convinced me that all was safe; that a hard and bloody battle must be fought ere the great captain of Mexico could overcome my little band.

"The point of attack was San Jose, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Black, with Captain Ford's company of cavalry, and Captain Miller's company of 4th artillery, and four companies of his own regiment, and one hospital, the guard of which was in command of Captain Rowe of the 9th regiment of infantry.

"The duty required of this command, as I have before observed, in consequence of the various points to be defended, demanded an untiring effort on the part of every officer and soldier. A shower of bullets was constantly poured from the streets, the balconies, the house-tops, and churches, upon their devoted heads.

"Never did troops endure more fatigue by watching night after night, for more than thirty successive nights, nor exhibit more patience, spirit,



PUEBLA DE LOS ANGELO.

and gallantry. Not a post of danger could present itself, but the gallant fellows were ready to fill it. Not a sentinel could be shot, but another was anxious and ready to take his place. Officers and soldiers vied with each other to be honoured martyrs in their country's cause. This is the general character of the troops I had the honour to command, and I was confident the crown of victory would perch upon their standard when the last great effort should be made. Their bold and determined front deprived them of what they anxiously desired.

"On the 30th ult. General Santa Anna had established his battery bearing upon San Jose, and opened with much spirit. Having anticipated this movement, I had thrown up a traverse on the plaza, and withdrawn a twelve pounder from Loretto, by which means I was enabled to answer his shot. Towards night his battery ceased, and on the next morning was withdrawn, together with from three to four thousand of the besieging force, to meet the reinforcements then daily expected at Pinal.

"On the 2d instant I availed myself of some reduction of the enemy's numbers to make a sortie against certain barricades and buildings, whose fire had become very annoying. One of the expeditions was confided to

Captain Small, of the 1st Pennsylvania volunteers. Passing through the walls of an entire square with fifty men, he gained a position opposite the barricade, and drove the enemy with great loss, they leaving seventeen dead on the ground. The barricade, consisting of one hundred and fifty bales of cotton, was consumed. In this affair, Captain Small and his command behaved with great gallantry, and for twenty-four hours were unceasing in their labours in accomplishing the object; when I sent Lieutenant Laidley, of the ordnance corps, to blow up a prominent building, which was done by that excellent officer in good style; when the entire party was withdrawn, with a few wounded.

"At the same time Lieutenant Morgan, of the 14th regiment, with a detachment of marines, and Lieutenant Merrifield, of the 15th regiment, with a detachment of rifles, attempted to gain possession of certain buildings from which we were receiving a most galling fire. Lieutenant Merrifield entered the building. Lieutenant Morgan was not so fortunate. The enemy being present in great force, I directed him to fall back, with the loss of one man killed. On the 5th instant, Captain Herron was detached with his company to take possession of a building, from which the enemy had been enfilading the plaza. This he did in a very handsome manner, and to my entire satisfaction, with only a few men wounded."

On the 12th of October General Lane entered Puebla with large reinforcements for the Americans, cleared the streets of the enemy, and restored order and quietness in the city.

In his march to this place General Lane had encountered a part of Santa Anna's forces, and defeated them at the town of Huamantla. Santa Anna had previously left Puebla in consequence of a revolt among his troops, and in retiring encountered General Lane. An officer of the American army gives the following account of the engagement:—

"The army, now numbering some three thousand men, advanced towards Puebla, and, on the evening of the 8th of October, arrived at the hacienda San Antonio Tamaris, distant thirty-five miles from that city. Information had been daily received, that General Santa Anna was stationed at the pass of Pinal, (Venta del Pinal,) with four thousand men and several pieces of artillery to oppose our progress. This pass was twelve miles in advance of the hacienda. Accordingly, on the morning of the 9th, the whole army prepared to march and attack the pass. At this moment information was received, that General Santa Anna was in the town of Huamantla, distant ten miles from the hacienda, seven from the main road, and eight from the pass, or four miles nearer the pass than our encampment.

"General Lane, leaving a considerable portion of his forces at the hacienda with the baggage wagons, and part of the artillery, determined to advance upon Huamantla, taking with him the Indiana and Ohio regiments, and Colonel Wynkoop's, Major Lally's, and Captain Simmon's battalions, and

sending in advance the mounted men, about two hundred, under command of Captain Walker, with instructions to act as circumstances might require. Captain Walker advanced rapidly towards the town, and when within a short distance, ascertained that the enemy were there in considerable force with several pieces of artillery; and fearing lest any delay, in waiting for the advance of the infantry, might enable the enemy to escape with their cannon, gallantly ordered a charge with his handful of men, and after a brisk fight, succeeded in capturing four pieces of artillery, and driving off the enemy.

"When the order was given to charge, there rose a wild yell, and such a charge, the flashing of the sabres, the thundering of the horses' feet over the paved streets, were enough to strike terror into the hearts of the enemy. Two of their cannon were pointed up the street, another pointed down a cross street, and the fuse was burning in it. The terrified artillerymen moved merely to the sides of the houses, at whom our men made their thrusts and right and left cuts, killing many in this manner; the cavalry rushed over their cannon, the lancers (how many we did not know, but supposed there were three or four hundred) fled; our men separating into small parties pursued them beyond the town, on the outskirts of which a good many were killed. Captain Walker went beyond the town for the purpose of overtaking the artillery which had left the place. Captain Lewis went in another direction for the same purpose; Captain Besançon was ordered to follow the road, to see if the artillery could be overtaken. In the mean time, the most of our men having gone in pursuit, Captain Loyall with a few men, assisted by Adjutant Claiborne, secured some fifty or sixty prisoners at their quarters, together with their arms, &c. Lieutenant Claiborne then proceeded to secure and bring up to the plaza the cannon (three pieces) we had captured; Captain Walker returned about this time, and going to the plaza was collecting our men.

"Lieutenant Anderson, of the Georgia volunteers, pursued and captured Major Iturbide and Colonel La Vega, (a brother of the general's,) and a lieutenant; these he delivered to Captain Walker. Lieutenant Claiborne, assisted by Corporal Hescok, and private Myers, and one or two others, limbered up the six-pounder and brought it to the plaza. Leaving it limbered up and the mules standing in it, and returning to get the four-pounder, the lieutenant was in the act of bringing it up, when he was forced to leave it by the appearance of all Santa Anna's cavalry, two thousand five hundred strong. Corporal Tilghman, of company C, rifles, brought up a small howitzer. Private Dusenbery, of company C, took a lieutenant of artillery prisoner, and turned him over to Surgeon Reynolds. By this time a good many of our men had returned, and were in the plaza in scattered groups, when the lancers charged them suddenly and unexpectedly. Our men received them with great bravery, and kept the plaza.

with the exception of a few under Captain Walker, who retired by a street leading west from the plaza; they were joined by Lieutenant Claiborne and his party, who were approaching the square. Captain Walker led them from the plaza—the enemy close on them at a charge; he turned the next street to his left, while the enemy, seeing the four-pounder, rushed to it to retake it. Fortunately for the few men with Captain Walker, they saw this piece, for at the very next corner, a still larger force met him; he wheeled, and dashing swiftly past the rear of those who had cut him off from the plaza, again entered it. Here the men dismounted and occupied the convent yard, together with a large house in the corner of the square. Captain Lewis and Lieutenant Waters, with some ten or twelve men, charged twice upon the enemy, who gave way, and were pursuing them, when they discovered they were being surrounded by a vast number of lancers. They gallantly forced their way to the plaza; Captain Besançon barely returned in time to save himself. Private Hugenen and Corporal Merrill, of company C, rifles, being entirely surrounded, drove right into their midst, and fell covered with wounds. Captain Walker gave his orders promptly to form the men to receive the enemy, who now made their appearance on our right, in front, and on our left. They had also run up the four-pounder to open on us.

“Lieutenant Claiborne, assisted by Corporal Tilghman, unlimbered the six-pounder, and pointed it at the column on our left. Having no port-fire, he prepared to fire it with a horse-pistol; the enemy came nearer and nearer, until at about sixty yards off, when they halted. At this moment, the lieutenant fired the pistol, but the fuse of the cannon would not catch, and being left alone in the plaza, he retired to the corner house, and posted some riflemen to keep the piece from recapture. At this juncture Captain Walker, while examining the approach of the enemy, and looking at the four-pounder on our right, was shot from behind, from a house that displayed a white flag. He sunk down immediately, and was borne into the yard, the men bursting into tears as the cry spread among them, ‘Captain Walker’s killed.’ Captain Walker directed that we should ‘never surrender,’ and died in about thirty minutes.

“The state of the case, as subsequently ascertained, appeared to be this:—General Santa Anna having remained during the night of the 8th, in the town of Huamantla, some four or five miles nearer the pass than the encampment of General Lane, had confidently left early in the morning with four thousand five hundred men for the pass, leaving behind five hundred men and artillerists to follow with the cannon. The unexpected advance of Walker was soon perceived by the advanced forces of General Santa Anna, who, being cavalry, and in large numbers, immediately started back to the town at a rapid pace to save or recover their artillery, without which they could of course make no stand at the pass of Pinal. Being well mounted,

they were enabled to reach the town sooner than the infantry under General Lane, who, however, made most strenuous exertions to reach it with or before them. This movement of the enemy was unknown to Captain Walker, and supposing after the capture of the guns, and the rout of the five hundred men with them, the affair to be over, suffered his men to disperse through the town to cut off the retreat of the enemy, and capture any more guns and ammunition that might be discovered. Captain Walker, with some fifty or sixty men, remained in the plaza or centre square of the town.

"At this time, to the entire surprise of all, a sudden rush was made into the plaza by the enemy, who made a fierce attack with lances and escopets upon the small band. Captain Walker soon rallied his few men, and took a position in front of a church, and determined to fight until the last. He had maintained this position some fifteen or twenty minutes, when he fell mortally wounded. Captain Lewis, of the Louisiana mounted volunteers, gallantly rallied the few remaining men, and with the aid of one cannon, captured from the enemy, maintained the position until the arrival of the infantry, which soon terminated the whole engagement.

"General Lane, perceiving the return of the enemy's cavalry, properly foresaw that whoever reached the town first would have the advantage, gave the order for a rapid advance, and it was with great emulation that Colonel Gorman's Indiana regiment and Colonel Wynkoop's battalion struggled to gain the town. They arrived at about the same time, Colonel Gorman taking position on one side of the city, and Colonel Wynkoop on the other. After a few rounds between them and the enemy, the latter withdrew and left the town in the hands of the Americans.

"In the course of the action between the American mounted men and the enemy, two of the four pieces of cannon were recovered by the enemy, but the small band resolutely retained, defended, and saved the two others, and a large amount of ammunition was also captured, say about thirty wagon loads. Santa Anna, being thus deprived of part of his means of warfare, made no stand subsequently at the Pass of Pinal.

"The loss on our side was thirteen killed and eleven wounded, all, with the exception of three, of Captain Walker's company. The loss of the enemy was one hundred and fifty.

"We will here mention one incident, which shows how insensible the gallant Walker was to danger, however impending. When in the course of the second engagement between Walker's band and the overwhelming body of lancers, Surgeon Reynolds, who had become separated from him by the breadth of the plaza, or open square of one hundred yards, seizing the most favourable moment, dashed through the space occupied by the enemy, and jumping from his horse, with an escopet, which he had taken from a Mexican, took his place again by the side of Walker.

the latter turned to him and said, 'That's right, doctor, we can whip them all.'

"Santa Anna had been waiting for the American train for some time at Huamantla, and had obtained accurate information of its strength through his spies. It was his intention to let it proceed until it reached the narrow and difficult pass of Pinal, and then to attack it in the rear. He was, however, fortunately for us, out-generaled by Lane. When the Americans left the main road and took that leading to Huamantla, Santa Anna was in a steeple of a distant village church, surrounded by his staff, using his spy-glass in scanning the country. The moment the head of our column debouched from the main road, he realized the design of General Lane to capture his artillery, and immediately sent two or three of his aids, with a strong force, to bring it off, if not already lost, or recapture it, if taken. In the execution of this order, Major Iturbide, who was afterwards made a prisoner, came dashing towards the town in a furious gallop. At the same time, Lieutenant McDonald, of the artillery, was spurring ahead of our troops towards the same point. Both officers rode for some distance within hail of each other, and a desperate and exciting race was kept up between them, until Lieutenant McDonald's horse stumbled and fell, when Iturbide pushed forward and gained the town. He, however, arrived too late to bring off all the artillery, and was soon captured by Lieutenant Anderson.

"Major Bowman was in the immediate command of the four companies of the 1st Pennsylvania regiment, and led them up in gallant style. His conduct on this occasion is highly spoken of by all who witnessed it. Lieutenant Claiborne, of Captain Walker's company, is also highly commended for his gallantry."

On the evening of the 18th instant, General Lane received intelligence that a considerable force of the enemy were at Atlisco, a town about thirty miles from Perote. He marched for that place about noon next day, and at four o'clock, P. M., came in sight of the enemy's advance guard, stationed at Santa Isabella. This the cavalry charged, driving it a mile and a half in a sort of running fight. On arriving at a small hill the Mexicans made a stand, and fought obstinately until the American infantry appeared, when they again fled. The artillery fired a few shots as it came up, but without effect, as by their rapid retreat the enemy had placed themselves at long range. The dragoons, however, again engaged them, and another running fight, for about four miles, ensued. When within a mile and a half of Atlisco, the whole body of the enemy was discovered on a side hill, posted in small parties behind chaparral hedges, with which the hill was covered. Into these the pursuing cavalry dashed, cutting down great numbers. The chaparral was so thick that the dragoons were ordered to dismount and fight on foot. "A most bloody conflict ensued," says General Lane, "fatal to the enemy. Our infantry for the last six miles had been

straining themselves to the utmost to overtake the enemy, pressing forward most arduously, notwithstanding the forced march of sixteen miles since eleven o'clock. Owing to the nature of the road, almost entirely destroyed by gullies, the artillery could only advance at a walk. As soon as the infantry again appeared in sight, the enemy retreated. So worn out were our horses, (the sun having been broiling hot all day,) that they could pursue the enemy no further. The column was pressed forward as rapidly as possible towards the town; but night had already shut in, giving us, however, the advantage of a fine moonlight. As we approached, several shots were fired at us, and deeming it unsafe to risk a street fight in an unknown town at night, I ordered the artillery to be posted on a hill near to the town, overlooking it, and open its fire. Now ensued one of the most beautiful sights conceivable. Every gun was served with the utmost rapidity; and the crashing of the walls and the roofs of the houses when struck by our shot and shell, was mingled with the roar of our artillery. The bright light of the moon enabled us to direct our shots to the most thickly populated parts of the town.

"After firing three-quarters of an hour, and the firing from the town having ceased, I ordered Major Lally and Colonel Brough to advance cautiously with their commands into the town. On entering, I was waited upon by the ayuntamiento, desiring that their town might be spared. After searching the next morning for arms and ammunition, and disposing of what was found, I commenced my return."

The loss of the enemy in this action was two hundred and nineteen killed and three hundred wounded. The Americans had one killed and one wounded. Immediately after the battle, General Lane marched for Puebla, which he reached without opposition.

On the same day that General Lane left Puebla, (October 18th,) a portion of the American fleet were making active preparations for an attack upon the town of Guaymas. The following is an account of the bombardment and capture of this place:—

"The frigate Congress, the sloop of war Portsmouth, and the brig Argo, belonging to Mr. John Robinson, United States consular agent there, composed our force. The Portsmouth anchored off the port on the 16th of October, and the Congress and Argo the next day. On the 18th the Argo anchored between the islands of Almogre Grande and Almagre Chico.

"A mortar was planted during the day upon each island. A small boat was then put off from the Argo, bearing Mr. Wm. Robinson, a relative of the consul, and came off to the town. Robinson was conducted to the governor, and explained to him that the purpose of the Americans was to take the port, and he advised its surrender to prevent disastrous consequences. Mr. Robinson also explained that he had fallen in with the United States squadron, in the Argo, off Cape Pulmon, and the vessel was

made prize of. The Mexican commandant replied that the surrender of the town was out of the question, being incompatible with the honour of the commandant and that of the arms of the republic. Mr. Robinson then returned to the *Argo*.

"On the 19th the Congress and Portsmouth took up their position to open their fire; the town was formally summoned to surrender, under pain of being fired into. The commander still refused, but the Americans did not open upon it that day. The Mexicans allege that having no heavy artillery to annoy our squadron, the commandant evacuated the town during the night with his troops, and took up a position at Baco-chibampo, a league from the town, where he had previously placed a battery of fourteen guns to resist the Americans, should they attempt to penetrate the interior.

"At six o'clock on the morning of the 20th, the Americans opened their fire from both vessels of war and two mortars, and continued it for more than an hour. In this time they discharged upon the town over five hundred shot, among which were many shells. One English resident was killed, some houses were burnt and others destroyed. A flag of truce was then sent to them, and a party of sailors and marines then went ashore and planted the American flag on the fort erected on the hill called the Casal Blanca, close to the pier."

Immediately on taking possession, Captain Lavallette issued a proclamation, dated the 20th, claiming the town for the United States, but securing to the inhabitants all their civil and religious privileges, promising official protection, and requesting the civil authorities to continue the exercise of their functions under his supervision.

The town of Mazatlan was soon afterwards captured by the American troops without opposition.



The first of these was the establishment of the first public school in the city, in 1630. This was the first of a long series of schools which have since been established in the city, and which have played a great part in the education of the people of Boston. The second was the establishment of the first public library in the city, in 1630. This was the first of a long series of libraries which have since been established in the city, and which have played a great part in the education of the people of Boston. The third was the establishment of the first public hospital in the city, in 1630. This was the first of a long series of hospitals which have since been established in the city, and which have played a great part in the education of the people of Boston.



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